FOUNDATIONS
OF
PAKISTAN

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All-India Muslim League Documents: 1906-1947

Edited by

SYED SHARIFUDDIN PIRZADA

VOLUME I
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PREFACE

The difficulties in tracing the records, reports and proceedings of the sessions of the Muslim League and the meetings of its Council were many and somewhat distressing. However, almost all the available and ascertainable sources have been tapped. The documents collected in these volumes will speak for themselves.

I am deeply indebted to Mr. Mumtaz Hasan, S.Pk., and Mr. Rafe-uz-Zaman for their valuable suggestions, constructive criticism, and close co-operation. I am also grateful to Dr. Moinul Huq, Dr. K.K. Aziz, Dr. Z. H. Zaidi, Mirza Akhtar Hassan, Mohammed Bhai Dadabhoy, Syed Hayder Ali Pirzada, Mr. Rafique Akhtar, Mr. Naeem Qureshi, Mr. Tariq Jalali, Mr. Muinuddin Chughtai and Mr. Jamal Ahsan. I must further record my thanks to Mr. Moinuddin Khan for preparing the index, and to the staff of the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Karachi, Karachi University Library, the National Archives Library, Karachi, the India Office Library and the British Museum.

Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, S.Pk.

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Post Script

The printing of Volume I had been nearly completed when the text of the Address of Dr. M. A. Ansari and the proceedings of the Eleventh Session of the All-India Muslim League held in December 1918 at Delhi were traced from the intelligence reports in J & P Volume 1424/19 and J & P Volume 2272 of the India Office Library. It was too late to incorporate this material in Volume I, but it will be included as an appendix in Volume II.

S.S.P.

August 27, 1969.

Editorial Note

While meticulous care has been taken to quote documents acurately, checking all available sources, it has not been considered desirable to carry this to the point of reproducing minor but obvious errors of syntax, punctuation and spelling—which are doubtless due to typographical or editorial oversights. However, where there has been any uncertainty of meaning, a footnote or bracketed indication makes this clear. Spellings have been standardized throughout, except for personal names, where even the name of the same person is sometimes differently spelt from one chapter to another.[1]

These minor corrections of language and punctuation are made in the interests of both readability and justice to the speeches and proceedings here recorded—for the speakers would surely have wished that a careful printer would not perpetuate minor lapses of the spoken word in cold print, just because this was not done in the hastily produced reports, pamphlets, newspaper items and other documents from which the present compilation has been prepared.

1. The difficulty here is inherent in the difficulty of rendering Oriental names in the Roman script without cumbersome diacritical marks and of the lack of any standardization for transliteration.

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INTRODUCTION

The comprehensive documentation on the work of the All-India Muslim League collected in this book illuminates the Muslims' struggle for freedom in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent—from 1906 to 1923 in Volume I and from 1924 to 1947 in Volume II. The League documents show how, through a variety of circumstances and vicissitudes, this struggle led to the division of the Subcontinent and the creation of Pakistan. They are in this sense documents on the foundations of Pakistan. In the introduction that follows, the main attempt is to picture the salient developments of the Muslim movement after the popular uprising of 1857, with particular reference to the major turning points in its history. It appears appropriate, however, to preface this account with a brief sketch of the spread of Islam in the Subcontinent.

The Subcontinent's Islamic Background:

The Subcontinet's contacts with the Middle East go back to prehistoric times, as there is evidence of mutual influences between the civilization of Southern Mesopotamia, Iran and the Indus civilization of Mohenjodaro and Harappa, which is to be seen in similarities of a number of their antiquities, "These strongly suggest a trade in ancient times between the Indus valley and her western neighbours."[1] This contact was continued

1. Khan, F. A., *Architecture and Art Treasures in Pakistan. (Prehistoric, Protohistoric, Buddhist and Hindu Periods.)*Department of Archaeology and Museums,Govt. of Pakistan, Karachi, 1968, p. 33. Also see Childe, V. Gordon, *New Light on the Most Ancient East.* Grove Press, Inc., New York, pp. 169-70; 185-186: "Direct commercial intercourse between the valleys of the Indus and of Tigris-Euphrates is unimpeachably demonstrated..."

in later ages , and trade with Arabian and other subsequently Muslim Middle East countries preceded the advent of Islam. Pre-Islamic Arab settlements on the coast of Southern India provided a link between Arabian ports and those of South and South-East Asia as well as with India.

After the advent of Islam and the growth of the Muslim Khilafat, these commercial activities were intensified, and with it, the spread of Islam through missionary activities reached the Subcontinent. Tradition also has it that Jats (an Indian people) had been seen in the company of the Prophet.[1] In their conquest of Persia, including the provinces of Kirman and Makran, the Arabs came face to face with forces of the ruler of Sind, who had made common cause with the Governor of Makran; but it was not until the sea-borne trade of the Arabs in the Indian Ocean was jeopardized, by pirates operating from Sind, that Arab efforts to subjugate Sind began in 636. Then in 712, proceeding through Makran, Mohammad bin Qasim appeared before the gates of Daibul and established Muslim rule in Sind up to Multan. Qasim guaranteed freedom of worship for all, which was particularly welcomed by the oppressed Buddhists of Sind; and entrusted both Brahmins and Buddhists with responsible posts in his administration. His justice and the good conduct of his Arab comrades so impressed the inhabitants of Sind that large numbers of them began to accept Islam as their religion. Arab trading and missionary activities spread to the Punjab, Baluchistan and the tribes of the moutains in the North-West. In the eighth and ninth centuries, the Arab sea-route for trade followed the line of the coast of Bengal, and Arab merchants visited the port of Samundar; frequented Sandwip and Rhumi, lying between Assam and the sea; and according to another tradition, in the early tenth century, formed a settlement in Chittagong.[2] It is to be noted, however, that, as in the subsequent growth of Islam in the Sub-continent, influences were not one-sided. The Arabs acquired the use of the decimal numerals, which when transmitted to Europe by them, came to be known as Arabic numerals; they learned chess from the Hindus; Sindhi music exerted its influence on Arab music; and Indian books on Ayurvedic medicine and on astronomy were translated into Arabic during the rule of the Abbasid Khalifa, Harun-ur-Rashid, in Baghdad (786-809).

Following three centuries of Arab rule, the Turkish Ghaznavids appeared in the Subcontinent, and their rule over the Peshawar region, the Punjab and Multan, roughly corresponding to what now constitutes West

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1. According to Tirmidhi in *Abwab-al-Amthat*, Abd Allah bin Musum, a famous *Sahabi*, on seeing some strangers in the company of the Prophet, said, "in countenance they were like Jats". And Bukhari, in *Babbai-ul-Khadim*, reports that when the Prophet's widow, Aisha fell ill, she was treated by a Jat physician from India.

2. Qureshi, I.H. (Gen. Ed.), *A Short History of Pakistan; Book 2, Muslim Rule and Sultanate*, by M. Kabir, Univ. of Karachi, 1967, p. 14.

Pakistan, lasted for about 200 years until the middle of the twelfth century. The Ghaznavids have often been depicted as mere plunderers, but they patronized learning creatively, and did much to establish Lahore as a cultural centre: it was in Ghaznavid Lahore that the poet Masud Saad Salman wrote in Arabic, Persian and the local Prakrit and the famous Ali Hujweri, known as Data Ganj Bakhsh, wrote one of the earliest works on sufism, *Khashf-ul-Mahjub.*

But it was only after Mohammad Ghori's conquest of Delhi and Ajmer in 1192 that Muslim rule began to be established over the whole of the north of the Subcontinent, while Sultan Ghori's Mamluke slave Qutab-ud-Din Aibak—later crowed Sultan (1206-1210)—was consolidating the newly acquired territory in the North-West, a Khalji adventurer, Ikhtyar-ud-Din Mohammad bin Bakhtyar, unaided by any royal support, carried the Muslim banner to the eastern extremities of the Subcontinent, occupying Bihar and Bengal by the beginning of the thirteenth century. It was also under Aibek that Delhi, heretofore a provincial town, for the first time became the capital. Succeeding Aibak as Sultan, Iltumish extended the rule of the Sultanate to Bengal. This phase of early Muslim rule in the northern plains of the Subcontinent, generally referred to as the Sultanate period, witnessed the rise and fall of five dynasties in some three hundred years between 1206 and 1526: the slaves, Mamluka or Qutabi (1206:1290); the Khaljies (1290-1320); the Tughlaqs (1320-1413); the Suyyids (1414-1451); and the Lodhis (1451-1526).

Thereafter the Chughtai Timurid, Zahir-ud-Din Mohammad Babar, founded the Mughal Empire with the conquest of Delhi and Agra. This in the time of Shah Jahan (1627-1656) and Aurangzeb (1656-1707), extended to cover the South of the Subcontinent. With the exception of some 16 years in which the Persian Surs reigned (1538-1555), the Mughal Empire endured and did not begin to decline until after the death of Aurangzeb, to whose constant campaigns, leading to the widest expansion of the Mughal Empire, and rigid rule at least part of the reason of this decline may be traced. Fifty years after his death, the representative of the East India Company defeated the Mughal Viceroy of Bengal, then the richest province of the Empire; and subsequently other centres of Muslim power crumbled one after the other. In 1799 the defeat of Tipu Sultan at the battle of Seringapatam, in which he was killed, ended Muslim power in the South; Hyderabad became a dependency; Oudh, later referred to as the United Provinces, was annexed in 1856; and the defeat of the uprising of 1857 dealt the final blow to the Mughal Empire.

Cultural Polarities of the Hindu-Muslim Relationship

The Muslim culture that developed in this period of Muslim rule included local Indian influences as well as those of Arabs, Turks, Afghans and Iranians; what introduced cohesion in diversity among the Muslims resulted

largely from the teachings of Islam—in particular the unity of God, the equality of man and the prophethood of Mohammad—and the strong common influence of Arabic and Persian in all languages in that part of the Subcontinent that is Pakistan to-day. The Iranian impact was particularly strong, since, from the time of the Ghaznavids, Persian had been adopted as the court language, and during Mughal rule Iranian immigration was encouraged. But just as Islam was the biggest uniting factor among different ethnic groups of Muslims, so was it also the biggest factor dividing them from the Hindus and their tradition of Hinduizing and absorbing those non-Hindu religious elements which they could not eliminate altogether.

Despite contact, co-operation and mutual influence, which reached their height in the time of Akbar (1542-1605), who attempted a synthesis of Islam and Hinduism, and Shah Jahan, whose administration included an even larger number of Hindus in positions of high responsibility than that of Akbar, Muslim and Hindu communities maintained distinct social, as well as religious, identities, although a small minority of Persianized Hindus maintained close social ties with the Muslim aristocracy. The points of closest contact were formed in music, the Urdu language, painting, other fine arts and architecture —that is, apart from those constituted by the two communities inhabiting the same geographical area and sharing some common ethnic origins, for most Muslims in the Subcontinent were and are Indian converts to Islam. While the unifying factor of the fine arts and classical music was naturally limited to comparatively few individuals, Urdu—which is a composite language, based on the Hindi *Khari Boli*, a rich vocabulary of words from Arabic, Persian, the Prakrits (vernaculars), Sanskrit and Turkish, written in the Arabic script —could have been a major unifying factor as the lingua franca for all inhabitants of the Subcontinent, as indeed, until independence, it was for the Muslims, of different regions of the Subcontinent. Whereas this fact is again and again emphatically brought out in the following Muslim League documents, they make the progressive undermining of this objective equally clear. This failure is thus symbolic of the rift between the two communities—of the fact that what divided them was stronger than what might have given them unity, which then ultimately, and perhaps, inevitably, led to the establishment of two separate Nation-States. But this is to anticipate matters; we must now take up the story from the aftermath of the Uprising to recognize both (a) the nature of the Muslim identity in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent and (b) the way Hindu-Muslim relations swayed between unity and division— even as each community gradually developed and stepped up its struggle for freedom from foreign rule—towards the final *denouement* of Partition and Pakistan.

Aftermath of the Uprising of 1857

The British regarded the Muslims as mainly responsible for the mutiny,

and singled them out for repression. Even as they succeeded in crushing the revolt, British troops were "sewing the Mohammedans in pigskins, smearing them with pork fat, and burning their bodies."[1] The British turned on the Muslims as their real enemies, so that the failure of the revolt was much more disastrous to them than to the Hindus. They lost almost all their remaining traditional prestige of superiority over the Hindus; they forfeited, for the time, the confidence of their foreign rulers; and it is from this period that one must date the loss of their numerical majority in the higher subordinate ranks cf civil and military services.[2] In the words of W.W. Hunter: "The truth is, that when the country passed under our rule, the Musalmans were the superior race and superior not only in stoutness of heart and strength of arm but in power of political organization and in the science of practical Government. To this day they exhibit at intervals their old intense feeling of nationality and capability of warlike enterprise, but in all other aspects they are a race ruined under British rule...The truth is, that our system of public instruction, which has awakened the Hindus from the sleep of centuries, and quickened their inert masses with some of the noble impulses of a nation, is opposed to the traditions, unsuited to the requirements, and hateful to the religion of the Musalmans....with the Musalmans the case was altogether different. Before the country passed to us, they were not only the political but intellectual power in India... Is it any wonder that the Musalmans have held aloof from a system which made no concession to their prejudices, made no provision for what they esteemed their necessities; which was in its nature unavoidably antagonistic to their interests, and at variance with all their social traditions?...While we have created a system of Public Instruction unsuited to their wants, we have also denuded their own system of the funds by which it was formerly supported... All sorts of employment, great and small, are being gradually snatched away from the Mohammedans and bestowed on men of other races, particularly the Hindus. The Government is bound to look upon all classes of its subjects with an equal eye, yet the time has now come when it publicly singles out the Mohammedans in its Gazettes for exclusion from official posts... There is now scarcely a Government office in which a Mohammedan can hope for any post above the rank of porter, messenger, filler of inkpots, and mender of pens... A hundred and seventy years ago it was almost impossible for a well-born Musalman in Bengal to become poor, at present it is almost impossible for him to continue rich."[3]

As soon as order was restored after the Revolt of 1857, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan wrote a treatise in Urdu on the causes of the Indian Revolt.

1. Garret and Thompson, *The Rise and Fulfilment of the British Rule in India*, p. 439.

2. Lovett, Sir Verney, *A History of the Indian National Movement, London, 1921, p. 14.*

3. Hunter, W.W., *The Indian Musalmans*. Reprint by the Premier Book House, Lahore, 1964, pp. 132-136. (First published 1876). Hunter was a member of the I.C.S. (1861-87) and President of the Education Commission, 1882-83.

The book was written when the greater part of the country was under martial law and the Anglo-Indian Press was advocating 'a very firm line'. Sir Syed's book was, however, a bold indictment of the Government of India and its administration. Sir Syed wrote, "In the period preceding the Indian Revolt, Government could never know the inadvisability of the laws and regulations which it passed. It could never hear, as it ought to have heard, the voice of the people on the subject. The people had no means of protesting against what they might feel to be a foolish measure, or of giving public expression to their own wishes."[1] He also complained about the lack of social intercourse between the British and the Indian sections of the public. "There was no real communication between the governors and the governed, no living together or near one another, as has always been the custom of the Mohammedans in countries which they subjected to their rule."[2] According to Sir Syed the basic cause of the revolt, was the non-admission of any Indian to the Legislative Councils. He said: "Most men agree that it is highly conducive to the welfare and prosperity of Government—indeed, it is essential to its stability—that the people should have a voice in its Councils."[3] At the same time, he candidly concluded: "I do not wish to enter into the question as to how the ignorant and uneducated people of Hindustan could be allowed to share in the deliberations of the Legislative Council, or as to how they should be selected to form an Assembly like the British Parliament. These are knotty points."[4]

Sir Syed did not publish the book in the country, but despatched 498 out of the 500 printed copies of it to England for the perusal of Members of Parliament and other English men interested in the affairs of India. The book aroused considerable discussion and diversity of opinion in official circles in England and India. In India, in the Viceroy's Council, Cecil Beadon, the Foreign Secretary, characterized it as highly seditious and recommended prosecution of the author. In England at the India Office, however, the book became the starting point for many reforms—e.g., the appointment of Indians to the Legislative Council, which began almost within a year of the publication of the book. In a way, the book also led to the birth of the Indian Congress and eventually, the Muslim League.

In 1892, Aftab Ahmed Khan, later a member of the Council of Secretary of State for India, visiting London happened to meet Allan Octavian Hume, the founder of the Indian National Congress. Hume said to Aftab: "It was after reading Syed Ahmad's book on the causes of the Indian Revolt that I first felt the need for having a forum of public opinion in India, and eventually the

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1. Graham, G.F.I., *Life and Work of Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan*, London, 1930, Revised Ed., p. 7.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 33
3. *Ibid.*, p. 7
4. Khan, Sir Syed Ahmed, *Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind*, p.27.

Indian National Congress came into existence. But the amazing thing is that when it was started, Syed was the first to oppose it."[1] Likewise, Maulana Mohammad Ali has traced the establishment of the Muslim League to Sir Syed's book.[2]

Early Muslim Organization

The first political organization to be formed by the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent appears to have been the Mohammaden Association, whose headquarters were at 9/1 Taltollah, Calcutta. The President of the Association was Fazlur Rahman, and its Secretary was Mohammed Mazhar. The Birtish India Association (Bengal) expressed its happiness at the foundation of the Mohammedan Association when it held a meeting on January 31, 1856.[3]

In April 1863, Nawab Abdul Latif founded the Mohammedan Literary Society with the object of breaking down prejudices and exclusiveness and creating interest in politics and modern thought. The Nawab belonged to an old family of Qazis from Faridpur District, and in 1862 was nominated to the Bengal Legislative Council, being the first Muslim admitted to its member ship. F.B. Bradley-Birt writes that the Mohammedan Litrary Society grew out of informal gatherings held for many years at the private residence of the founder.[4] The Society, which used to meet once a month at 16, Taltolla Lane, Calcutta, included distinguished scholars and noblemen amongst its members. Lectures were delivered in Urdu, Persian, Arabic and English on literature and society. Some especially interesting papers were read before the Society, such as Sir Syed's lecture (delivered in Persian) on the spread of education and Moulvi Karamat Ali Jaunpuri's lecture on the current controversy relating to India being a Dar-ul-Harab.[5] The Journal of the National Indian Association published an account of the Society in October, 1877, and wrote that more than 500 Muslim gentlemen from all parts of India became its members. Once a year the Society held a *conversazione* at the Town Hall of Calcutta. The Society also submitted addresses to Viceroys and Lieutenant Governors seeking the redress of Muslim grievances. Ashley Eden, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, made the following observations about the Society: "I have watched its career from its commencement in 1863 and good work done in regard to education and in assisting to bring the Government system of education into accord with the special educational

1. Syed Tufail Ahmed, *Musalmanon ka Roshan Mustaqbil*, Delhi, 1945, p. 286.
2. The Green Book, p.2.
3. Majumdar, B.B., *Indian Political Associations and Reform of Legislature (1818-1917)*, Calcutta, 1965, P. 221.
4. Bradley- Birt, F.B., *Twelve Men of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 125
5. Ikram, S.M., *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*, Sh. Muhammed Ashraf, Lahore, 1965, p. 102.

wants of the Mohammedan community." As the Muslims had no specifically political organization at that time, Government consulted the views of the Mohammedan Literary Society on matters affecting the interests of Muslims.

In 1866 Sir Syed Ahmed Khan organized a British India Association at Aligarh,[1] whicn has been described as 'the forerunner of the Congress.[2] In an address to the Association, on May 10, 1866, Sir Syed said: "It has been a matter of sincere regret to all thinking Indians that since the assumption of the reins of the Government of India by Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria in person, the attention of her Parliament has not been more bestowed upon measures affecting the future welfare of the inhabitants of this portion of her dominions ... The actions and laws of every government, even the wisest that ever existed, although done or indicated from the most upright and patriotic motives, have at times proved inconsistent with the requirements of the people, or opposed to real justice. The Indians have, at present, little or no voice in the management of the affairs of their country, and should any measure of Government prove abnoxious to them, they brood over it, appearing outwardly satisfied and happy, while discontent is rankling in their minds." The object of this organization was to bring Indian grievances and points of view to the notice of the British people in general and the British Parliament in particular. Raja Jaikishandas was elected its President and Sir Syed its Secretary. The Association was the first joint Hindu-Muslim Organization; but it lasted no more than a year, and its only significant work was the elaboration of a scheme to establish a vernacular university. Even this project became a subject of dispute through the anti-Urdu campaign started by some prominent Hindus of Benaras in 1867, which led to the demand that in the vernacular university Hindi should be the medium of instruction for Hindus.

Perceiving the complete lack of national training among the Muslim inhabitants of India, and the immense advantage and preponderance the Hindu organizations gave to their community, Syed Ameer Ali in 1877 founded the Central National Mohammedan Association. Soon branches were formed, spreading from Madras to the Punjab, from Chittagong to Karachi. Non-Muslims were eligible as members, but were not entitled to vote on purely Muslim matters.

The Association defined its objects as follows: The Association has been formed with the object of promoting by all legitimate and constitutional means the well-being of the Musalmans of India. It is founded essentially upon the principle of strict and loyal adherence to the British Crown. Deriving its inspiration from the noble traditions of the past, it proposes to work in harmoney with Western culture and the progressive tendencies of the age. It aims at the political regeneration of the Indian Mohammedans

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1. This was not related to the British Indian Association at Calcutta founded in 1851.
2. Singh, G.N., *Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development*, Vol. I, p. 174.

by moral revival and by constant endeavours to obtain from Government a recognition of their just and reasonable claims. The Association does not, however, overlook the fact that the welfare of the Mohammedans is intimately connected with the well-being of the other races of India. It does not, therefore, exclude from its scope the advocacy and furtherance of the public interests of the people of this country at large.[1]

On February 6, 1882, the Association presented a comprehensive memorial to Lord Rippon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, calling attention to the causes which led to the decadence and ruin of the Mohammedans in India, and to the circumstances which tended to perpetuate that condition.[2]

In 1887 an attempt was made by the Association to convene a conference of Muslims in the Sub-continent. As objections were raised to this proposal from certain quarters, on January 9, 1888, Syed Ameer Ali sent the following letter to Mr. Tyabji and other prominent Musalmans[3]:

> In continuation of my letter No.456, dated the 28th November 1887, I have the honour to Inform you that in consequence of certain erroneous impressions prevailing in some quarters as to the scope and object of the proposed conference of Mohammedans, it is considered necessary by the Committee of the Central Association to address to you and other well-wishers of the Musalman community the following observations. You cannot be unaware of the state of utter disintegration into which Musalman society in India has fallen within the last half century, nor of the baneful results which have followed from it and their general poverty. The absence of unanimity and cohesion in general questions of public policy and the entire neglect of all idea of self-help add to the difficulties of their situation. The conference does not propose to discuss high politics. The programme which we have set before us is extremely moderate and suited to our own progress. As a gathering of cultivated Muslims from all over India, its social and moral effect will, it is hoped, be of incalculable benefit. It must be remembered that the real advancement of our people lies in the future, and as nothing can be built without a foundation, we hope by this conference to give shape to our aspirations and lay the foundation-stone of future good.
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> In proposing this conference, we have not been actuated by any spirit of rivalry towards our Hindu compatriots. It is our anxious

1. Majumdar, B.B., *op. cit.* pp. 224.225
2. *Selections from Records of the Government of India*, Home Dept., No. 205 (1886), pp. 237-244.
3. *Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India Collected from Bombay Government Records*, Vol. II, Bombay, 1958, pp. 64-65.

desire to work in sympathy with Government and all classes of her Majesty's subjects. Our main object is to bring about some degree of solidarity among the disintegrated masses of Mohammedan society; to reconcile in some measure the conflicting aims and objects of different sections and parties; to introduce some amount of harmony among the discordant and jarring elements of which the Musalman educated classes are composed; to devise some means of self-help for Mohammedan advancement and lean less upon Government patronage: to give a real impetus to the process of self-development perceptibly going on among our community; to safeguard our legitimate and constitutional interests under the British Government; to become the exponent of the views and aspirations of educated Mohammedan India; and to serve as the means of reconcilliation between our Hindu fellow-subjects and our own community. It seems to us that no right minded Mohammedan or Hindu can object to this unpretentious programme. We think that the least endeavour in the direction indicated will not be without its value, that the very intermixture of cultivated Musalmans will exercise a most beneficial effect upon Mohammedan India and prove the groundwork of substantial progress.

Had the plan of convening the conference matured, the history of the Muslim League would have been anticipated 20 years earlier.[1]

In 1883 the Aligarh leaders had formed a Mohammedan Political Association with a view to protect Muslim political interests. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was the Secretary of the Managing Committee of the Association, of which Government officials could not become members. Among others, its objects were: "(a) to make efforts for the material advancement of the Muslims, and (b) to represent before the British Government in India legitimate Mohammedan interests, rights and requirements."[2]

Indian National Congress

Allan Octavian Hume, a retired British civil servant, was the father and founder of the Indian National Congress. Hume had conceived the idea that it would be of great advantage to the country if leading Indian politicians could be brought together once a year to discuss social matters. It was at the instance of Lord Dufferin that the body was given the form of a political association. Mr. W.C. Bonnerjee, the first President of the Congress, has disclosed that "the Indian National Congress, as it was originally started and as it has since been carried on, is in reality the work of the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava when that nobleman was the Governor-General of India.[3] Lord Dufferin, in giving his blessings had "made it a condition with Mr. Hume that his name

1. Majumdar B.B., *Op. cit.*, p. 227.
2. *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, April 7, 1888, p. 391.
3. Bonnerjee, W.C., *Indian Politics*, p. viii

in connection with the scheme of the Congress should not be divulged so long as he remained in the country, and his condition was faithfully maintained and none but the men consulted by Mr. Hume knew anything about the matter''.[1] Bonnerjee's version is corroborated by Wedderburn, the biographer of Hume.[2]

The first session of the Congress was held at Bombay on December 28, 1885. Mr. B.C. Pal has put it on record that some of the most prominent members of the First Congress Session deliberately kept Surrendranath Bannerjea out of it.[3] Bannerjea's dismissal from the Indian Civil Service and his imprisonment during the Ilbert Bill controversy were a record which the ultra-cautious organizers of the first Congress did not favour.[4]

In fact it was even seriously suggested that Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay, should preside over the first Congress.[5] The Congressites were delighted when Dufferin gave a garden party to the delegates of the Second Congress Session, met some 20 of them at a private interview, and desired to talk to the president separately.[6] Lord Connemara, the Governor of Madras, also entertained the delegates of the Third Congress at a garden party.[7] The Governor then reported that the Congress leaders seemed ''a very loyal and harmless set of people'', and the Viceroy agreed.[8] In the third Congress Session, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, had himself declared that the Congress was a ''triumph of British Administration.''[9] Lala Lajpat Rai, in his autobiography, regarded the Congress as an Anglicized organization. Early Congressmen were loud in their professions of loyalty to the British and repeatedly claimed that the Congress owed its existence to the British influence in the country.[10] Englishmen, were the presidents of some early Congress sessions—William Wedderburn in 1889, Alfred Webb in 1894, and Sir Henry Cotton in 1904.

Muslims and the Congress

In the First Congress Session, of the 72 delegates attending only two were Muslims: Mr. M.R. Sayani and Mr. A.M. Dharamsi. The absence of Muslims was noticed by the British and the Indian press. *The Times* Weekly

1. *Ibid.*
2. Wedderburn, W., *Allan Octavian Hume*, p. 30
3. Pal, B.C., *Indian Nationalism*, p. 98
4. Argov, D., *Moderates and Extremists in the Indian National Movement*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1967, p. 30.
5. Wedderburn, *A.O. Hume*, p. 60
6. *The Voice of India*, January 1887, p. 4.
7. *Report of Third Congress*, p.19.
8. Lord Connemara to Dufferin, December 28, 1887; Dufferin to Connemara, January 2, 1888.
9. *Report of the Third Congress*, p.1.
10. Pal, Bepin, *The National Congress*, p. 5.

Edition of February 5, 1886, reported: "Only one great race was conspicuous by its absence. The Mohammedans of India were not there. Not only in their religion but in their schools and almost all their colleges they maintain an almost haughty reserve. The reason is not hard to find. They cannot forget that less than two centuries ago they were the dominant race."

The Central Mohammedan Association was one of the organizers of the first session of the Indian National Congress held in 1885. Ameer Ali had said: "We were fully convinced that the aim of the forthcoming Congress is to promote measures which, it is considered, will tend to the amelioration of the condition of the people of India, and we would greatly regret to do anything which would have even the appearance of withholding from such a worthy object any support which our co-operation might give." But the Association withdrew its support from the Second Congress Session held at Calcutta. The Association's Executive Committee explained the reason in its report: "The abstention of this Association in 1886 from the 'National Congress' gave rise to considerable criticism in a part of the Hindu papers. It is necessary, therefore, to explain the reasons which weighed with this Association in adopting the policy of abstention which it has hitherto observed. The Association has much sympathy with some of the objects which the Congress has placed before itself, and great respect for the principal leaders of the movement. But it is firmly convinced that the unqualified adoption of the programme of the Congress will lead to the political extinction of the Mohammedans. This Association is willing to concede that the system of nomination by which the Councils of the Government are recruited is not always happy in its results. But, bearing in mind how the Mohammedans are placed in this country, and how necessarily voting must take place by nationalities and creeds, the Association cannot believe that the introduction of representative institutions in this country in their entirety will be to the advantage of the Mohammedans. The principle of representation must be carefully considered in connection with the rights of the minority. Nor can the Association consent to the introduction of any system which would result in the minority being utterly swamped in every department of state. Nor must it be forgotten that the unequal political development of the two communities, coupled with the comparatively recent growth of English education among the Mohammedans, renders it absolutely necessary for this committee to be on its guard against any movement likely to jeopardize the interests of the Musalman subjects of Her Majesty. The Committee cannot deprecate too strongly the want of foresight displayed by so many of our co-religionists in endorsing, in their entirety, the views and claims of the Congress. The Committee believe that until the Mohammedans are on a par with the Hindus in political development and educational progress, and the assertion and preservation of Mohammedan interests are included in the Congress programme, the consummation wished for by the Congress will

end in the absolute effacement of the Mohammedans as a community in this country."[1]

The Mohammedan Literary Society represented by Nawab Abdul Latif also refused to participate in the Calcutta Session. The Congress elected Badruddin Tyabji, a Muslim, President of its Third Session. Sir Syed became critical of Tyabji and the Congress, and Tyabji could not ignore the hostility of the Muslims towards the Congress. On October 27, 1888, Tayabji wrote to Hume: "We are all of opinion that having regard to the distinctly hostile attitude of the Mohammedans, which is becoming daily more pronounced and more apparent, it is time for friends, promoters and supporters of the Congress to reconsider their position, and to see whether, under the present circumstances, it is or is not wise for us to continue holding Congress meetings every year. If then, the Musalman community as a whole is against the Congress — rightly or wrongly does not matter—it follows that the movement *ipso-facto* ceases to be a general or National Congress."[2] He therefore proposed that after the next session at Allahabad, the Congress should be "prorogued, say at least for five years. This would give us the opportunity of reconsidering the whole position, and if necessary, of retiring with dignity, and would at the same time give us ample time to carry into execution our programme, which has already become extensive. If at the end of five years, our prospects improve, we can renew Congress."[2] Hume, too, took up the suggestion seriously, but Dadabhai Naoroji wrote to him: "The Congress meetings should not be stopped. Such an action will put back India's progress a generation or at least for years."[3] In 1891 the Congress at Nagpur appointed a subcommittee to consider whether the annual session of the Congress should be discontinued. This proposal was not acceptable to the majority of delegates.

The number of Muslim delegates attending the Congress sessions between 1885 and 1905 amply suggest that they were not much interested in it. Fluctuation in the numbers was due mostly to the convenience of the place where the session was held. Between 1885 and 1905 there were only two Muslim Presidents of the Congress, out of a total of 21. Badruddin Tyabji, Madras, 1887: M.R. Sayani, Calcutta, 1896.

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1. *Report of the Committee of the Central National Mohammedan Association*, 1885-88, pp. 21-22.

2. *Bombay Government Records*, Vol. II, p. 67.

3. Masani, R.P., *Dadabhai Naoroji*, p. 31.

Congress Sessions, 1885-1905

Year	Total Delegates	Muslims	Place
1885	72	2 (both Bombay attorneys)	Bombay
1886	440	33 (27 from Bengal)	Calcutta
1887	607	79 (59 from Madras)	Madras
1888	1248	219(152 from Oudh and N.W. P.[1])	Allahabad
1889	1889	248 (80 from Bombay)	Bombay
1890	677	116 (N.W.P.82, Bengal 29)	Calcutta
1891	List not available.		Nagpur
1892	625	91 (N.W.P. and Oudh 81)	Allahabad
1893	867	64 (Punjab 51)	Lahore
1894	1163	22 (Madras 17)	Madras
1895	1584	23 (Bombay 21)	Poona
1896	784	52 (Bengal 42)	Calcutta
1897	692	57 (Berar 53)	Amraoti
1898	614	11 (Madras 11)	Madras
1899	789	311 (N.W.P. & Oudh 308)	Lucknow
1900	567	57 (Punjab 52)	Lahore
1901	896	76 (Bengal 54)	Calcutta
1902	417	17 (Bombay 16)	Bombay
1903	538	10 (Madras 5)	Madras
1904	1010	28 (Bombay 25, Bengal 1)	Bombay
1905	756	17 (9 from U.P.)	Banaras.[2]

Mr. S.N. Banerjea says that the Muslim delegates were even given return fares.[3] Swami Shraddhananda furnishes an interesting account of the so-called Muslim delegates of the Lucknow Congress (1899). "The majority of Muslim delegates had donned gold, silver or silk-embroidered *Chogas* over their ordinary coarse suits of wearing apparel. It was rumoured that these *Chogas* had been lent by Hindu moneyed men for the Congress *Tamasha*. Only 30 had come from outside; the rest belonged to Lucknow City. The majority were admitted free to delegates' board and lodging. Sir Syed Ahmed's anti-Congress League had tried in a public meeting to dissuade Muslims from joining the Congress as delegates. As a counter-move, the Congress people lighted the whole Congress camp some four nights before the Session began and

1. North-Western Provinces, later, together with Oudh, formed the United Provinces.

2. Wasti, S.R., "Simla Deputation", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, April 1962.

3. Banerjea, S.N., *A Nation in the Making*, p.108.

advertised that ingress that night would be free. The result was that all the '*Chandukhanas*' of Lucknow were emptied and a large audience of some 30,000 Hindus and Muslims was addressed from half a dozen platforms. It was there that the Muslim delegates were elected or selected. All this was admitted by the Lucknow Congress organizers to me in private."[1]

The number of Muslims attending the Calcutta Congress in 1906 was not very encouraging, for out of 1,663 delegates only 45 were Muslims, of whom 24 were from Bengal. At this time, the All India Muslim League was established at Dacca, where a large number of Muslim leaders from all parts of the subcontinent were present.

Sir Syed and the Congress

The Congress in its very first session in 1885 had passed a resolution demanding the reconstitution of Legislative Councils on a representative basis. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan opposed this idea vehemently in an article. "Is the state of the country adapted to popular government? How will the mixture of nationalities in India affect the working of (an Indian) parliament". Sir Syed said and continued: "If at any future time there should be a parliament with Hindus and Mohammedans sitting on the two sides of the house, it is probable that the animosity which would ensue would far exceed anything that can be witnessed in England. For the safeguard of the English system is — that the partyin power is always in dread of being left in a minority by the defection of some of its adherents; but this safeguard would not exist in India, because a Hindu would not turn Mohammedan and vice versa. Moreover, the Mohammedans would be in a permanent minority, and their case would resemble that of the unfortunate Irish members in the English Parliament, who have always been outvoted b the Englishmen. The majority in parliament has absolute control and a study of the habit of assemblies points to the conclusion that bodies of men are less generous in regard to their opponents than individual rulers are. If this were so, and one side were perpetually outvoted, there is only too much fear that the minority would ultimately take the matter into their own hands and see if they could gain by force what they were unable to obtain by constitutional means."[1] Sir Syed, therefore exhorted the Muslims to follow his educational programme. In December 1886, he founded the All-India Muslim Educational Congress,[2] to create communal consciousness and solidarity among the Muslims.[3]

On December 28, 1887, in a speech at the Lucknow Session of the Mohammedan Education Conference, Sir Syed Said:[4]

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1. Shradhananda, Swami, *Inside the Congress*, p. 30.
2. In 1890 the name was changed to Mohammedan Edncational Congress, and in 1895 to Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference.
3. *Report of the Conference for* 1886, pp. 19-20.
4. Khan, Syed Ahmed, *The Present State of Indian Politics*, p.7.

> They want to copy the British House of Lords and the House of Commons...Now let us imagine the Viceroy's Council made in this manner...And first suppose that all the Mohammedan electors vote for a Mohammedan member and all the Hindu voters vote for a Hindu member, and now count how many votes the Mohammedan members will have, and how many the Hindu. It is certain that the Hindu members will have four times as many because their population is four times as numerous. Therefore we can prove by mathematics that there will be four votes for the Hindu to every one vote for the Mohammedan. And now, how can the Muslim guard his interestes? It would be like a game of dice, in which one man had four dice and the other only one.

During 1888, Hume and Badruddin Tyabji endeavoured to secure Sir Syed's support for the Congress. On January 24, 1888, Sir Syed wrote to Tyabji:-

> I do not understand what the words 'National Congress' mean. Is it supposed that the different castes and creeds living in India belong to one nation, or can become a nation, and their aims and aspirations be one and the same? I think it is quite impossible, and when it is impossible there can be no such thing as a National Congress, nor can it be of equal benefit to all peoples. You regard the doings of the misnamed National Congress beneficial to India, but I am sorry to say that I regard them as not only injurious to our own community, but also to India at large. I object to every Congress, in any shape or form whatever, which regards India as one nation.[1]

After the Madras Session of the Congress, Tyabji issued a statement (a) saying that he had got a rule accepted by the Congress to the effect that any question which is objected to by the Muslim delegates, or a large majority of them, would not be discussed in the Congress, and then (b) emphasizing the desirability of the Muslims participating in the Congress. Sir Syed, in a speech at Meerut on March 14, 1888, observed:

> In the first instance, I object to the word 'delegate'. I assure my friend that the Muslims who went from our province and Oudh to attend the Congress at Madras do not deserve the appellation 'delegate'. The Muslims who went there were not elected even by ten Muslims. The unanimous passing of any resolution in the Congress does not make it a national congress. A congress becomes a national congress only when all the aims and objects of the nation whom that congress represents are common without any exception. My honourable friend admits that some aims and objects of the Muslims and Hindus are different and contradictory. Should we Muslims found a separate Congress to

1. *Source Material, Bombay Government Records*, Vol. II., p. 70.

realize our different aims? Should the two congresses compete and even fight with each other in view of their conflicting and antagonistic aims? Our friend should himself decide in all fairness whether such nations whose aims and objects are opposed to one another, though some minor points might be common, can form a national congress? It may be appropriate or not, but no Muslim, be he a cobbler or a nobleman, would ever agree to the Muslims being relegated to a status where they become slaves of another nation, which is their neighbour, even though time has reduced them to a very low position, and will reduce them still further. Let my friend, Mr. Badruddin Tyabji, leaving aside the minor questions common to Hindus and Muslims—because there is nothing in the world which does not share some features in common with others, (so much so that even pigs and men have certain common features)—tell me whether there is any basic political question which can be brought before the Congress and is not detrimental to the Muslims. The most important question is election to the Viceroy's Council, on which much stress was laid in the Congress Session under the presidentship of our friend, Mr. Tyabji. I have proved in my speech at Lucknow that whichever mode of election is adopted, the number of Hindus will be four times that of Muslims, they will be successful, the Government of the whole country will be in the hands of Bengalis or other Hindus like Bengalis, and the Muslims will be in a miserable position. Many people condemned me for my Lucknow speech; but no one, not even Mr. Tyabji replied to it. The demands of the Bengalis may be justifiable or not, but we cannot tolerate our nation being hurled into this misery and degradation, and at least we cannot participate in matters which bring humiliation to our nation. What happened in the Mutiny? The Hindus started it. The Muslims were restless. They jumped into the fray. The Hindus took a bath in the Ganges and went scot-free, but the Muslims and their families were ruined. The same would be the result of the Muslims participation in political agitation.[1]

In August 1888, Sir Syed founded the Indian Patriotic Association. The aims of the Association, *inter alia*, were:[2]

(a) to publish and circulate pamphlets and other papers for information of members of Parliament, English journals and the people of Great Britain, in which those mis-statements will be pointed out by which the supporters of the Indian National Congress have wrongly attempted to convince the English people that all the nations of India and the Indian Chiefs and rulers agree with the aims and objects of the National Congress;

1. Ahmad, Jamiluddin, *Early Phase of Muslim Political Movement*, Lahore, 1967, p. 56.
2. *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, August 28, 1888.

(b) to inform members of Parliament and the newspapers of Great Britain and its people, by the same means, of the opinions of Mohammedans in general, of the Islamia Anjumans, and those Hindus and their societies which are opposed to the objects of the National Congress;

(c) to strive to preserve peace in India and to strengthen the British rule; and to remove those bad feelings from the hearts of the Indian people which the supporters of the Congress are stirring up throughout the country, and by which great dissatisfaction is being raised among the people against the British Government.

The word 'united' was later added to the name of the Association.[1] Sir Syed criticized the action of the Governor of Madras for having entertained the Congress delegates at a garden party. He asserted that the Government should not support one 'nation' (Hindus) and leave out another (Muslims)[2]. In one of his letters to Col. Graham written in December 1888, Sir Syed wrote — 'I have undertaken a heavy task against the so-called National Congress, and have formed an Association, 'The Indian United Patriotic Association', the work of which is much greater than the others' work.''[3]

Sir Syed carried on correspondence with various Islamic Anjumans and their co-operation was sought in the work of presenting a united opposition to the Congress. Almost all leading Muslim institutions and personalities joined hands in their indignation against the Congress. Resolutions condemning the Congress were passed by the Musalmans of Allahabad, Lahore, Lucknow Madras, Meerut and other places.[4] A public meeting held in December 1888 under the auspices of the Anjuman Nasarul-Islam, Nagpur, adopted the following resolution:

> This meeting is of the opinion that the objects and measures of the so-called National Congress tend towards raising a spirit of disloyalty and discontent and are likely to be most detrimental (1) to India in general and (2) to the welfare and prosperity of Mohammedans in particular; that the demands of the Congress are not the demands of two hundred million British subjects; that its habitual assumption that it has the right to speak in the name of the majority of the people of India is fictitious, and the grievances which it alleges are imaginary; that should any Mohammedan of Nagpur join or associate himself, in any way, with any Congress meeting to be held at Nagpur or allow himself to be appointed as a delegate to the Allahabad Congress, he will be considered as representing himself alone, and as a renegade

1. *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, September 25, 1888.
2. *Pamphlet No.*2, issued by the Patriotic Association, Allahabad, 1888, p. 72.
3. Graham, G.F.I, *op. cit*, p. 293.
4. *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, July 21, 1888, pp. 811-813.

from the Muslim community."[1]

In 1892 the Indian Council Act was passed conceding the Congress demands to some extent. In October 1893, Sir Syed contributed an article to *The Pioneer* in which he wrote:

> Long before the idea of founding the Indian National Congress was mooted, I had given thought to the matter whether representative government is suited to the conditions of India. I studied John Stuart Mill's views in support of representative government. He has dealt with this matter exceedingly well in great detail. I reached the conclusion that the first prerequisite of a representative government is that the voters should possess the highest degree of homogeneity. In a form of government which depends for its functioning upon majorities, it is necessary that the people should have no differences in the matter of nationality, religion, ways of living, customs, morals, culture and historical traditions. These things should be common among a people to enable them to run a representative government properly. Only when such homogeneity is present can representative government work or prove beneficial. It should not even be thought of when these conditions do not exist.
>
> In a country like India where homogeneity does not exist in any one of these fields, the introduction of representative government cannot produce any beneficial results; it can only result in disturbing the peace and prosperity of the land.[2]

On December 30, 1893, a meeting of influential Muslims was held at the house of Sir Syed to discuss the political situation of the Muslamans and to consider the question of the formation of a political organization to place the Muslim point of view before the Government. Four alternatives were discussed: (1) Should the Muslims join the Hindu agitation? (2) Should they set up a counter agitation? (3) should they keep out of politics and devote their energies solely to education? (4) Should they adopt a modified political approach which would involve neither complete political inactivity nor active agitation amongst the people?[3] The meeting felt the need of a wholly Muslim organization, and accordinly formed the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association, with its headquarters at Aligarh. Membership was restricted to influential Muslim leaders. Government servants and undergraduate students could not become its members. The Association was neither to hold public meetings nor to affiliate other Islamic Associations. Its business was to be regulated through a council. The objects of the Association were: (1) to promote the political interests of Muslims by representing their views before the English people and the Indian

1. *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, December 8, 1888.
2. *The Pioneer*, October 5, 1893.
3. Noman, *Muslim India*, Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1942, p. 54.

Government; (2) to discourage popular and political agitation among Muslims; (3) to lend support to measures calculated to increase the stability of the British government and the security of the Empire; and (4) to strive to preserve peace in India and to encourage sentiments of loyalty in the population. The activities of the Defence Association, during 1894-96, show that it was the true predecessor of the Muslim League, and it askeu for all those things which the Simla Deputation asked for in 1906.[1]

In 1896 Rahimtullah Sayani was chosen to preside over the Congress Session. Haji Muhammad Ismail Khan, a friend of Sir Syed, suggested to the Congress President that the Congress should pa s a resolution to the effect that the Hindus and Muslims should have an equal number of seats in the Legislative Councils, district boards and municipalities. Sayani in his presidential address remarked:

> It is a good suggestion, but so long as Musalmans do not join the Congress movement in the same number and with the same enthusiasm as the Hindus do, the Congress cannot in fairness be asked to carry out such a suggestion in the manner and to the extent indicated in the suggestion.

Sir Syed endorsed the proposal of Ismail Khan and wrote an article to the effect that the Muslims could join the Congress only if the Congress agreed to this proposal.[2]

In the same year, Sir Syed drew up a memorandum on behalf of the Muslim Anglo-Oriental Defence Association. The Association considered that it would be useless to demand that the elective system, which was introduced in 1892, should be abolished, for such a proposal would excite the opposition of the Hindus and would also be received unfavourably in England. The Musalmans, therefore, asserted that as a Catholic member chosen by a Protestant Constituency in Ireland could not represent the true Catholic interests so a Congressite Muslim elected by a predominantly Hindu constituency could, in no way, represent the true interests of the Muslims.[3] The principles embodied in the Memorandum were: (i) equal representation for the Muslims and the Hindus in the North-Western Provinces' Legislative Council because, on account of their past historical role, the political importance of the Muslims was not inferior to that of the Hindus, although the latter constituted a vast majority of the population; (ii) separate communal electroates, with Muslims voting for Muslims only; (iii) weightage in representation for the Muslims on the municipal councils, district boards etc.[4] A Hindu author remarks that "if we bear in mind the memorandum drafted by the Mohammedan Defence Association, enumerating the Mohammedan

1. Jain, M.S., *The Aligarh Movement*, Sir Ram Mehra & Co., Agra, 1965, p. 128
2. Majumdar, R.C., *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. I., Calcutta, 1963, p. 486.
3. *The Pioneer Mail*, December 24, 1896.
4. *MAO College Magazine*, December 1896, pp. 507-19.

demands in 1896, we find that there was no material difference between the demands of 1896 and 1906. And we can be sure that had Sir Syed lived for a few years more, the deputation of 1906 would have been brought about much earlier and would not have been dubbed a 'command performance', as the nationalist Hindus loved to call it."[1]

First Steps Towards a Nationwide Muslim Organization

Sir Syed passed away in 1898, and the Upper India Defence Associaton of Mohammedans practically died with him. By 1900 the political situation in the Subcontinent had deteriorated, and Hindu-Muslim relations were in a turmoil. Among the factors responsible were: Hindu-Muslim riots; the Hindi-Urdu controversy and the encouragement of Hindi by Sir Antony Macdonnell, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces; absence of separate Muslim representation in the Legislative and Municipal Councils; and the growing difficulty Muslims encountered in securing jobs in Government service. A section of the Muslim leaders felt that it might be advantageous to agitate, since the top-ranking agitators in the Indian National Congress were being obliged with the highest posts and honours open to the Indians. On the whole, the Muslims keenly felt the absence of an organization through which they could put forward their demands.

A representative meeting of Urdu Defence Association was held at Lucknow on August 18, 1900, under the presidentship of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk to protest against the Government decision recognizing Hindi, and to demand its withdrawal. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk's action was resented by the Lieutent-Governor of U.P., who asked the Nawab to choose between the secretaryship of the Aligarh College and the presidentship of the Urdu Defence Association. The Government's policy of intimidation and coercion incited the Muslims, and their views on ways and means of ameliorating existing conditions were expressed freely in the press and on the platform.

The debate was opened by Moulvi Mehdi Hasan in a letter to *The Pioneer*, asserting that Sir Syed's attitude never implied a total ban on political activity. All that the departed leader had in view was to be assured of a separate hearing of the Muslim case by the Government. While he lived, Sir Syed wielded enormous influence, but now that he was dead, an organization was necessary to carry on his work and to keep the Government in touch with the Muslim viewpoint. Viqar-ul-Mulk pointed out that, as a community, the Muslims were in a predicament faced with the alternatives of either marching into the Congress camp *en bloc* or establishing a corresponding political organization of their own.[2] Mohsin-ul-Mulk wrote an article in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* on 'what should be done by the Muslims to safeguard their political interests' and pointed out that Sir Syed never believed in the

1. Jain, M.S., *The Aligarh Movement*, pp. 129 and 153.
2. Hamid, Abdul, *Muslim Separatism in India*, Oxford University Press, Lahore, 1967, p. 47.

policy of silence; he had always boldly expressed the views of his community on all important matters. However, since he, in his own person, was more than an institution, after his death, the necessity of forming a Muslim organization was becoming more and more imperative. The proposal of joining the Congress was considered 'tantamount to suicide', and it was categorically rejected.[1] Mian Muhammad Shah Din discussed the political situation in the columns of the *Civil & Military Gazette*. By clear and cogent reasoning, he pointed out that it was impossible for the Muslim community to join the Congress movement or to adopt the methods on which that organization was worked, and that the time had arrived when Muslim leaders should take practical steps to safeguard the interests of their community. Fazl-i-Husain in an address to the Ajnuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam enunciated the vital necessity of a political organization which would unify Muslims, reform them, and stand for their interests against the encroachments of Government and other communities. Emphasizing the necessity of taking a new and a bold step, he said, "M.A.O. College, Aligarh, and the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam are very useful working institutions, the Nadwa's objects are laudable; but all these put together are insufficient and even incompetent to elevate our society. These institutions are not strong enough to work out our National Redemption."[2] Sir Muhammad Shafi continued the discussion in a series of articles published in *The Observer* (Lahore), in which he drew a sketch of the lines on which the proposed Muslim organization should be constituted, suggesting the name of 'Indian Muslim Patriotic League' as suitable for adoption.[3]

Eventually a meeting of the leading Muslims of India was held at Lucknow on October 20-21, 1901, at the residence of Hamid Ali Khan, under the presidentship of Syed Sharfuddin, who later became a Judge of the Calcutta High Court. The meeting was attended by 26 prominent Muslim leaders, including eminent lawyers and the Editor of the *Paisa Akhbar*. The need of a political council of chosen Musalmans was vehemently stressed by Hamid Ali Khan and Sharfuddin.[4] Viqar-ul-Mulk explained how the position of Muslims was deteriorating in the whole of India, how their political rights were being attacked, how their representation in Government services was going down, and how they could not get their representatives elected to the Central and Provincial Legislatures. He then presented a scheme for the formation of a political association to work for their rights and demands. The meeting resolved:

(1) the Muslims of India should form an organization which

1. *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, August 15, 1901.
2. Husain, Azim, *Fazl-i-Husain*, Longmans, Bombay, 1945, p. 95.
3. Shafi, Sir Muhammad, Address to the Punjab Muslim League Conference, *Civil & Military Gazette*, December 23, 1909.
4. *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, October 31, 1901.

should act in respect of their social and political needs and interests; (2) it is necessary for the Muslims to keep away from the Congress for the following reasons: the two main objectives of the Congress—representative Government and recruitment to Government services through competitive examinations — are manifestly inimical to the Muslim interests.[1]

The meeting appointed a committee to organize branches in various districts. Mohsin-ul-Mulk felt that the Lucknow meeting had followed the path of Sir Syed inasmuch as it had rejected the necessity either of joining the Indian National Congress or of starting a public agitation.[2] Viqar-ul-Mulk toured the country to secure public support, but found it difficult to mobilize such support at a satisfactory pace.

However, in 1902, it was reported that Muslims were not only abstaining from countenancing the Congress, but were contemplating the formation of a Muslim organization.[3] And in 1903, the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* took up the task of mobilizing support for the proposal. The *Gazette* wrote that the Musalmans of India, on account of their religious unity, were fit to become a nation,[4] and emphasized the need to organize and consolidate the scattered Muslim forces. "What is wanted, at this stage of our progress, above every thing else, is the knitting together of the men who are willing to work practically for the community. What we want is organization."[5] In July 1903, the Mohammedan Political Association was formed at a public meeting of the Muslims held at Saharanpur, U.P.[6] In a statement at a public meeting, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan also emphasized the need to organize for political purposes. Elections of the representatives of the Muslim Association formed by Viqar-ul-Mulk were held at Murshadabad and Aligarh,[7] but owing to Viqar-ul-Mulk's long absence from India, the organization did not gather strength and became defunct.[8] In March 1904, in an address delivered on the anniversary of the death of Sir Syed, Mian Shah Din raised the question of establishing a central political organization of the Musalmans, with a view to taking such political action as, under the circumstances, might commend itself to the Muslim community.[9]

Partition of Bengal

Bengal, as it came under British rule, was a big administrative unit;

1. Ahmad, Jamiluddin, *Early Phase of Muslim Political Movement*, p. 69
2. *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, November 14, 1901.
3. 'Current Events in India', *Empire Review*, February 1902, p. 54.
4. *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, February 21, 1903.
5. *Ibid*, July 4, 1903.
6. *The Pioneer*, July 31, 1903.
7. *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, September 5, 1903.
8. Jain, M.S., *The Aligarh Movement*, p. 156.
9. Ahmad, Bashir, *Justice Shah Din, His Life and Writings*, Lahore, 1962, p. 344.

and after British rule had been firmly established in India, it began to be felt that Bengal should be split up into two parts for administrative convenience. In 1874 Assam was separated. In October 1906, the provinces of Bengal and Assam were reconstituted so as to form two provinces (i) Bengal and (ii) Eastern Bengal and Assam. In the new Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the Muslims were in a majority.

The day the partition was effected was observed as a day of mourning by the Hindus. Among the Muslim leaders in favour of partition, the most prominent was Nawab Salimullah of Dacca. In a speech at Munshiganj, on the day the Partition Scheme was put into effect, he observed that the Partition had "aroused us from inaction and directed our attention to activities and struggle". He and his associates decided to organize the Muslim community into a compact body and to set up an association which would serve as a mouthpiece for the expression of views on all social and political matters affecting the interests of the community. The chief object, as the organizers stated, was "consolidation and conservation of the strength of the Muslims of the new Province as a whole for all public purposes". All other associations and organisations were asked to affiliate themselves with it. Thus the Mohammedan Political Union was founded, with Nawab Salimullah as its Patron.[1]

The Hindu agitation against the partition continued unabated. People were told that the Partition was an insult to the Goddess Kali, and the agitators adopted the song of *Bande Matram*[2] as a national hymn. The antagonistic press raised a compaign of criticism against Sir Bamfylde Fuller, Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, which ultimately led to his resignation. A wave of resentment ran across the whole Subcontinent. Lady Minto has recorded the feelings of young Muslims in her Journal: "The younger generation were wavering, inclined to throw in their lot with the advanced agitators of the Congress, then came Fuller's resignation. A howl went up that the loyal Mohammedans were not to be supported, and that the agitators were to obtain their demands through agitation."[3] The Muslims received a severe shock. This is apparent from the letter of Syed Nawab Ali Chowhdry to Mohsin-ul-Mulk[4] (of August, 1906):

> Up till now the Mohammedans of Bengal have been careless. They have now begun to feel the consequences of their carelessness. If only the Mohammedans of Bengal, instead of following the govern-

1. Pakistan Historical Society, *a History of the Freedom Movement*, Karachi, 1961, Vol. III, Part I, p.16.
2. A song of *Hindu* nationalism from Bankim Chandra Chatterji's book *Anandamath* (published 1882), referring to India as the great mother goddess, allied to the gooddesses Durga and Lukshmi. The book itself contains a strong anti-Muslim note.
3. *My Indian Journal*, Vol. II, 1905-6, p. 201. Indian Institute Library, Oxford.
4. Dass, M.N., *India Under Morley and Minto*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1964, p. 168

ment, had agitated like the Hindus and had enlisted the sympathies of the Mohammedans of the whole of India, and raised their voice up to the Parliament, they would never see these unfortunate consequences. The resignation of Sir Bamfylde Fuller has produced an unrest throughout the Mohammedans in the whole of Bengal, and their aspirations for higher education and increased rank and responsibility being subsided. Looking at it from one point of view, the Government has taught a good lesson to the Mohammedans by accepting Sir Bamfylde's resignation. It has served to awaken them after a sleep of carelessness. We shall now have to proceed on the same lines as the Hindus, not only in India, but in England."

The Muslims had realized that the time had come when something should be done to draw the Government's attention to the existence of their community; and it seems that the Government, too, was beginning to recognize the Muslim uneasiness.[1]

The Simla Deputation

In tracing the origins of Pakistan, some commentators give decisive importance to the separate electorates secured by the Muslim Deputation which was received by the Viceroy Lord Minto, at Simla on October 1, 1906. The event has been described in the Diary of Lady Minto as 'an epoch in Indian history'. And the Deputation certainly led to the establishment of the Muslim League. The separate electorates became the basis of political parleys between the Muslim League and the Congress, until, when these failed, the League demanded an independent State for the Muslims, comprised of their majority areas, as embodied in the historic Lahore Resolution of March 23, 1940. The background of the Deputation and the demands defined and formulated by it may be noted in brief.

In the beginning of this century, a Liberal Government came to power in England; and it appeared inevitable that a system of election would be introduced in Indian Legislative Councils. On July 20, 1906, John Morley, the Secretary of State for India, in his budget speech in the House of Commons said:

> I do not say that I agree with all that the Congress desires; but, speaking broadly of what I conceive to be at the bottom of the Congress, I do not see why any one who takes a cool and steady view of Indian Government should be frightened . . . Then there is the extension of the representative element in the Legislative Council — not the Executive Council, but the Legislative. I am glad to say that the Governor-General is about to appoint a small committee from his Executive Council to consider what reforms in this direction

1. Minto Correspondence, (India Office Library): Hare to Minto, September 1, 1906.

can be expediently carried forward.[1]

The speech caused considerable concern among the Muslims and Syed Husain Bilgrami (Imad-ul-Mulk) was one of the first to react. He wrote to the Resident of Hyderabad: "I see that Mr. Morley is going ahead in a most reckless manner. Ministers who know nothing of the conditions of life in India and yet wish to carry out their theories at any hazard can only bring about the ruin of the country ... I am afraid Mr. Morley knows more about Voltaire and eighteenth century Literature than the conditions of contemporary India."[2]

Aftab Ahmad Khan, Sir Mohamed Yakub, Haji Mohammad Ismail and other Muslim leaders approached Mohsin-ul-Mulk to represent the Muslim point of view to the Viceroy. On August 4, 1906, Mohsin-ul-Mulk wrote a letter to W.A.J. Archbold, the Principal of Aligarh College, who was staying in Simla during the summer vacation:

> You must have read and thought over Mr. John Morley's speech on the Indian Budget. It is very much talked of among the Mohammedans of India and is commonly believed to be a great success achieved by the 'National Congress'.
>
> You are aware that the Mohammedans already feel a little disappointed, and young educated Mohammedans seem to have a sympathy for the 'Congress'; and this speech will produce a greater tendency in them to join the 'Congress'. Although there is little reason to believe that any Mohammedans, except the young educated ones, will join that body, there is still a general complaint on their part that we (Aligarh people) take no part in politics, and do not safeguard the political rights of Mohammedans; they say that we do not suggest any plans for preserving their rights, and practically do nothing and care nothing for the Mohammedans beyond asking for funds to help the College. I have got several letters drawing attention particularly to the new proposal of 'elected representatives' in the Legislative Councils. They say that the existing rules confer no rights on Mohammedans, and no Mohammedans get into the Councils by election; every now and then Government nominates a stray Mohammedan or two by kindness, not, however, on the ground of his ability, but of his position, who is neither fit to discharge his duties in the Council, nor is he considered a true representative of his community. If the new rules now to be drawn up introduce 'election' on a more extended scale, the Mohammedans will hardly get a seat, while Hindus will carry off the palm by dint of their majority, and no Mohammedan will get into the Councils by election.

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1. *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, July 20, 1906, 4th Ser., v., 161, Col.587-88.
2. *Minto Papers*, letters and telegrams, 1906, Vol. II, No.25. (India Office Library).

It has also been proposed that a memorial be sumbitted to His Excellency the Viceroy to draw the attention of Government to a consideration of the rights of Mohammedans.

I feel it is a very important matter, and, if we remain silent, I am afraid, people will leave us to go their own way and act up to their own personal opinions.

Will you therefore inform me if it would be advisable to submit a memorial from the Mohammedans to the Viceroy, and to request His Excellency's permission for a deputation to wait on His Excellency to submit the views of Mohammedans on the matter?[1]

Mohsin-ul-Mulk also informed Viqar-ul-Mulk and other Muslim leaders that he had written to Archbold to enquire from the Viceroy as to whether he would receive a Muslim deputation which wished to submit a memorial.[2] At the same time, Mohsin-ul-Mulk wrote to Syed Ali Imam, Shah Din and Syed Hussain Bilgrami to draft this memorial.[3]

On August 8, 1906, Minto forwarded a copy of Mohsin-ul-Mulk's letter of August 4 to Morley, and added: "It was only put before me to-day and is important in illustrating the trend of Mohammedan thought, and the apprehension that Mohammedan interests may be neglected in dealing with any increase of representation on the Legislative Councils. I have not had time to think over the advisibility of receiving the proposed deputation, but am inclined to do so."[4] Archbold in a letter pressed Dunlop Smith, the Viceroy's Private Secretary, to get the Viceroy's approval for receiving the Muslim Deputation. Dunlop Smith in the meanwhile took a few other top Government people at Simla into confidence, and showed them Mohsin-ul-Mulk's letter. Some of them immediately agreed that the Viceroy should receive the deputation. On August 10, 1906, Denzil Ibbetson, a member of the Viceroy's Council wrote to Dunlop Smith that the Viceroy should receive the deputation. And later, on the same day, Dunlop Smith informed Archbold that the Viceroy would receive the deputation, and noted on Archbold's letter: "I have told him H.E. will agree to receive the Deputation ".[5] Archbold then wrote Mohsin-ul-Mulk his famous letter of August 10, 1906, which many have since made a point to quote without referring to what Mohsin-ul-Mulk had written on August 4, 1906.

Colonel Dunlop Smith, Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, informs me that His Excellency is agreeable to receive the Muslim Deputation. He advises that a formal letter requesting per-

1. Mohsin-ul-Mulk to Archbold, August 4, 1906. *Minto Papers.*
2. Rahman, Habibur, *Viqar-i-Hayat*, 1925, p.670.
3. Mohammad Amin Zuberi, *Makateeb, Nawab Mohsin-ud-Daula Mohsin-ul-Mulk*, letter No. 35, p.45.
4. *Morley Papers, op. cit.*, Vol. III.
5. *Minto Papers, op. cit.*, Correspondence, Vol. II, No.41.

mission to wait on His Excellency be sent to him. In this connection, I would like to make a few suggestions. The formal letter should be sent with the signatures of some representatives Musalmans. The deputation should consist of the representatives of all the provinces. The third point to be considered is the text of the address. I would here suggest that we begin with a solemn expression of loyalty. The Government decision to take a step in the direction of self-government should be appreciated. But our apprehension should be expressed that the principle of election, if introduced, would prove detrimental to the interest of the Muslim minority. It should respectfully be suggested that nomination or representation by religion be introduced to meet Muslim opinion. We should also say that in a country like India, due weight must be given to the views of zemindars.

Personally, I think it will be wise of the Muslims to support nomination, as the time of experiment with elections has not yet come. In elections it will be very difficult for the Muslims to secure their due share. But in all these views, I must be in the background. They must come from you . . . I can prepare for you the draft of the address or revise it. If it is prepared in Bombay, I can go through it as, you are aware, I know how to phrase these things in proper language. Please remember that if we want to organize a powerful movement in the short time at our disposal, we must expedite matters.[1]

On August 18, Mohsin-ul-Mulk, replying to another letter of Archbold, wrote:

Thanks for your letter of the 14th instant together with a draft of the formal application. I am sending it to a few of my friends, but I am sure nobody will like the opening phrases which give an assurance of deliberate aloofness from political agitation in the future. Probably also they will not like me to represent their cause to Government without the means of a political association. I shall, however, let you know what is decided.

I find that Mohammedan feeling is very much changed, and I am constantly getting letters using emphatic language and saying that the Hindus have succeeded owing to their agitation and the Mohammedans have suffered for their silence. The Mohammedans have generally begun to think of organizing a political association and forming themselves into political agitators. Although it is impossible for the Mohammedans, on account of their lack of ability and union

1. Mehta and Patwardhan, *The Communal Triangle in India*, Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1942, p.62; retranslated, from Urdu into English from Tufail Ahmad's *Musalmanon ka Roshan Mustaqbil;* Zuberi published only an extract from Archbold's original English letter in *Tazkara-i-Mohsin*, appendix No.19.

and want of funds, to attain any success like the Hindus, and they are likely to lose rather than gain by such a course, it is yet, impossible for anybody to stop them. The Mohammedans of Eastern Bengal have received a severe shock. I have got a letter from Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhry of Dacca which gives utterance to the extremely sorrowful feeling prevailing there.

These people generally say that the policy of Sir Syed and mine has done no good to Mohammedans. They say that Government has proved by its actions that without agitation there is no hope for any community and that if we can do nothing for them we must not hope to get any help for the College; in short the Mohammedans generally will desert us because the policy of the College is detrimental to their interests.

My dear Archbold, nobody can say that the present state of Mohammedan feeling is without justification. The Liberal Government is at the bottom of it, and is responsible for it. I consider it a wrong policy arising out of the ignorance of the real conditions in India. Mr. John Morley is a philosopher and might well have been contented to give lessons in philosophy; one cannot but feel sorry that the destiny of India has been placed in his hands. His policy has done a lot of injury to India and may do much more. Is it right for the Government to allow an important section of the Indian population, which has always supported and even depended on Government to safeguard its interests, to be disappointed and get up a spirit of agitation like the Hindus? I only hope that the Government of India will do something to subside the growing Mohammedan feeling and remedy their hopelessness.[1]

The Muslim leaders lost no time in organizing the deputation. The draft memorial prepared by Imad-ul-Mulk Syed Hussain Bilgrami, in collaboration with Mohsin-ul-Mulk and others, was discussed and finalized at a meeting of Muslim representatives at Lucknow on September 15-16, 1906. The Deputation consisting of 35 prominent Muslim leaders, led by the Aga Khan, was received by Minto on October 1, 1906. In the address, it was urged that the position accorded to the Muslim community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence, should be commensurate, not merely with their numerical strength, but also with their political importance and the value of their contribution to the defence of the Empire. It was pointed out that it could not be denied that the Muslims were a distinct community with additional interests of their own, which were not shared by other communities, and these had hitherto suffered from the fact that they had not been adequately

1. *Minto Papers*, *op. cit.*, Correspondence, Vol. II., Enclosure.

represented. On a more practical plane, the Deputation discussed the question of representation. Representative institutions of a European type were new to the Indian people; therefore the greatest care and caution were necessary if they were to be successfully adapted to the social and religious conditions obtaining in India. In the absence of such care and caution, their adoption might place Muslim interests at the mercy of an unsympathetic majority. The delegation suggested ways and means for safeguarding Muslim interests in municipal bodies and district boards, and the Imperial Legislative Council through separate electorates. The Viceroy in reply assured the Muslims that their political rights and interests as a community would be safeguarded in the electoral representation.[1]

Dr. Rajendra Prashad,[2] Lal Bahadur,[3] Ram Gopal[4] and other critics of Muslim policy have alleged that Archbold was the originator of the Deputation, and that inspiration for it came from Simla. Some of the authors have distorted Maulana Mohammad Ali's description of the Deputation as 'a command performance', and used it out of its context. In face of the events that did happen, and having regard to the documents now discovered, these allegations are baseless. Zafarul Islam,[4] M. D. Chaughtai,[6] Syed Razi Wasti[7] and Shamshad Ahmed Rana[8] have also conclusively clarified the position about the origin of the Deputation.

The allegations that Archbold was the originator and that the inspiration came from Simla are based on the assumption that Archbold's letter of August 10, 1906, set the ball rolling. The critics have quoted the letter pointedly without reference to the fact that it was written in reply to Mohsin-ul-Mulk's letter of August 4, 1906. It is also apparent from Minto's letter of August 8 to Morley that the Viceroy had not made up his mind to receive the delegation till then. Mohsin-ul-Mulk and his colleagues had rejected various suggestions Archbold had made for incorporation in the memorial, especially with regard to nomination—which again clearly shows that the Muslims were acting independently. Dunlop Smith's diary, in an entry dated November 11, 1907, records that Mohsin-ul-Mulk engineered the great

1. *Minto Papers*, *opt. cit.*, Vol. III.
2. Prashad, Rajendra, *India Divided*, Bombay, 1946, p. 112.
3. Bahadur, Lal, *Muslim League*, Agra, N.I., p.33
4. Gopal, Ram, *Indian Muslims*, Asia, Bombay, 1959, p. 97.
5. Islam, Zafrul, 'Two Historic letters' *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*, June 1960
6. Chaughtai, M.D., *Muslim Politics in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 1858-1916, Oxford University, unpublished D. Phil., Thesis, 1960, p. 248.
7. Wasti, S.R. *Lord Minto and the Indian Natonalist Movement*, Oxford University Press, London, 1964, p. 75.
8. Rana, S. A., unpublished dissertation for the degree of Master of Arts from the University of the Punjab, p.24.

Mohammedan Deputation almost single-handed.[1] Similar observations have been made by Lady Minto in her diary. In fact, some of the Hindu leaders of that time had welcomed the Viceroy's speech in reply to the address of the Muslim Deputation. Sir Ram Bahadur, who was till then a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council for the United Provinces, and himself a Congressite, wrote to Dunlop Smith in appreciation of all that the Governor-General had said to the Muslims.[2]

Maulana Mohammad Ali's description of the Deputation as a command performance is found in his Presidential Address delivered to the Indian National Congress at Cocanada on December 24, 1923:

> To follow the fashion of British journalists during the War, there is no harm now in saying that the Deputation was a command performance! It was clear that Government could no longer resist the demands of educated Indians, and, as usual, it was about to dole out to them a morsel that would keep them gagged for some years. Hitherto the Muslims had acted very much like the Irish prisoner in the dock who, in reply to the judge's inquiry whether he had any counsel to represent him in the trial, had frankly replied that he had certainly not engaged counsel, but that he had 'friends in the jury'! But now the Muslims' 'friends in the jury' had themselves privately urged that the accused should engage duly qualified counsel like all others. From whatever source the inspiration may have come, there is no doubt that the Muslim cause was this time properly advocated.[3]

The context in which the comment is made shows that the Maulana's description of the Deputation is not his considered opinion but a casual observation. The Maulana's verdict, however, was that the Muslims' cause was at that time properly advocated. In the *Green Book* compiled by the Maulana himself in 1906, it is stated:

> The result of these cogitations was the famous Deputation to Lord Minto that went to Simla on October 1, 1906. The Mohammedans had hitherto stood aloof from the one great political body in India, namely the Congress, because they did not trust the company they were invited to join, and they did not approve the methods of that body. But as the rulers of this country had, in pursuance of their own natural instincts and traditions found it expedient to give to representative institutions an increasingly important place in the government of the country, the Musalmans could not any longer in justice to their own national interests hold aloof from participating in

1. *Servant of India*, p.95.
2. Dass, M.N., *India Under Morley and Minto*, p.174
3. Iqbal Afzal, *Select Writings and Speeches of Maulana Mohamed Ali*. Lahore, 1944, p. 254.

the conditions to which the policy of their rulers had given rise.[1]

On January 7, 1909, the Maulana wrote a letter to Dunlop Smith about the Morley-Minto Reforms. The letter is significant, as it nowhere shows that the Maulana considered the demands put forward by the Deputation the result of a command from above.[2] In *My Life: A Fragment*, written by the Maulana in prison in 1922, it is stated:

> A great controversy which had gone on throughout the Morley-Minto Regime with regard to the claims of the Indian Musalmans to be represented as a community in the Legislatures, and the local bodies of the country, culminated the Reforms which recognized and to a great extent satisfied this claim. In this controversy, I had taken my full share, and I felt that I should now assist my community in taking its proper share in the political life of the country.[3]

In his last letter, written to the British Prime Minister on January 1, 1931, just two days before his death, the Maulana rightly recalled:

> Freedom for India is not separate electorates, though being one of the authors of the separate electorates in 1906, I shall be the last to surrender them. Let me first say what is the use of separate electorates. A separate electorate gives to the Muslim client in the case he is fighting the counsel that he selects himself and can trust. In every law court every client is permitted to do that even though sometimes he is provided with counsel at Government expense. The other party is certainly never allowed to choose his counsel for him. If there had been an independent and impartial judge all that we would have needed would have been a trustworthy counsel, and that was just what was provided a generation ago for us so wisely by Lords Morley and Minto.[4]

Professor R. Coupland is of the opinion that there is no evidence to suggest that the Deputation was in any sense engineered. He adds that "it was actually organized by the well-known Muslim leader, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, shortly before he died. Nor was the Muslim opposition to an unqualified representative system on the British model a novelty in 1906. As early as 1883, Syed Ahmed, speaking on Lord Ripon's introduction of elections to local bodies, declared that 'election pure and simple' was quite unsuited to diversified India where 'the rigour of religious institutions has kept even neighbours apart'."[5]

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1. *The Green Book*, p.6.
2. The manuscript letter is preserved in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, and reproduced by S.R. Wasti, *Pakistan Times*, May 29, 1966.
3. *My Life: A Fragment*, Lahore, 1942, p. 34.
4. Iqbal, Afzal, *op. cit.*, p. 478.
5. R. Coupland, *The Indian Problem*, 1833-1935, Part I, Oxford University Press, Madras, 1945, p.36.

In fact, evidence is now available which shows that as early as 1903 Muslim leaders were contemplating such a deputation. On January 18, 1903, Mohsin-ul-Mulk wrote to Viqar-ul-Mulk: "Moulvi Syed Hussain desires that a deputation should be sent to England to present an address to His Majesty the Emperor of India on behalf of the Muslims of India. The suggestion is excellent, but its implementation is extremely difficult."[1]

Recent Hindu authors have seen the origin of the Deputation in its proper perspective. Amales Tripathi has held that the Deputation was not a got up affair and the initiative came from the Muslims themselves.[2] M. S. Jain says: "The private papers of Lord Minto throw a flood of light on the whole question, and now it may be safely asserted that the British Government had no hand in the whole scheme of the Simla Deputation, except that it agreed to welcome and receive it. And if we bear in mind the memorandum drafted by the Muhammedan Defence Association, enumerating the Mohammedan demands in 1896, we would find that there was no material difference between the demands of 1896 and 1906. Thus keeping in view the above facts, it can be stated that the whole responsibility for the Deputation must rest on the Muslim community which planned and worked it. The Indian nationalists straightaway branded the Deputation of 1906 as a command performance without looking to the role which the Muslims played at that time."[3]

Further new evidence to this effect is also available from a letter of Syed Mohammed Zauqi[4] which has not been made public before now. Recalling his visit to India in 1905-6, when he accompanied the Prince of Wales on his tour of India, Zauqi records a series of talks he had with prominent Muslim leaders and also two Congress leaders. Syed Zauqi indicates that his conversation with Imad-ul-Mulk Syed Hussain Bilgrami, Viqar-ul-Mulk and Mohsin-ul-Mulk showed that young Muslims were restless and the need for a Muslim political organization was becoming increasingly evident. By March 1906, several proposals for a Muslim Congress were current, and it was also mentioned that Viqar-ul-Mulk had started such an organization. When it became known that the Minto-Morley Reforms were to be introduced, Syed Zauqi writes, "Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk utilized the opportunity, and as a stepping-stone in the direction of the permanent establishment of the proposed political association, he at once started organizing a Muslim Deputation to wait upon Lord Minto. He worked with lightning speed. Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk drafted the Memorial. Both the Nawabs received private assurances

1. Manuscript letter, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. N.M. 1968. 288/2.
2. Tripathi, Amales, *The Extremist Challenge*, Orient Longmans, Calcutta, 1967, p. 164.
3. Jain, M.S., *The Aligarh Movement*, pp. 153-156.
4. Manuseript letter of S. M. Zauqi to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, May 26, 1943. Copy supplied by Mr. Shaheedullah, son-in-law of Mr. Zauqi. The complete letter is reporduced in an appendix to Volume II.

that the Viceroy's reply would be sympathetic.'' Zauqi goes on to say that the whole thing was done very secretly for fear of the reactions of the Hindu press, but that the matter was well enough known to at least two Congress leaders. In Bombay, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta told him, ''You Mohammedans are about to have a Congress of your own. There is no reason why you should not have it. You shall have my sympathy and support. But I tell you one thing. Remember it well. Your moderates will be our extremists. You will give a lot of trouble to the Government and the Hindus. I shall be glad of it.'' And just about the eleventh hour of the Deputation, when he was again in Bombay, Zauqi reports that he met Gokhale, who told him every thing about the Deputation and gave him the contents of the Memorial as drafted by Imad-ul-Mulk. When Zauqi bluntly asked whether this was the result of Congress espionage, Gokhale said that he had received a copy of the Memorial officially from the Viceroy.

Groundwork for the Foundation of the Muslim League

As stated earlier, a meeting of Muslim representatives was held at Lucknow on September 15-16, 1906, to finalize the text of the address to be presented to the Viceroy. Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk used the opportunity furnished by such a representative gathering to arrange a discussion of the important question of an All-India Muslim organization to safeguard Muslim interests, and to counteract disruptive forces which were leading the country to chaos. The Muslim representatives then present at Lucknow met at the house of Raja Naushad Ali Khan. The account of the proceedings has been recalled by Mian Mohammad Shafi:

> The need for an organization having been unanimously admitted, the question next discussed was whther they were to begin by establishing district associations all over the country, and then proceed to build the fabric of the organization upwards, or on the other hand, to settle the constitution, make an immediate start by commencing with the central body, and proceed to work downwards to the lowest rung in the ladder. Mian Mohammad Shafi pointed out that however ideal the first of the two methods might be, it was, in practice, almost impossible to carry it out with any real advantage to the national cause. On the contrary, it would involve an inordinate amount of delay and the widely scattered efforts made in carrying it out might, in the end, result in an absolute waste of national and individual energies. Meanwhile, there was need for immediate action and any further delay on our part was fatal to our communal interests as well as to the causes of law and order. The right way to proceed was to take advantage of the annual gathering of Muslim representatives from all parts of the country during the Christmas holidays, on the occasion of the anniversary of the All-India Mohammedan Educational Confe-

rence, lay the foundation of an All-India political organization at once, devise a constitution, and call upon provincial leaders to complete the whole plan as soon as possible. After some discussion, all present agreed to the adoption of this method of action and Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk were elected provisional Secretaries to carry out the plan decided in the meeting.

The question of a suitable name for the proposed organization was next taken up. Mian Mohamed Shafi wrote the words 'Muslim League' on a slip of paper and passed it on to Aftab Ahmad Khan, who, having given a nod of assent to the proposal, showed the paper to Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk. With their consent, the proposed name was placed before the meeting, and unanimously adopted. Further discussion of the matter was postponed till the meeting of the All-India Deputation at Simla.[1]

After the Muslim Deputation had presented its address at the Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on October 1, the members of the Deputation met at Nabha House; and after some discussion, the proposals of the Lucknow meeting were adopted.[2]

Apart from the proposals made by the Deputation in the meetings at Lucknow and Simla respectively, Mohsin-ul-Mulk had received a large number of suggestions from Muslim leaders and associations, including one from the Muslim League of the Punjab, which had been established by Fazl-i-Husain in February 1906,[3] and was the first organization to call itself the Muslim League.[4]

According to Syed Nawab Ali, the meeting at Simla had decided to form a central organization for the Muslims of India under the name of 'Confederacy'.[5] The Aga Khan's version is found in the letter he wrote to Mohsin-ul-Mulk on October 4, 1906:

> Perhaps I may be allowed as one who took part in the recent Deputation to H.E. the Viceroy to make a few suggestions as to the future. The whole of the Mohammedan community have taken the keenest interest in the movement, and they look to us to try our best to ensure that the objects which were set forth in the address may be ultimately secured.
>
> It may be well that the provincial associations should be formed with the aim of safeguarding the political interests of Mohammedans

1. Mian Mohammad Shafi, Address to the Punjab Muslim League Conference, *Cilvil & Military Gazette*, October 23, 1909.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Azim Hussain, *Fazl-i-Husain*, p.96.
4. Noman, *Muslim India*, p. 64.
5. Manuscript letter dated November 22, 1906, written from Calcutta by Syed Nawab Ali to Mohsin-ul-Mulk.

in the various portions of India, and similarly some central organization for the whole. On these matters I do not wish to pronounce an opinion. They are best left, I think, to the discretion of the leaders in the days that are to come.

But as the Deputation was formed with a view to the securing of certain definite objects of the most vital interest to Mohammedans as a whole, I venture to regard its work as begun only, and it seems to me from every point of view important that it should without delay continue its labours until complete success has crowned its efforts. To this end, I would suggest that the Deputation which presented the address resolve itself into a committee to endeavour to obtain the granting of the various prayers which the address embodied. This Mohammedan Committee for the completion of the work of the Deputation might, if it were thought necessary, add to its numbers, though I would suggest, in the interest of the rapid carrying out of its business, that this should be done sparingly. I am sure also that I express what is the wish of all my fellow-Mohammedans when I ask you to continue to act as Secretary of this committee.

Please circulate my letter among the members of the Deputation.

P.S. I further suggest that if any of the members of the Committee be absent or unable to give proper attention, the other members should act without consulting him. However, this should not mean his resignation but only his inability to be of service for the time being. Such an absent or indisposed member, unless directly asked to resign or he himself resigns, will continue to be a permanent member of the Committee.[1]

On October 29, the Aga Khan conveyed the following information to Dunlop Smith:

In order to reach the definite objects mentioned by the Deputation in the petition to H.E. the Viceroy, I have asked all the members of the Simla Deputation to form into a permanent committee; and I have given to my old friend Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, who as you know is a most loyal and zealous Mohammedan, certain instructions regarding the methods by which he is to proceed during my absence. I have also asked him not to move in any matter before first finding out if the step to be taken has the full approval of Government privately, as otherwise unintentionally he might be led to do something or other that would leave the Government in an inconvenient situation. He is going to be the Honorary Secretary of this informal committee, and we cannot have a better or more trustworthy man.

Syed Ameer Ali, who founded the Central National Mohammedan

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1. Noman, *Muslim India*, p.73.
2. *Minto Papers*, *op. cit*, Correspondence Vol. II, No.126.

Association in 1877, and had since been urging the Muslims to organize themselves into a distinct political group, again emphasized the need of a political party. In November 1906, Syed Ameer Ali wrote an article on the Memorial of the Muslim Deputation, and observed that while the Hindus possessed powerful institutions for safeguarding their rights and privileges, the Indian Musalmans were suffering acutely from inanition. "The associations that exist in different parts of the country possess no solidarity, and display no conception of the essential requirements of the community. There is no concerted action to prevent the further decline of their people, to promote their advancement, to place before Government their considered views on public matters, or to obtain relief from the mischiefs arising from the misunderstanding of their laws and customs."[1]

It is, therefore, clear that by 1906 Muslim leaders had come to the conclusion that they should have an independent organization to secure independent political recognition from the British Government.

Nawab Salimullah's Scheme for a Muslim Confederacy

Nawab Salimullah of Dacca, who could not join the Simla Deputation because of an eye operation, took the first concrete step towards establishing a Muslim organization. In November 1906, he circulated a scheme for the formation of the Muslim All-India Confederacy. The scheme was the embryo from which the Muslim League emerged. The relevant text of Nawab Salimullah Khan's letter is as follows:

1. This day being the birthday of His Majesty our most gracious King Emperor, I think it an auspicious occasion for me to-day to place before my Mohammedan brethren my views on the project of our Muslim All-India Confederacy.
2. Owing to my inability to attend the All-India Mohammedan Deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy at Simla, I penned a few notes for the information of my brother delegates on the advisability of forming a Central Mohammedan Association for all India, which could bring into touch the aims and aspirations of our community throughout the country.
3. These notes were, I learnt, discussed at an informal meeting of those present at Simla and it was proposed, without coming to any definite resolution, that the matter should be finally settled at the All-India Mohammedan Educational Conference at Dacca during the Christmas week next December, and in the meantime the scheme, as drafted, may be submitted for discussions to all our various Mohammedan associations and societies, as well as

1. Ameer Ali, *Dawn of a New Policy in India*, *The Ninteenth Century and After*, November 1906, reproduced by K.K. Aziz in *Ameer Ali, His life and Work*, Lahore, 1968, p. 221.

to those pre-eminent amongst our co-religionists, for their collective and individual opinion and advice.

4. I have, therefore, in view of the discussion that took place at Simla, enlarged these notes, and now submit them to our Association, friends and co-religionists in the various parts of the country, as well as to the press for favour of *bona fide*, honest and fearless discussion, which may lead us to a *modus operandi* for the establishment of an institution of the character I propose should be formed. I shall, therefore, feel obliged to those associations which will be sending their delegates and those gentlemen representing their provinces who will be pleased to attend the Conference at Dacca, if these gentlemen come fully authorized to express the views of the associations and provinces, so that our deliberations, as much as possible, may voice the voice of the whole Muslim community.

5. From the information I received, I find the majority of those present at the informal meeting, as well as others consulted at Simla, were in favour of a central All-India association of the kind sketched out by me in my notes; but I desire that every consideration should be paid to the views of the minority, so that after full deliberation, those whom we may not for the present succeed in fully getting into agreement with us, will nevertheless merge their individual differences and heartily co-operate with the majority for the common good of Islam and our community.

6. It was hinted by some that there was no necessity for any such Central Association, inasmuch as it would crippple and starve the local associations, and instead of a central association, local associations should be formed where none at present exist. But if anything, a central association of the kind I propose will be the very medium of starting, where none is in existence, and fostering a local association, or the necessity for the same being established. While a very few seem to have a fear that a central association of the kind we want would interfere with such a centre of Mohammedan life as is now bound up with the Aligarh College and Institute, one of the chief principles of its noble founder, laid down for our guidance, being to avoid all politics. But while the central association will, I trust, be the means of not only enlarging the usefulness and scope of the Aligarh College, it will be able, I hope, to find time to establish institutions in each province on lines laid down by the Aligarh College. While as regards politics, there can be no question that, unless we desire to be left back in the race for life, we must march with the times. The noble foundations of the Aligarh College were

laid 25 years ago and the institute has achieved its purpose but to keep up its ability and usefulness, we have to enter into the next stage of our political life of the country and nation; and I only desire that full and earnest consideration may be given by my co-religionists to the scheme which has claimed my attention for some time, and to such other schemes as may be submitted for our consideration, so that we may come, after full deliberation, to something that will advance the well-being of our community.

7. *The Necessity of a Central Association*:

To the majority of my countrymen, I believe, the necessity of a central association is fully established; the key-note of it was struck by our All-India Deputation to the Viceroy where in the address we have stated as follows: Still it cannot be denied that we Mohammedans are a distinct community with additional interests of our own, which are not shared by other communities, and these have suffered from the fact that they have not been adequately represented.

And it is hardly possible that these additional interests, peculiarly our own, can be safeguarded and protected unless there is a central authority to which the Government can look for aid and advice, and it would not be out of place to quote here the remarks of the *Times of India*. In its article on the Mohammedan Deputation to the Viceroy it states, "it may be hoped that one result of the unity of feelings thus aroused amongst Muslims will be that they will be able to express, from time to time, as occasion requires, the views of the community which is in many respects distinct, with, as the Memorial said, additional interests of its own which are not shared by any other community." The *Times of India* foreshadows what is really being felt by thoughtful members of our community: that the authorities are getting bewildered owing to the multiplicity of Muslim associations now coming into existence, and our young men, in various parts of the country, assuming to speak on behalf of the whole Muslim community of India, and on many occasions, which I need not here mention, in direct opposition and conflict to each other. I am aware of several instances wherein untold mischief has occurred through irresponsible Mohammedan gentlemen, and associations sprung up and were created by some (who really at heart have no regard for our community) for the sole purpose of establishing their own political importance, addressing Government and the public, without anyone to question their right to do so . . . Of course Government cannot refuse to receive any representation from any corporate body or

individual, however distinguished or undistinguished they or he may be, yet such representation fails to carry weight owing to the authorities not knowing how far the views contained therein are consonant with the views of the Muslim community as a whole. And even when such views are adopted by the authorities, they fail in receiving respectful concurrence from the Muslims in general, as being the views of only some particular associations or individuals, and more or less misleading, thereby causing much harm to the Muslim community as a whole. Hence if there were an All-India association of the kind I propose, Government will be able to refer to it all such representations as may be received by the authorities, to ascertain the views of the community in general before finally passing orders thereon; and there will then be no danger of any party or parties misrepresenting the facts to serve individual interests.

8. *The Aims and Objects of the Association*:

It is absolutely necessary that the aims and objects of the Association should be definitely stated; and although I am sure I shall not receive any hearty support from some of my co-religionists, yet I for one honestly believe that the time has come when, if the Association is to be a force and power for good, it must at the very outset lay down its policy and object and I would do so as follows:

That the sole object and purpose of the Association shall be, whenever possible, to support all measures emanating from the Government and to protect the cause and advancement of the interest of our co-religionists throughout the country.

9. How this is to be done I show below:

Name: A suitable name is one of the greatest desiderata of an institution such as we contemplate, and after a careful consideration of several appellations, I think, The Mohammedan All-India Confederacy would suit us best, as the Association would be the mouth-piece of all the various Muslim institutions, social, religious and political, as well as of the leading men throughout the country, who will have allied themselves together for the one common object of protecting the interests and advancing the cause of their co-religionists.

The Object or Raison d'etre :

(a) To controvert the growing influence of the so-called Indian National Congress, which has a tendency to misinterpret and subvert the British Rule in India, or which may lead to that deplorable situation, and (b) to enable our young men of education, who, for want of such an association, have joined the

Congress Camp, to find scope to exercise their fitness and ability for public life.

10. From the trend of the discussion at Simla, there is, I believe, some disinclination to state our object and reason in this bold and blunt manner, as it will, it is contended, arouse the ire and anger of our Hindu brethren. But I think that time has come when we must no longer mind matters . . . we must not stand upon sentiment—it is mere sentiment that is causing such havoc and misery in the present partition of Bengal. And the question that we, the Mohammedans, must honestly discuss and decide is whether the policy now openly declared by those who are termed 'extremists' is one conducive to the maintenance of the British Raj; and if, as we must hold, it is not, we must then consider whether those gentlemen forming the 'Extremist Party' do or do not form part and parcel of the Indian National Congress, and unless the Congress is an open and public assembly, and by a resolution disassociates itself from the views of this party, we Mohammedans cannot countenance or be associated with the Congress. We are sorry, but cannot deny that the so-called Indian National Congress has become a potent voice in the counsels of the country. We must therefore, as true and loyal subjects of the British Raj, do our utmost to controvert and thwart that influence which it has attained, when we find it working for the destruction of all that we hold dear . . .

There is no doubt that many of our young educated Mohammedans find themselves shoved off the line of official preferment and promotion, unless they join, or at least show sympathy with, the Congress Party. All our Mohammedan newspapers are full of the cry that there is now-a-days not the same dearth of Mohammedan graduates and under-graduates as before, but they are passed over (in fact this was pointedly alluded to in the All-India address to the Viceroy) on the ground that they do not come up 'to the Government standard of efficiency'. The Executive Committee of the Confederacy will be in constant communication with all the local associations, and will watch the career of our promising young men, who will no longer look to the Congress for their advancement in life.[1]

The Bengalee strongly criticized Nawab Salimullah's scheme and hoped that the Muslims would not agree to it. It did not even like the name: "The Muslim All-India Confederacy, reminds us of the Mahratha Confederacy of old and the Khalsa Confederacy of more recent times. Why should the Nawab assume a bellicose name when sycophancy is to be the

1. *The Bengalee*, December 14, 1906.

watchword of the Association?"[1] The *Times of India* considered his circular 'ill-advised and indiscreet', though it appreciated the need for an association to unify the activities of the numerous Muslim associations in existence.[2] *The Beharee* characterized the scheme as "hopelessly preposterous" and calculated to embitter the relations between Hindus and Muslims. It hoped that none of the Muslims would associate with "the Salimullah tomfoolery".[3] *The Pioneer* thought that "the Mohammedan community do need an authoritarian medium for the expression of their views. Failing it, the legitimate influence they should exercise is often lost".[4] *The Englishman* expressed similar views. It published a letter by one 'J.B.', who liked the Nawab's scheme and suggested that the formation of such a Muslim political association was essential in the country's interest.[5]

Birth of the Muslim League

In December 1906, Nawab Salimullah's scheme became the basis of discussion among the Muslim leaders who had assembled from all parts of India to attend the All-India Mohammedan Education Conference at Dacca. Sir Rafiuddin Ahmad, one of the delegates present, recalled: "His scheme was not adopted in its entirety as the phraseology of parts of the document did not seem quite happy to the majority of the delegates, and the term *confederacy* grated on the ears of not a few. The spirit of the Nawab's scheme was, however, adopted and the essence approved. Therefore the object, the establishment of a central political organization for Muslims, was achieved."[6] Eventually, a public meeting of the Muslim leaders was held on December 30, 1906. Viqar-ul-Mulk presided. On the motion of Nawab Salimullah, it was decided that a political association be formed styled All-India Muslim League, for the furtherance of the following objects:

(a) to promote among the Musalmans of India, feelings of loyalty to the British Government, and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of the Government with regard to any of its measures;

(b) to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India, and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government;

(c) to prevent the rise, among the Musalmans of India, of any feeling of hostility towards other communities, without prejudice to the other aforementioned objects of the League.

The establishment of the Muslim League evoked mixed feelings in the

1. *Ibid.*
2. *The Times of India*, December 18, 1906.
3. *The Beharee*, December 21, 1906.
4. *The Pioneer*, December 14, 1906.
5. *The Englishman*, September 27, 1906.
6. *The Englishman*, January 4, 1907.

Indian Press. *The Englishman* thought it would provide an effective answer to the Congress, as well as afford an avenue for the publication of Mohammedan aspirations, and remarked that "it is high time that the Mohammedans of India found a voice".[1] The *Times of India* and the *Daily Telegraph* of Lucknow welcomed its formation. *The Bengalee* attacked the League and its organizers, and predicted that "it will, if it seeks to fulfil its mission, fraternize with the Congress, and eventually coalesce with it. If not, it will go the way of the Patriotic Association of the late Sir Syed Ahmad."[2]

Only a section of the British Press noticed the birth of the Muslim League. *The Times* welcomed the change, not so much as a mark of Muslim progress or unity, but as an inevitable outcome of the Congress movement, and as an exposure of the hollowness of the pretensions of Congress to speak for all of India. It reminded the more cautious agitators that agitation was a game that provoked counter-agitation, and that the counter-agitation might be conducted by the most warlike races of the Peninsula. Despite the pacific language of its founders, *The Times* doubted if the League's establishment would make for peace.[3] The *Spectator*, while admitting that the objects of the League were excellent, did not like the "feeling among Muslims that they must organize in a camp by themselves. That is the real danger of the National Congress, as we have already pointed out—that in agitating for union it makes for racial disunion."[4] *The Morning Post* warned the League to remain "entirely defensive and protective", and any deviation from its path "will call at once for the most drastic intervention of the British rulers."[5] *The Contemporary Review* accorded a warm welcome to the League, analysed its aims and objects, and contrasted its constitutional and loyal approach with the Congress policy of violence. The founding of the League was ascribed to the Muslim conviction—after the agitators' successful attempt at the removal of Sir Bamfylde Fuller—that only by agitation could the Government be reached. "The Rubicon has been crossed", it declared, "the Muslims of India have forsaken the shades of retirement for the political arena; henceforth a new factor in Indian politics has to be reckoned with."[6]

Lord Ronaldshay believes that the birth of the Muslim League was the result of a simple but vital problem: how was a system of government which predicated homogeniety of population to be adjusted to meet the case of a population whose outstanding characteristic was its heterogeneity.[7] Mr. Spear is of the opinion that the League was founded in response to the Hindu

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1. *The Englishman*, January 1, 1907
2. *The Bengalee*, January 8, 1907.
3. *The Times*, January 2, 1902.
4. *The Spectator*, January 5, 1907.
5. *The Morning Post*, January 19, 1907.
6. *Contemporary Review*, September, 1907.
7. Ronaldshay, *India: A Bird's Eye View*, p. 239.

agitation against the partition of Bengal, and that since then the vitality of Muslim separatism was in direct proportion to the militancy of Hinduism.[1] Dr. K.K. Aziz feels that the Muslim League is the child of four factors: First, the old belief uttered by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan that the Muslims were somehow a separate entity; secondly, the Hindu character of the Indian National Congress, which did not allow the Muslims to associate themselves with other Indians; thirdly, the agitation against the partition of Bengal, which suggested Hindu designs of domination over Muslims; and finally, the Muslim desire to have their own exclusive electorates for all representative institutions.[2] According to Mr. B.B. Majumdar, had the plan of Syed Ameer Ali and the Central Mohammedan Association to convene the Conference of All-India Muslim leaders matured in 1877, the history of the Muslim League would have been anticipated twenty years earlier.[3] Mr. M. S. Jain describes the League as a child of the Aligarh Movement. "If one looks at the activities of Sir Syed's Defence Association during 1894-96, we would find that it was the true predecessor of the Muslim League, and it asked in 1896 what the Simla Deputation asked for in 1906. The Muslim League had been founded in accordance with Sir Syed's scheme of a separate Muslim existence."[4]

The Muslim Response

The new party was well received by the Muslims of the Subcontinent; and very soon branches were set up at various places.[5] The first session of the Muslim League was held at Karachi on December 29-30, 1907. Sir Adamjee Peerbhoy presided. The Constitution of the All-India Muslim League was settled in this First Session. A maximum of 400 members was fixed, and the bulk of those who formed the Simla Deputation were amongst its first members. At a special meeting of the Council of the League, held at Aligarh on March 18, 1908, the Aga Khan was elected Permanent President of the Muslim League and Syed Husain Bilgrami, the Honorary Secretary.

A very tricky situation had arisen in the Punjab, where two Leagues were established. One was formed by Mian Fazl-i-Husain in February 1906, the other by Mian Mohammad Shafi on December 4, 1907.[6] The Aligarh meeting also dealt with the problem of squaring up the differences between the two Provincial Leagues in the Punjab. Mian Mohammad Shafi presented the names of 24 members, and Mian Fazl-i-Husain of 18, to constitute the Executive Committee of the Punjab Provincial League. After long discussions it was dicided that the two of them should confer together and arrive at a

1. Spear, P., *India, Pakistan and the West*, p.207.
2. Aziz, K.K., *The Making of Pakistan*, p. 29.
3. Majumdar, B.B., *Op. cit.*, p. 227.
4. M.S. Jain, the Aligarh Movement p. 158.
5. *The Englishman*, December 5, 1907.
6. *Ibid.*

unanimous decision to submit the names of 24 members; and this was in fact done.[1] The two Provincial Leagues were merged into one, with Mian Shah Din as President, Mian Mohammad Shafi, General Secretary, and Mian Fazl-i-Husain, Joint Secretary.[2]

The Bihar Provincial League was set up in March 1908, the President and Secretary of which were Syed Ali Imam and Mazhar-ul-Haque respectively. The Provincial Muslim League for Eastern Bengal was constituted at Dacca, and Moulvi Kazimuddin was elected its President and the Nawab of Dacca its Secretary. The Nawab established District Leagues in Eastern Bengal and Assam.[3] Poona became the seat of the Deccan Provincial Muslim League. In addition to being the President of the All-India Muslim League, the Aga Khan was elected its President as well, and Sir Rafiuddin became its Secretary. Seth Yakub Husain established the Madras League. Raja Naushad Ali Khan organized the Provincial League in the United Provinces. In Western Bengal, Nawab Nasir Husain Khan took the initiative. Haji Riazuddin Ahmad was authorized by the Central League to organize a District League in Oudh.[4] Muhammad Yusuf Khan was deputed to the Central Provinces to organize branches of the League. Raja Azim Shah was chosen as the President of the Provincial League of the Central Provinces, and H. M. Muhammad as its Secretary.[5]

In May 1908, the London Branch of the All-India Muslim League was founded, with Syed Ameer Ali as the President, and Ibni Ahmad as the Honorary Secretary. The Committee of 14 included Dr. Mohammad Iqbal and Dr. M. A. Ansari as members.

Separate Electorates

On March 24, 1908, the Muslim League submitted a memorandum to the Viceroy giving its reactions to the scheme for the creation of Imperial and Provincial Councils as propounded in the Government of India's letter of August 24, 1907. The Memorandum said that the principle of class representation in the Legislative Councils was entirely in accord with the sentiments of the Muslim Community.[6]

In the meantime, Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, had appointed a Reform Committee of his Council to consider the question of Indian electorates and Muslim representation. The Committee accepted the scheme presented by Lord MacDonnell and recommended:

1. *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, March 18, 1908.
2. Hussain, Azim, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
3. *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, August 26, 1908.
4. *Ibid.*, July 22, 1908.
5. Hasan, Mirza Akhtar, *Tarikh-i-Muslim League*, Bombay, 1940, p.18.
6. Enclosure XXVI to Government of India's letter of October 10, 1908, East India Advisory and Legislative Councils. Cd. 4436 (1908).

> The Committee think that the best plan for securing the representation of the Mohammedan community (as of all other communities) in the various Councils would be a system of electoral colleges, and cumulative voting in case of minor minorities, whereby the representation of each great division of the population in accordance with its proportion to the whole pupulation would be preserved; such a system to be supplemented, when necessary, by nomination.

Thereafter the Secretary of State announced his proposals which threw the scheme for separate electorates overboard, and replaced it with joint electoral colleges to which a fixed proportion of Muslims and Hindus, in the ratio of population, would be returned. These electoral college members would then elect representatives to the legislatures of the province for the two communities, also in proportion to population ratios. The proposals were published on December 17, 1908. At its Amritsar Session (December 1908), the Muslim League viewed the electoral college scheme with great alarm, and its President, Syed Ali Imam, denounced it as dangerous, and the Session's Resolution III confirmed this.

On January 27, 1909, a deputation of the London Branch of the Muslim League, led by Syed Ameer Ali, waited upon Morley, and presented an address in which the demand for separate electorates was reiterated and emphasized.[1] The result of all this agitation by the Muslims was that Morley made a more definite statement in February 1909, when moving the second reading of the Indian Councils Bill. Soon Asquith announced in the House of Commons:

> Undoubtedly, there will be a separate register for Muslims. To us here at first sight it looks an objectionable thing, because it discriminates between people and self-segregates them in classes based on religion, but it cuts deep down into traditions of a historic past, and is also differentiated by the habit and social customs of the communities.[2]

Eventually, in May 1909, the Indian Councils Act of 1909 was enacted, conceding separate electrorates to the Muslims. Thus, the efforts of the Muslim League met with great success.

The Muslim League held its Third Annual Session in January 1910 at Delhi. In the absence of Syed Ameer Ali, the Prince of Arcot Presided. The Aga Khan, in his presidential address, observed: "For the maintenance of our due share in the political life in this country, and for the removal of an old-standing exclusion, which formed a bone of contention between the Hindus and Mohammedans, the separate electorate for Musalmans was deemed to be an absolute necessity. Now that we have secured it, I hope it will result in a permanent political sympathy and a genuine working *entente cordiale* between the members of the two great sister communites."[3] The Fourth Session

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1. For text, see Aziz, K.K., *Ameer Ali*, *op. cit.*, p. 315.
2. *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 1909, Vol. III, pp. 529-537.
3. cf. p. 94.

of the Muslim League was held towards the end of 1910 at Nagpur; and one of its resolution (VI) declared that the principle of communal representation should be extended to Municipal and district board and other self-governing public bodies.

Annulment of the Partition of Bengal

The Muslim reaction to the Reforms embodied in the Act of 1909 was, in general, one of acceptance and co-operaion. But the Muslim rejoicing was not destined to last very long. The annulment of the Partition of Bengal in November 1911 came as a rude shock to them. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk wrote that the action of the Government in reversing the Partition had proved conclusively that no reliance could be placed in their plighted word. He also referred to the feelings of disappointment and disillusionment caused among the Muslims by the Government's decision and their drift towards the Congress. "By this decision", he wrote, "Government displayed improper indifference to the Muslims, and the result is that some educated Muslims have begun to say that it is not in the Muslim interest to keep aloof from the Hindus. They suggest that we should say goodbye to the Muslim League and join the Indian National Congress; and this is what the Congress has been after for many years."[1] Nawab Salimullah, the President of the Muslim League Session held at Calcutta in March 1912, said: "The annulment of the Partition had all the appearance of a ready concession to the clamours of an utterly seditious agitation. It has appeared to put a premium on sedition and disloyalty, and created an impression in the minds of the irresponsible masses that even the Government can be brought down on its knees by a reckless and persistent defiance of constituted authority".[2] Apart from the annulment of Partition, armed conflict in Iran, the Balkan war, the failure of the British to establish a university of the desired pattern at Aligarh, and Britain's anti-Turkish policies compelled the Muslims to revise their policies towards the British Government.

Congress-League Co-operation

It was in these circumstances that the more radical section of the Muslims found it easy to push the Muslim League nearer to the Congress. Even the conservative Muslims favoured a rapprochement with the Hindus in order to put pressure on the British Government at least to modify its anti-Turkish policy. Meeting at Bankipur on December 31, 1912, under the Presidency of the Aga Khan,[3] the Council of the League passed a resolution which recommended that the aims of the League should be:

(1) To promote and maintain among Indians feelings of loyalty towards the British Crown;

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1. Mehrotra, *India and the Commonwealth*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1965, p. 185.
2. Cf. p. 237.
3. Cf. p. 258.

(2) To protect and advance the political and other rights and interests of the Indian Musalmans;

(3) To promote friendship and union between the Musalmans and other communities of India; and

(4) Without detriment to the foregoing objects, the attainment of a system of self-government suitable to India, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration; by promoting national unity and fostering a public spirit among the people of India; and by co-operating with other communities for the said purposes.

At its Sixth Annual Session held on March 22-23, 1913, at Lucknow, under the Chairmanship of Mian Mohammad Shafi, the League ratified the change in the creed of the organization as recommended by its Council.

Although Mr. M. A. Jinnah had by that time not yet become a member of the Muslim League, he attended both the Council meeting and the Sixth Session as a special guest. It was mainly through his efforts that the creed of the League was changed, and the above resolution was passed, emphasizing the promotion of harmonious relationships and co-operation among the various Indian communities. An interesting feature of this League Session was that it was attended by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and many other Hindu leaders.

A Congress resolution, adopted at its annual session held at Karachi in December 1913, expressed its warm appreciation of the adoption by the All-India Muslim League of the ideal of self-government for India within the British Empire, and endorsed the plea of the League for harmonious co-operation between the two communities.

While the events in the various Islamic countries were engaging the attention of the Musalmans, at home there occurred a tragedy, commonly known as the Cawnpore (Kanpur) Mosque Affair. The Muslim League Session held at Agra condemned the attitude of the officials who were responsible for this tragedy.

By now the radicals among the Muslim leadership were able to capture the All-India Muslim League. This opened a gulf between the new generation of radicals and the old of moderates. Towards the end of 1913, Maulana Mohammad Ali and Syed Wazir Hasan, Secretary of the Muslim League, visited London to explain Indian Muslim opinion on the Mosque Affair and other matters.

In London an unfortunate controversy took place between Maulana Mohammad Ali, Syed Wazir Hasan, and Syed Ameer Ali, over certain matters regarding the procedure and form of the representation to be made. Ameer Ali was of the opinion that the London Branch of the League should function as an autonomous body. This attitude was resented by Maulana Mohammad Ali, Wazir Hasan, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and other leaders of the Central League. Ameer Ali resigned from the Presidentship of the London Branch,

but was subsequently prevailed upon to come back. A little later the Aga Khan resigned from the presidency of the All-India Muslim League. In the letter of resignation, he hinted at numerous reasons, public as well as private, but did not propose to cut himself away from the League. "Resignation" he said, "frees me from that necessarily judicial character that attaches to the Presidency. The League does not need a leader but leaders."

Maulana Mohammad Ali and Wazir Hasan induced Jinnah, who was in England as a member of the Congress delegation, to sign the League pledge. Recalling Jinnah's enrolment in the Muslim League, Sarojini Naidu wrote:

> His two sponsors were required to make a solemn preliminary covenant that loyalty to the Muslim League and Muslim interest would in no way and at no time imply even the shadow of disloyalty to the larger national cause to which his life was dedicated[1]

The outbreak of the First World War further radicalized Muslim opinion in India. The participation of Turkey on the side of Germany placed the Indian Musalmans in a very awkward position. The Ali Brothers and several other Muslim leaders were interned. The activities of Government had an adverse effect on the feelings of Indian Muslims. The rapid change in their outlook was best manifested in the Eighth Session of the League held in 1915. That year the Congress was to hold its session at Bombay. Jinnah sent an invitation to the All-India Muslim League to hold its annual session at the same place and during the same time. It was a unique idea, which according to Maulana Mohammad Ali had been suggested by him and his brother.[2] A number of forces worked against it; but the Council of the League accepted Jinnah's proposal, and the sessions of the Congress and the League were held contemporaneously at Bombay. Writing on the Congress League *rapprochement* and comparing the tone of the addresses of the two Presidents Maulana Mohammad Ali humorously remarked:

> So rapid had been the progress of the Musalmans that a mildewed critic from among their own community observed that Lord Sinha, the Bengali President of the Bombay Session of the Indian National Congress, had travelled thither by the same train as his Bihari neighbour and brother-lawyer who presided over the Muslim League, and the two had borrowed one another's Presidential Addresses in order to compare notes. But, said the critic with more wit than wisdom, the two Presidents forgot to take back their own productions; and by an irony of fate Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haque had read to his Muslim audience as his own the pungent oration characteristic of the Bengali, and Lord Sinha had done likewise and read to the congress delegates the

1. Sarojini Naidu, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah: An Ambassador of Hindu Muslim Unity*, Madras 1917, p.11.
2. Iqbal, Afzal: *Select Writings and Speeches of Maulana Mohammed Ali*, Ashraf, Lahore, 1963, Second Edition, Vol. II, p. 134.

cautious and halting address of the 'ever loyal' Muslim.[1]

Many prominent Congress leaders, including Sinha, Suıendra Nath Bannerji, Annie Besant, Pandit Malviya, Sarojini Naidu and Gandhi, were present at the League Session as guests. Long before the meeting began, 50 police officers took up their places within the hall and outside. There were a few holigan outbursts at the beginning of the Session, but the audience settled down and listened[2]. On the second day, when Mr. Jinnah rose to move a resolution for the appointment of a Committee in order to formulate India's political demands in consultation with the Congress leaders, there was an uproar and the meeting was broken up under the very nose of the police. In fact it was with their connivance that the trouble began[3]. The rest of the proceedings were conducted at the Taj Mahal Hotel. The Bombay Session brought the League and Congress very close and the Congress reciprocated the League gesture by authorizing the All-India Congress Committee to confer with the League Council and frame a joint scheme for self-government. Consequently, discussions were initiated in April 1916 at Allahabad, and concluded at a joint-meeting of the Congress Committee and the League Council in October 1916 at Calcutta.

In 1916 both the Congress and the League again held their annual sessions at the same time and place—this year at Lucknow. Jinnah, presiding over the League Session, pointed out that the League had stood abreast of the Congress "ready to participate in any patriotic effort for the advance of the country as a whole." The two organizations arrived at an arrangement, called the Lucknow Pact on the future Constitution of India. The Congress accepted separate electorates, not only where they had already existed, but also for their introduction in the Punjab and the Central Provinces, where they had not been adopted. Another feature of the Pact was that the Hindus and Muslims were to have weightage in provinces where they formed minorities. The Muslims agreed to forego a quarter of the seats to which they would have been entitled on the basis of their population in Bengal. In the Punjab they were to surrender one-tenth of their seats. On the other hand, at the centre, one-third of the seats were allotted to the Muslims. No bill or resolution affecting a community was to be proceeded with in any Council if three-fourths of the representatives of that community were opposed to it.

In July 1917, a joint meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League and the All-India Congress Committee was held in Bombay. It was resolved that a petition be submitted to Parliament in support of the Scheme of Reforms adopted by the Congress and the League. It was also demanded that an authoritative pronouncement be made by the Imperial Government in

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1. *Ibid.*, p.135.
2. Bolitho, Hector, Jinnah, *The Creator of Pakistan*, London, 1954, p.64.
3. Details of the charges against the Police Commissioner and his reply are found in *Source Material, Bombay Government Records*, Vol. II., pp. 863-888.

unequivocal terms regarding the policy of making India a self-governing member of the British Empire. On August 20, 1917, the Secretary of State for India announced in the House of Commons:

> The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the general development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.

On October 6, the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the Muslim League met at Allahabad. It was decided that an All-India Deputation should be sent to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State and a representation made in support of the Congress-League Scheme. In November 1917, the representatives of the two organizations presented a joint-address to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy demanding, *inter alia*, the immediate adoption of the Congress-League Scheme, and the specification of a time-limit for the grant of complete self-government to India. These demands were reiterated at the Dacca Session of the Muslim League held in December 1917. Jinnah, speaking at the Session, declared:

> This country has not to be governed by the Hindus, and let me submit, that it has not to be governed by the Musalmans either—and certainly not by the English. It is to be governed by the people and the sons of the country.

Montagu-Chelmsford Proposals

In July 1918, the proposals of the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy, known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Proposals, were made public, which included the following suggestions: (a) The provinces are the domain in which the earlier steps towards the progressive realization of responsible government should be taken. (b) There should, as far as possible, be complete popular control in local bodies and they should have the largest possible freedom from outside control. (c) The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament.

In August 1918, extraordinary sessions of the League and the Congress were held at Bombay to consider the reforms embodied in these proposals. Like the Congress, the Muslim League found the proposals to be disappointing and unsatisfactory, and urged substantial modifications. At the Delhi Session of the League held in December 1918, Dr. Ansari, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered a strong address which was proscribed by the Government—as indeed most of the rest of the proceedings (of which it has not been possible to trace a full record). The League resolutions demanded that complete responsible government be granted to the provinces at once, and that the principle of self-determination he applied to India. A

special feature cf the Delhi Session of the League was that the *Ulema* also participated in its deliberations.

With the end of World War I, the ill-treatment of Turkey exasperated the Indian Musalmans, and anxiety was felt not only over the dismemberment of the Turkish territories, but also over the position of the *Khilafat* and Muslim holy places. In these circumstances the atmosphere of the Amritsar Session of the League held in December 1919 was charged with concern and grave doubts.

At a special session of the League held at Calcutta in September 1920, Mr. Jinnah in his Presidential Address made a bitter attack on the authorities. He referred to the Rowlatt Act the Punjab atrocities and the spoliation of the Ottoman Empire and the *Khilafat*. He said: "One thing there is which is indisputable, and that is that this Government must go and give place to a complete responsible Government." Mr. Jinnah was now made the permanent President of the League after the resignation of Raja of Mahmudabad.

The League Too Demands Swaraj

At its Annual Session in December 1920, the League changed its creed to fall in line with that of the Congress. The objects of the League were declared to be: (i) the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all peaceful means; (ii) protection and advancement of the political, religious and other rights and interests of the Indian Musalmans. When the League assembled at Ahmadabad towards the end of December 1921, its President, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, made an impassioned plea for the declaration of an Indian Republic by January 1, 1922. In respect ot his Presidential Address, the Maulana was prosecuted for sedition and sentenced by the Sessions Court to two years' rigorous imprisonment. However, on appeal, the High Court set aside the conviction.

From 1915 till about 1922, the League and the Congress thus continued to speak and act in unison. But between 1919 and 1922, the Khilafat Committee had eclipsed the Muslim League. In December 1920, at its Nagpur Session, the Congress, notwithstanding Jinnah's opposition, had adopted the plan of non-co-operation and boycott of Legislatures. Jinnah therefore left the Congress. In February 1922, Gandhi called off the non-co-operation movement after the tragic incidents at Chauri Chaura. As regards Turkey, the Treaty of Lausanne was finally signed on July 24, 1923, and the Angora Government having ratified the Treaty on August 22, 1923, all allied troops left Turkey within the next six weeks. The Angora Assembly decided to constitute itself into a Republic, and early in 1924 the office of Khalifa was abolished by its decree. Though the abolition of the Khilafat saddened the Indian Muslims, the sudden rise of Mustafa Kemal, the defeat of the Greeks, whom the Turks drove out of Smyrna and Constantinople, had overjoyed their hearts. However, in view of these significant changes, the Khilafat

movement lost all its vitality by the end of 1923. At the same time the Congress prestige also suffered considerably due to the failures of the non-co-operation movement.

In March 1923, the Muslim League held a session at Lucknow, but it ended abruptly. The circumstances which led to its adjournment were that a heated discussion took place in the Subjects Committee on the resolution put forward by Jinnah, recommending entry into Councils and striving for the attainment of Dominion Status as India's goal. The resolution was opposed by Maulana Mohammad Ali, Dr. Ansari and other non-co-operation leaders. It was rejected by a very narrow margin, the voting having taken place at a time when many members of the Council were not present in the Subjects Committee. People were uncertain about the fate the resolution would meet in open session, and to avoid an open conflict, it was decided to adjourn the Session *sine die*.

Jinnah's Efforts to Deal with Mounting Tensions

The Adjourned Session of the League was convened at Lahore in May 1924. An important resolution adopted by it defined the basic and fundamental principles of the scheme of *Swaraj*. These were: the reorganization of India on a federal basis with full and complete provincial autonomy, the functions of Central Government being confined to basic matters of common interests; no territorial redistribution to affect the Muslim majority in the populations of the Punjab, Bengal, and N.W.F.P.; separate electorates and full religious liberty. The Lahore Session revitalized the League. In December that year, the League held another session at Bombay, which once again attracted Congress leaders to its platform, including Dr. Ansari, Annie Besant, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and others. It was resolved to appoint a committee which would arrange an early conference of various organizations with a view to developing co-operation and presenting a united front. Gandhi, thereafter, called and All-Parties Conference, but its deliberations did not produce any solution.

The relations between Hindus and Muslims began to go from bad to worse. Communal riots spread and became more vicious. In the Aligarh Session of the Muslim League held in 1925, Sir Abdur Rahim said:

> Hindus have, by their provocative and aggressive conduct, made it clearer than ever that Muslims cannot entrust their fate to them and must adopt every possible means of self-defence. Some Hindu leaders have even spoken of driving Muslims out of India as Spaniards had expelled the Moors.

It was against this background of mounting tension and mutual suspicion that a group of prominent Muslims met at Delhi on March 20, 1927, Jinnah presiding. After protracted discussion, the meeting produced a

formula called 'Delhi Muslim Proposals'. The Muslims agreed to the introduction of joint electorates, with a reservation of seats under certain conditions: (i) Sind should be separated from Bombay and constituted into a separate province. (ii) Reforms should be introduced in N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan. (iii) The Muslims would make such concessions to Hindu minorities in the matter of the number of representatives in Sind, N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan as Hindu majority provinces would make to Musalman minorities in other provinces. (iv) In the Punjab and Bengal, the proportion of representation should be in accordance with the population. (v) In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation should not be less than a third.

In December 1927, the Muslim League, at its Calcutta Session, authorized its Council to appoint a subcommittee to confer with the Working Committee of the Congress, on terms somewhat similar to the Delhi Muslim Proposals. But the Hindus did not accept the formula in its entirely.

Meanwhile, in November 1927, the British Government appointed a Statutory Commission to enquire and report 'whether and to what extent it was desirable to establish the principles of responsible government or to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible government existing in India'. Sir John Simon was appointed Chairman of the Commission, which consisted of six other members of Parliament. No Indian was included therein.[1]

The appointment of the Simon Commission split the League into two factions. The division became all the more sharp at the time of the annual meeting of the League in December 1927. Even the venue of the session was a point of dispute between the two groups. Jinnah and his supporters wished the session to be held in some city other than Lahore, whereas Sir Mohammad Shafi, because of his strength in the Punjab, wanted it to take place at Lahore. At a special meeting of the Council of the League held at Delhi, it was decided by a majority vote that the session should take place at Calcutta. Sir Shafi, who had been elected President for the year, refused to preside at the session to be held at Calcutta. Finally, two sessions were held, one at Lahore and the other at Calcutta. Sir Mohammad Shafi presided over the Lahore Session, and Sir Mohammad Yaqub over the Calcutta Session. Jinnah, of course, was the leading light and guiding spirit of the Calcutta Session.[2] The Lahore Session passed resolutions advocating separate electorates. The Calcutta Session passed a Hindu-Muslim unity resolution, but declared that separate electorates should be abandoned only on condition that the Muslim proposals regarding Sind, N.W.F.P., and Baluchistan were accepted by the Hindus.

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1. *Report of the Indian Statutory Committee*, Vol. I., p. xvi.

2. Waheed-uz-Zaman, *Towards Pakistan*, Publishers United Ltd., Lahore, 1954, p.37.

The Nehru Report

In August 1928, the Report of the Committee[1] appointed by an All-Parties Conference—which had met intermittently without achieving agreement on essentials between February and May, 1928—to determine the principles of the Constitution of India, was published. The Committee of nine was headed by Pandit Motilal Nehru and included two Muslim members in their individual capacity, Ali Imam and Shuaib Qureshi. However, the first did not attend most of the Committee's meetings, and the second refused to sign the final draft report. The Nehru Report found that separate electorates were bad for the growth of a national spirit. Weightage, which had been agreed to under the Lucknow Pact, was also disallowed: "A minority must remain a minority whether any seats are reserved for it or not." The Report rejected Iqbal's proposal for the amalgamation of the Punjab, N.W.F.P., and Sind. The Report brushed aside the Muslims' fear of being dominated by the Hindu majority, and considered it 'illogical'.

An All-Parties Convention was called at Calcutta in December 1928 to consider the Nehru Report. The Muslim League, which met for its annual session at Calcutta at about the same time, appointed a strong Committee of 23 members led by Jinnah, to endeavour to bring about an adjustment of the various outstanding questions between Hindus and Musalmans arising out of the Nehru Report. With the agreement of this Committee, Jinnah suggested the following amendments in the Nehru Report to the Convention:

(1) The Muslim representation in the Central Legislature should not be less than one-third.

(2) In the event of adult suffrage not being granted as proposed in the Nehru Report, Muslim representation in the Punjab and Bengal Legislatures should be on a population basis, subject to re-examination after 10 years.

(3) Residuary powers should be vested in the provinces and not in the Centre.

(4) The separation of Sind from Bombay and the elevation of the N.W.F.P. to a Governor's Province should not be made contingent on the establishment of the Nehru Constitution.

When the Convention rejected these suggestions, Jinnah's reaction was stated in one decisive sentence. "This", he said, "is the parting of the ways!"[2] It was only after the failure of this effort at reconciliation that the Muslims finally denounced the Nehru Report. In the words of Sir Azizul Huq,

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1. The Muslim League, which had not attended the May meeting of the Conference at Bombay, was not a party to the appointment of this Committee.

2. Bolitho, Hector, *op.cit.*, p.95.

it was "a coffin marked three seats". An All-Parties Muslim Conference held at Delhi in January 1929, under the Chairmanship of the Aga Khan, defined the Muslim attitude. An agreement between the Jinnah and the Shafi groups was reached with the avowed purpose of reuniting the League. It was arranged that the two wings of the League should meet simultaneously in Delhi at the end of March and pass identical resolutions in favour of a joint-sitting.

By March 28, 1929, the delegates to the meeting of the two Leagues had assembled at Delhi; but as serious illness prevented Sir Shafi's attendance, the proceedings of the proposed meeting did not go according to plan. Disagreement developed between the two groups, especially on the question of separate electorates. As a result, the followers ot Sir Shafi refused to join the open session. In addition, a rowdy element appeared at the meeting, evidently determined to turn the affair into a fiasco; and Jinnah was obliged to disolve the meeting.[1]

Jinnah's Fourteen Points

Jinnah had prepared a draft resolution for the Session, embodying all the provisions which afterwards became famous as 'Mr. Jinnah's Fourteen Points'.

1. The form of the future Constitution should be federal with residuary powers vested in the province, Central Government to have the control only of such matters of common interest as may be guaranteed by the Constitution.

2. A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.

3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies should be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province, without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality.

4. In the Central Legislature, Muslim representation should not be less than one-third.

5. Representation of communal groups should continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present; provided it shall be open to any community, at any time, to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorates.

6. Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary should not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and the North-West Frontier Province.

7. Full religious liberty, i.e. liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association and education, should be guaranteed to all communities.

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1. Waheed-uz-Zaman, *op.cit.*, p.58

8. No Bill or resolution, or any part thereof, should be passed in any Legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a Bill, resolution or part thereof, on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or, in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.

9. Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.

10. Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other Provinces.

11. Provision should be made in the Constitution giving Muslims an adequate share, along with the other Indians, in all the Services of the State and in self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

12. The Constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim religion, culture and personal law, and the promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws, Muslim charitable institutions, and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the State and by self-governing bodies.

13. No Cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of Muslim Ministers of at least one-third.

14. No change to be made in the Constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation.[1]

Iqbal's Presidential Address

In his historic Presidential Address at the Allahabad Session of the Muslim League held in December 1930, Iqbal adumbrated the plan for an independent Muslim State in the North-West of India. Though some prominent thinkers, Muslim as well as non-Muslim, had earlier made proposals for the partition of India,[2] Iqbal was the first to make the suggestion for a separate Muslim State from the authoritative platform of the League. Iqbal Said:

> And as far as I have been able to read the Muslim mind, I have no hesitation in declaring that, if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development, on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands, is recognized as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India ... The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is therefore perfectly justified ... I would

1. Jinnah, M.A., *History of the Origin of "Fourteen Points"*. Bahram Printing Press, Bombay, 1929.
2. For various earlier proposals see: Pirzada, *The Pakistan Resolution and the Historic Lahore Session*, Pakistan Publications, Karachi, 1967, pp. 3-12.

like to see the Punjab, N.W. Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the foundation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.

The Interlude of 1930-33

In 1930 too, the Report of the Simon Commission was announced; and for about two years, Indian Round-Table Conferences continued to enact a long and bitter conflict of Indian leaders on the number of seats that the majority and other communities should be given in various legislatures. The Hindu-Muslim problem proved insoluable. On August 16, 1932, the British Prime Minister announced the Communal Award, maintaining separate electorates.

In 1933 some Muslim students studying in England formed the Pakistan National Movement and published a pamphlet entitled *Now or Never*. The leader of the Movement, Choudhri Rahmat Ali, coined the word 'Pakistan' from the initials and endings of component units: P for the Punjab; A for the Afghan Province (N.W. Frontier Province); K for Kashmir; S for Sind; and Tan for Baluchistan. In March 1933, Government published the White Paper on proposals for Indian Constitutional Reforms; and in August 1935, the Government of India Act, 1935, was enacted. The important principles embodied in the Act were: All-India Federation, provincial autonomy and responsibilities with safeguards. The residuary powers were neither allocated to the centre as desired by the Hindus, nor to the provinces as demanded by the Muslims, but were vested in the Governor-General, to be exercised at his discretion.

During 1930 to 1933, the Muslim League was in a moribund condition, though it continued to hold its annual sessions. In the 1930 Session, when Iqbal presented his historic address, the League meeting did not even have its quorum of 75 members. Hafiz Jalandhari, the famous poet, was asked to recite his poems, to keep those who were present entertained while the organizers got busy enrolling new members.[1] The Session of 1931, held at Delhi under the Presidency of Sir Zafrullah Khan, was described as a "languid and attenuated House of scarcely 120 people in all".[2] During this session, the annual subscription was reduced from Rs. 6 to Re. 1, and the admission fee of Rs. 5 was abolished to attract new members. The

1. Sayeed, Khalid bin, *Pakistan: the Formative Phase* 1857-1948, Oxford University Press, 1968, Second Edition, p. 177.

2. *The Hindustan Times*, December 30, 1931. Raja Ghazanafar Ali Khan gives an interesting account of the Session, and recalls the circumstances in which the Session was held in a small place. Syed Nur Ahmad, مارشل لا سے مارشل لا تک, Lahore, 1965, pp. 141-143.

quorum at the annual sessions was reduced from 75 to 50. To ensure that there would be no delays in meetings of the Working Committee, it was provided that a quorum should consist of any five members of the Committee living close enough together to meet with the prescribed frequency. The League's Honorary Secretary, Mohammad Yakub, frankly admitted that he had been continued in this office because no other members of the League could be persuaded to take the job[1]. The League was beset with financial troubles. It did not have funds to perform even minimum political functions. The party was, in fact, narrowly saved by the donations given by Sir Shafi, S.M. Abdulla and other persons. During the years 1931-33, its annual expenditure did not exceed Rs. 3,000. In 1933, with a total income of Rs. 1318-11-6, its annual expenditure showed deficit of Rs. 564. The League continuned to suffer internally also. In 1933 the League Council was forced to call an emergency meeting to remove the Acting President, Mian Abdul Aziz, from office "having forfeited the confidence of the members of the Council on account of his many arbitrary, unconstitutional and discourteous actions."[2]

After the Second Session of the Round Table Conference (1931), Jinnah, who had been President of the Muslim League during the years 1919-30, stayed back in England. The Secretary of the League, lamenting Jinnah's decision, said in his Annual Report:

> Mr. Jinnah had been the life and the moving spirit of the League for many years, and the success of the institution during the last nine years was due to his earnestness, devotion and statesmanship.[3]

Revival of the League

During Jinnah's absence, the Muslim League lived on paper; then in April, 1934, he was prevailed upon to return to India, and that very month the Council, under Jinnah's Presidentship, resolved "that the Council accept the Communal Award so far as it goes, until a substitute is agreed upon by the various communities and parties to secure such a future Constitution for India as would be acceptable to the country." Jinnah made vigorous efforts to revive the League, and organized its session at Bombay in April 1936. The Muslim League, while condemning the Federal Scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, as 'most reactionary and totally unacceptable', decided to utilize the provincial part of the Act for 'what it was worth'; and it authorized Jinnah to form a Central Parliamentary Board.

Provincial elections were held in the early part of 1937. The Muslim League had hardly been adequately reorganized when it fought the elections,

1. *Annual Report of the All-India Muslim League*, 1931, Delhi.
2. *Annual Report of the All-India Muslim League for* 1932-1933, Delhi, p.18.
3. *Annual Report of the All-India Muslim League* 1931, Delhi, p.1.

with few or no provincial and district branches, with limited financial and propaganda resources, and that, too, for the first time on an all-India basis. It faced the Congress, which had an efficient organization and an elaborate machinery for publicity—and enjoyed enormous financial backing from the Industrial magnates of India. With hardly six month to organize the election machinery and, apart from the Congress, confronted as it was with warring elements, local jealousies and rivalries, it could hardly be expected that the League would make much headway.

The results of the elections for Provincial Assemblies indicated that Congress victories were won mainly in Hindu constituencies. Out of 1,585 seats, the Congress captured 716. Of these, only 26 were Muslim seats. Out of 482 Muslim seats, the League captured only 109 Muslim seats. However, it did not contest all the Muslim seats. In the Punjab, out of 86 seats, the League contested 7 seats, and won 2. In the United Provinces, it contested 35 seats, and won 29; in Madras 10 out of 11; in Assam 9 out of 34; in Bengal; 39 out of 117; in Bombay 20 out of 209. In Bihar, Orissa, N.W.F.P. and Sind, no Muslim League candidates were set up.[1]

During the election campaign, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru announced that there were only two parties in the country—the Congress and the British and that others should line up. Jinnah replied: "I refuse to accept this proposition. I refuse to line up. There is a third party in the country, and that is Muslim India."[2]

Out of 11 provinces, the Congress formed governments in eight. It refused to have a coalition with the Muslim League save on terms of total surrender. At the Lucknow Session of the Muslim League in October 1937, Jinnah complained:

> Wherever the Congress was in majority and wherever it suited it, it refused to co-operate with the Muslim League . . . The Congress demand was insistent: abjure your party and forswear your policy and pagramme and liquiadte the Muslim League. On the very threshold of what little power and responsibility is given, the majority community have clearly shown their trend that Hindus are for the the Hindus. The result of the present Congress party policy will be, I venture to say, class bitterness, communal war and strengthening of the imperialistic hold as a consequence.

The Lucknow Session of the League was probably the first indication of the growing sense of solidarity among the Muslims of India. Participating in the Session, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, Mr. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, and Sir Mohammad Sadullah, Premier of Assam, declared that they were advising the Muslim members of their

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1. *Returns showing the results of elections in India*, 1935, Comd. 5589.
2. *Star of India*, January 4, 1937.

respective parties to join the Muslim League. Many leaders from Sind, the Frontier, Madras and the Central Provinces merged their parties with the Muslim League. The Lucknow Session thus invigorated the Muslim League.

At the Lucknow Session too, a momentous decision was taken to change the League creed from full responsible government to *full independence*. The Session further authorized its President to take neceassary steps to form Muslim League parties in the Central and Provincial Legislatures. In the Special Session of the League held at Calcutta, Jinnah reported that Muslim League parties were functiong in seven our of 11 Pronvincial legislatures, and that the Muslim League had achiewed success in contesting a number of by-elections to the Legislative Assemblies in various provinces.

From July 1937 to October 1939, the Congress ministries ruled eight of the 11 Indian Provinces. The period was extremely crucial in the history of Hindu-Muslim relations The conclaves and correspondence Jinnah had with the Congress leaders — Rajendra Prasad, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and Gandhi—did not lead to any compromise. The Muslim mass-contact campaign launched by the Congress failed miserably. The Congress Ministries in the Hindu-majority provinces invariably persecuted the Muslims. The complaints about ill, treatment injustice and tyranny were so numerous and persistent that the Council of the Muslim League at its meeting of March 20, 1938, appointed a special committee, headed by Raja Syed Mohammad Mehdi, to make inquiries and submit a report. In April 1939, at the Special Session of the League held at Calcutta, Jinnah referred to the various representations that had reached the League in this behalf.

The Pirpur Committee submitted its Report on November 15, 1938. A campanion volume to this was the Shareef Report, published in March 1939, which dealt with the atrocities perpetrated by the Hindus in Bihar. Still another indictment of the Congress Governments was prepared and published by Fazlul Haq in 1939.[1] The Pirpur Report gave details of the injustices and unfair treatment meted out to Muslims, and concluded, "Whatever may be the underlying principles of Congress nationalism and whatever may be the justification for the incidents, the fact remains that the average Hindu is inclined to associate *Swaraj* with *Ramraj* and Congress Government with Hindu Government." In the Patna Session of the Muslim League held in December 1938, Jinnah charged that the Congress wanted to establish an authoritative, totalitarian and Fascist Hindu Raja in India. Thus the Conduct of the Congress rule went a long way in alienating the Muslim from the ideal of a united India, and later popularized the ideal of Pakistan.

Partition Schemes

On September 3, 1939, along with Britain's declaration of war on

1. *Muslim Sufferings under Congress Rule*, Calcutta, 1939.

Germany, the Viceroy of India announced that India was also at war with Germany. By October, all the Congress Ministers resigned and went out of office. The Muslims of India observed a 'Deliverance Day' on December 22, 1939, to express their deep sense of relief at the termination of the Congress regime in various provinces, and on their deliverance from tyranny, oppression and injustice.

By 1939, various proposals advocating the partition of India and the establishment of Muslim Zones and separate States were put forward by different individuals. Some of the notable schemes were those proposed by (i) Dr. Abdul Latif of Hyderabad, (ii) Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, (iii) Mian Kifayat Ali, whose scheme was published under the caption of *Confederacy of India by a Punjabi*, and (iv) Dr. Syed Zafrul Hasan and Dr. M. Afzal Qadri of Aligarh. The partition idea was spreading so fast and going so deep into the politics of the day that, in March 1939, the Muslim League Working Committee appointed a committee to examine the various schemes and to suggest a suitable alternative to safeguard the interests of the Muslamans.

The Lahore Resolution

In March 1940, the Muslim League held its historic session at Lahore. On March 23 1940, a resolution was moved there which *inter alia* provided:

> It is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majrity, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and soverign.

The importance of the Lahore Resolution is obvious. It was through this resolution that the Muslim League committed itself to the establishment of Pakistan as its final goal; and it was after its adoption that the Muslim nation zealously started a movement to attain that objective. At the Madras Session of the League held in April 1941, the Lahore Resolution was made the creed of the Muslim League, and the aims and objects of the League were so amended as to conform to this ideal. It is interesting to note that the word 'together' was added after the word 'grouped', so that the amendment reads:

> . . . the areas in which the Musalmans are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India shall be grouped *together* to constitute Independent States as Muslim Free National

Homelands in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign

Reorganization of the League

In 1940, the League had 330 Primary Leagues with 88,833 members. By 1941 the membership increased to 112,078, as compared to 1,330 in 1927. By 1944 the membership reached millions. The Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, in his Annual Report of 1944, asserted that the League had become a 'revolutionary and mass movement' and had penetrated into rural areas. In that year, 5,500,000 members had been enrolled in Bengal. The figure of membership, according to the Secretary, "exceeded the number ever scored by any organization in the Province, not excluding the Congress". This was "apart from the vast allegiance of the large Muslim population to the League". The President of the Sind Provincial League, in his Report of May 1944, claimed that 300,000 members, representing about 25 per cent of the adult male Muslim population of Sind, had been enrolled in the Muslim League. The League's strength in other provinces, including the Punjab and the N.W. Frontier Province, was likewise encouraging. Between 1938 and 1942, the Muslim League won 46 out of 56 Muslim seats in by-elections.

By 1942 the flames of war nearly touched the borders of India. 'Quit India' said Gandhi to the British. 'Divide and Quit' retorted Jinnah. In March 1942, when the Japanese armies were pressing against the Eastern Frontiers of India, after the occupation of Burma, the British War Cabinet sent Sir Stafford Cripps with proposals to accelerate Indian independence, if the major political parties would give full support to the war effort. The 'Cripps Proposals' conceded the principle of self-determination as demanded by the Muslim League, and provided the following:

(a) Immediately upon cessation of hostilities, steps would be taken to set up an elected constitution-making body for India.

(b) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed, subject only to the right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so desires.

The Cripps Proposals were not acceptable to the Congress. The Muslim League at its Allahabad Session, held in April 1942, rejected these proposals on the ground that the commitment to a separate Muslim homeland was not sufficiently clear and direct. Rajagopalachari tried to persuade the Congress to acknowledge the Muslim League's claim for separation. He moved a resolution in this behalf before the All-India Congress Committee when it met in May 1942. But the resolution was rejected. Rajgopalachari's formula had stipulated a Congress-League interim government

during a transitional period, with the common objective of obtaining complete independence. Other terms of the formula included the following. After the war, a Commission was to be appointed to demarcate contiguous districts in the North-West and East of India, wherein the Muslims constituted an absolute majority. The issue of separation was to be decided by a plebiscite of *all* inhabitants on the basis of adult franchise. The districts on the border could join either State. In the event of separation, mutual agreements would be contracted with regard to defence, commerce and communications.

During the War, the Muslim League held two other sessions in April and December 1943 at Delhi and Karachi respectively. Thereafter, only meetings of its Council and Working Committee were held.

In September 1944, talks on the issue of Pakistan took place between Gandhi and Jinnah. Gandhi championed the Rajagopalachari formula, and claimed that it gave the Muslims everything that they had demanded. Jinnah felt that the question of the division of the Subcontinent into India and Pakistan was "only on Gandhi's lips; it did not come from his heart". In July 1945, the Viceroy announced the failure of the Conference of Indian Leaders which he had convened at Simla in the previous month.

The Final Steps to Pakistan

Towards the end of 1945, general elections were held. The Muslim League fought the elections on the issue of Pakistan. The League won all the Muslim seats in the Central Legislative Assembly; and the Congressite or Nationalist Muslims, who opposed it,[1] forfeited their deposits in many cases. In the provincial elections, the Muslim League won 439 out of 494 Muslim seats (88.8 per cent). The Muslims had thus given a clear verdict in favour of Pakistan.

In April 1946, the Muslim League held a Convention of Muslim Legislators who had been elected on the Muslim League ticket to the various Assemblies. In a resolution the Convention declared: "The Muslim nation will never submit to any Constitution for a united India and will never participate in any single constitution-making machinery set up for the purpose." The League Convention demanded that the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East and the Punjab, the N.W. Frontier Province, Sind, and Baluchistan in the North-West of India should be constituted into the Sovereign State of Pakistan.

On May 16, 1946, the British Cabinet Mission which was visiting India announced its plan. The Mission proposed a three-zone federation: Zone A consisting of the bulk of Indian provinces with Hindu majorities situated in

1. Partly on the grounds that Muslims had a share in the whole of the Subcontinent and that Pakistan would not solve the problem of Muslims in their minority areas. But the alternative of following the Congress held no attraction for the great majority of Muslims.

the middle and the greater part of the Subcontinent; Zone B consisting of the North-Western provinces with considerable Muslim majorities; Zone C consisting of Bengal and Assam with a slight Muslim majority. The Mission was impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims that they might well find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule; but found the demand for Pakistan impracticable. The Mission, never theless, offered the Muslim League in Zones B and C a compulsory grouping of six provinces with considerable autonomy. The Muslim League felt that, in the complusory grouping of the Muslim provinces, it had won the substance of Pakistan. The League therefore accepted the Plan, but reiterated that the attainment of the goal of a completely sovereign Pakistan still remained the unalterable objective of the Muslims of India, for the achievement of which they would, if necessary, employ every means in their power. The Congress also accepted the Plan as relating to the Interim Government. In the meantime, Pandit Nehru and the Congress came out with an interpretation of the Plan which militated against the compulsory grouping of the Muslim Provinces. Pandit Nehru also asserted the right to modify the Plan after independence. In view of these developments, the Muslim League was obliged to withdraw its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan. The Muslim League then called on Muslims throughout India to celebrate August 16, 1946, as Direct Action Day. Communal riots broke out in Calcutta, and soon spread to other parts of India. In March 1947, Lord Mountbatten took over as the new Viceroy with set targets. If by October 1, 1947, Mountbatten considered there was no prospect of reaching a settlement on the basis of a unitary government, he was to report to the British Government on the steps he considered should be taken for the transfer of power before June 1948. There is considerable evidence which goes to suggest that, soon after Mountbatten's arrival in India, most of the Congress leaders had veered round to the idea that Pakistan was inevitable. Eventually, on June 3, 1947, the British Government made the famous statement spelling out the mechancis for the division of the Subcontinent. The statement conceded Pakistan, but the areas of East Punjab and West Bengal were excluded from it. The Muslim League Council met in New Delhi on June 10, and passed a resolution saying that though it could not agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab, it had to consider the June 3 Plan for the transfer of power as a whole. The resolution authorized its President, Jinnah, to accept the partition laid down in the said statement as a compromise. In July 1947, the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act for setting up the Dominions of India and Pakistan. On August 14, 1947, Pakistan emerged as an independent Soverign State.

Conclusion

The Muslim League was born in 1906. Its span of life was about four decades. Following the failure of attempts at Hindu-Muslim unity

and Congress-League co-operation, by 1940 the League became a national movement for Pakistan. Within eight years of the adoption of the Lahore Resolution, the Muslim League, under the inspiring leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, was able to carve out the independent State of Pakistan. In the words of a Hindu writer, "The Muslim League made the Muslim dream real. It gained an unparalleled victory in human history. The League transformed the entire Muslim history and gave it a new turn. Pakistan will surely go down in history as the League's paramount achievement"[1].

1. Lal Bahadur, *op. cit.*, p. 350

THE INAUGURAL SESSION OF ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

DACCA, DECEMBER 30, 1906

(The foundation of the All-India Muslim League was laid at Shah Bagh, Dacca, on December 30, 1906, at a political meeting held after the conclusion of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference under the presidentship of Mr. Justice Sharafuddin of the Calcutta High Court. In fact, the programme of the Educational Conference had been cut short by one day in order to provide a working day for the Muslim League, since some of the leaders had refused to hold such important discussions in the evenings when they were tired after a day's work.[1] On or about December 17, 1906, the delegates and members attending the Educational Conference were informed that the 27th, 28th and 29th of December were allotted for the conference sitting only, and the 30th exclusively for a political sitting.[2] The Muslims were asked to go to Dacca in large numbers because consultations about the political association would be held there.[3] The account of the proceedings was compiled by Maulana Mohamed Ali in a pamphlet entitled *The Green Book*[4].)

When the 20th Session of the All-India Mohammedan Educational Conference was over, the delegates assembled in the *Pandal* on December 30 to discuss the formation of a political organization of the Muslims. The gathering was as large as it was representative. The *Pandal* was overcrowded in spite of the fact that the majority of visitors from other parts of India were to leave Dacca by the midday special for Calcutta, and the Meeting was

1. Manuscript letter from Viqar-ul-Mulk to Aftab Ahmad Khan dated Amroha, December 5, 1906, preserved in Muslim University Conference Hall.
2. *The Englishman*, December 17, 1906.
3. Manuscript letter from Aftab Ahmad Khan to Viqar-ul-Mulk dated Aligarh, December 6, 1906, preserved in Muslim University Conference Hall.
4. *The Green Book* is rare. A copy of the book was handed over by Mr. Mahmud Ahmad Abbasi to the Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Karachi.

unavoidably late by an hour. The time for the formal discussion was short, but informal discussion had been going on for the last four days in the Conference Camp, in which every word of the resolutions to be brought forward for adoption had been discussed and rediscussed several times. At 9 a.m. the Hon'ble Nawab Salim-ul-lah Bahadur of Dacca rose to propose the election of the Chairman. He said:

Gentlemen, you all know the reason of our assembling here in such large numbers from every nook and corner of India. I need not therefore reiterate the purpose of this Meeting. I have however, to thank you for the trouble you have taken to come all this long way. We have to elect a Chairman for to-day's deliberations, and I think our choice cannot be improved upon if I suggest for your approval the distinguished name of Nawab Mushtaq-ul-Mulk (*sic*) who was one of the leading statesmen of Hyderabad, where he had served the Government of the Premier Chief, H.H. the Nizam, so ably and righteously. Even during his tenure of office there he had devoted his energies to the educational progress of his co-religionists, and since his retirement he had wholly given himself up to the work of the community, both in education and politics. He was the moving spirit of the Political Association that was agreed to be formed in 1901, and in my opinion, and I believe in the opinion of all of us assembled here, nobody would be a fitter Chairman than the venerable Mushtaq-ul-Mulk Bahadur (meaning Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, Maulvi Mushtaq Husain Bahadur).

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, then spoke as follows:

I am sure you do not expect me to say much in seconding this proposal. I would only add that the young men are thirsting for the fight, and so it is most necessary that the leaders should be old and experienced veterans who could properly regulate the exuberant energies of youth. And who could be more qualified to do this than the venerable Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur. We are therefore as well seeking a good omen for the future, as stamping our deliberations to-day with the stamp of sanity and sobriety, in electing the old Nawab as our Chairman.

The motion was then put to the vote and unanimously carried, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk taking the Chair amidst loud applause.

The Chairman then rose to make the inaugural speech. He said:

I have no words with which to thank you for the honour you have done me in electing me as your Chairman to-day. The place could have well been filled by many others in the community who are present here, but now that you have commanded me to fill it, I can only obey your wishes and discharge the duties of a Chairman of such an assembly to the best of my powers. I have, however, to thank the Hon'ble Nawab Salim-ul-lah Bahadur of Dacca specially, for the title which he has unconsciously given to me. I have my doubts about being Viqar-ul-Mulk or 'the pride of the country', but I can assure you I am, as I have always been, 'Mushtaq-ul-Mulk' or 'the lover of my

country'. To us old men creeping every day nearer and nearer to our graves, what is left to do, but to be Mushtaq-ul-Mulk and Mushtaq-ul-Qaum, lovers of our country and lovers of our race.[1] I feel that the unwitting recognition of my love of my people, for which I have to thank my Hon'ble friend the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, is my greatest claim to fill the chair you are now offering me. May I long deserve this title.

I believe you all know what you have come to discuss. As this deliberation on political questions will be a free one, I trust no person who is a Government servant will take part in it, as the tie which binds him to the Government precludes the possibility of our regarding him free in the sense in which non-official members of any community can be. Moreover, the discussion of such grave problems requires maturity and experience on the part of us all, so that young men who are still in school and college cannot be expected to offer to us a fair share of either. At the present stage of their lives they should learn and not teach. They should therefore not be encouraged to leave the hard task of mastering things for the more pleasant one perhaps, of dictating to others. When they have graduated and stepped into the arena of the world, we shall welcome their participation, but not yet. So, if there is any gentleman present here who is a Government servant, he should withdraw, and if he is a student in a college or school, I shall request him not to come forward to participate actually in this discussion.

Gentlemen, that which has drawn us here to-day is not a need which has only now been felt by us. When the National Congress was founded in India, this need had even then been felt, and the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, to whose foresight and statesmanship Musalmans should always be grateful, had made great endeavours to impress upon Musalmans the belief that their safety and prosperity lay in their keeping aloof from the Congress. This view has been proved to be so far right that though Sir Syed Ahmed Khan is no more among us, the Mohammedans are still firm in that belief, and as time passes they will feel more and more that, in order to protect and advance their political rights and interests, it will be necessary for them to form their own separate organization. Five years ago, in October 1901, some Musalmans from various provinces had assembled at Lucknow, and, after careful consideration of the matter, they had come to the conclusion that the time for the formation of such an organization had come, and consequently the work of organizing such a body in the United Provinces was going on when new events followed close upon each other in Bengal; and impressed by the commotion caused by the direct and indirect influence of the National Congress, and finding that the Government intended to increase the representative element

1. The term 'race' is here and hereafter used in the sense of '*qaum*' or '*millat*', not in the racial or ethnic sense. Elsewhere the Arabic terms are also translated as 'people', 'nation' or 'community'.

in its Legislative Councils, Musalmans, as a community, sent a Deputation to the Viceroy to Simla last October, and represented their needs, and the disadvantages under which their community had been labouring, before His Excellency. All these proceedings, together with the Viceroy's reply to the Deputation, have already been fully reported in the press and made familiar to the country. I need not allude to them in detail now. On that occasion, those representatives of the community who had assembled as members of the Deputation had, after a careful consideration of the ways and means by which the political rights and interests of their co-religionists could be permanently safeguarded, decided that in December next, delegates from different provinces should be asked to assemble at Dacca and discuss this momentous question. In the meantime, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca had framed a scheme for the same purpose and circulated it for our consideration. To-day we have assembled here to settle finally the lines of action in a question the settlement of which has so long been postponed.

Before I proceed with the work we have in hand to-day, I feel it necessary to say that, no matter what the general principles of British administration may be, and no matter what rights may be vouchsafed by the generosity and love of justice of the British nation to its Indian subjects, we who have not yet forgotten the tradition of our own recent rule in India and elsewhere, and are more intimately acquainted than other communities of India with the proper relations which should subsist between the Government and its subjects, should accept it as a rule of our conduct that the plant of the political rights of a subject race thrives best in the soil of loyalty, and consequently the Musalmans should prove themselves loyal to their Government before they can ask for a recognition of any of their rights. The Musalmans are only a fifth in number as compared with the total population of the country, and it is manifest that if at any remote period the British Government ceases to exist in India, then the rule of India would pass into the hands of that community which is nearly four times as large as ourselves. Now, gentlemen, let each of you consider what will be your condition if such a situation is created in India. Then, our life, our property, our honour, and our faith will all be in great danger. When even now that a powerful British administration is protecting its subjects, we the Musalmans have to face most serious difficulties in safeguarding our interests from the grasping hands of our neighbours, instances of which are not rare in any province or district, then woe betide the time when we become the subjects of our neighbours, and answer to them for the sins, real and imaginary, of Aurangzeb, who lived and died two centuries ago, and other Musalman conquerors and rulers who went before him. And to prevent the realization of such aspirations on the part of our neighbours, the Musalmans cannot find better and surer means than to congregate under the banner of Great Britain, and to devote their lives and property in its protection. I must confess, gentlemen, that we shall not be

loyal to this Government for any unselfish reasons; but that it is through regard for our own lives and property, our own honour and religion, that we are impelled to be faithful to the Government; and consequently the best security for our good faith is the undoubted fact that our own prosperity is bound up with, and depends upon our loyalty to British rule in India. I shall be the last person, gentlemen, to suspect our neighbours of evil intentions, but I do not hesitate in declaring that unless the leaders of the Congress make sincere efforts as speedily as possible, to quell the hostility against the Government and the British race, which is fast increasing in a large body of their followers, the necessary consequence of all that is being openly done and said to-day will be that sedition would be rampant, and the Musalmans of India would be called upon to perform the necessary duty of combating this rebellious spirit, side by side with the British Government, more effectively than by the mere use of words.

It is however our duty towards our neighbours that as far as our influence may reach and our persuasion may work, we must prevent our friends and neighbours from going on the wrong path, and as their neighbours it is always one of our first duties to deal with them with fairness and courtesy and, without prejudice to our legitimate rights and interests, to carry on with them an intimate social intercourse, maintain our sympathy, and strictly avoid all forms of hostility towards them. I would go even a step further, and impress upon you, gentlemen, that there is no quarrel between us and the National Congress and the Congress people, nor do we oppose or disagree with every one of their acts and views. Indeed we are thankful to them for the efforts which they have made in causes common to us both, and procured certain advantages in which they and we have equally shared, and it is quite possible that we may regard in the future a part of their programme s perfetcly justified. All the differences that now exist between us and them, or shall exist at a future date, must fall under one or other of three heads. Either they will relate to those demands of theirs which, if granted, would endanger the continuance of British rule in India; or they will relate to those efforts of theirs which are directed against our own legitimate interests; or they will fall under the head of that want of moderation and respect which are due from the subjects to their sovereign. And this leads me to say that we must bear in mind that moderation and respectfulness shall have to be the essential characteristics of any political organization which the Musalmans assembled here to-day would form. I cannot help recalling the pleasure which I experienced when, in reply to the Address of the Musalmans' deputation to the Viceroy, of which I had the honour to be a member, His Excellency said that Musalmans of Eastern Bengal had behaved with remarkable moderation and courtesy under the most trying circumstances, and I have to congratulate the Hon'ble Nawab Salim-ul-lah Bahadur of Dacca and the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhury on a result so eminently successful,

which was brought about by their own efforts and the great influence they wield in Eastern Bengal: and we can all rely that this influence will be used in the future, as it has been in the past, on the side of moderation, law, justice, and courtesy.

The Chairman then called upon the Nawab of Dacca to move the first Resolution:

RESOLUTION I

Resolved that this meeting, composed of Musalmans from all parts of India, assembled at Dacca, decide that a Political Association be formed, styled All-India Muslim League, for the furtherance of the following objects:

(a) To promote, among the Musalmans of India, feelings of loyalty to the British Government, and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of Government with regard to any of its measures.

(b) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India, and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government.

(c) To prevent the rise, among the Musalmans of India, of any feeling of hostility towards other communities, without prejudice to the other aforementioned objects of the League.

In moving this Resolution Nawab Salim-ul-lah Bahadur of Dacca spoke as follows:

You who have assembled here in a remote corner of the country, not very easy of access, after having travelled many hundreds of miles from every part of India, drawn by some great impulse, do not need to be told by me in any detail that there exists a special necessity at this moment for an increased political activity on the part of us all. Whosoever is in touch with the affairs of this country and our community must feel the thrill of new life which has, as if by magic, galvanized our community. India seems to be on the eve of a new era of public life, and the Mohammedans who suffered so far from a kind of suspended animation, feel to-day the revivifying effect of a general awakening.

To a casual observer it may appear that we have only just made a start in public life; and those who do not bear us much goodwill have sometimes paid us the compliment of regarding us as mere automatons, and attributed this show of new activity to the wire-pulling of others. But those who have studied our affairs more closely will not regard the new movement as a first start, so much as a turning of a corner of the course. It was only last evening that we wound up the work of the 20th session of our Educational Conference, and if the earlier efforts of the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan be taken into account, our present activity is but a natural development of the work begun nearly

half a century ago. As regards the suggestion that this new phase of our public activity is due to external causes, I must admit a confession is due from the Mohammedans of India. It is certainly due in part to the trend of events over which we had little control; but this is no more than saying that if there is any one at all to blame, it is not we who are to blame for this general commotion among the Mohammedans. Our new activity is only like the increased vigilance of the police in a district where disregard for the laws of property is fast spreading. Had the party now in power in England been familiar with the position and rights of the Mohammedans of India, and had those among our countrymen who have hitherto been taking a prominent part in the public life of this country been consistently just in asking for the allotment of their respective shares to the various communities of India, it is not improbable that the League which it is now proposed to form would not have been heard of for a long time, if at all; and that we would have gone on pursuing the traditional policy of our people and attending solely to our educational needs. But it is manifest that gross ignorance prevails in England regarding the real condition of India, and only those have a chance of being heard at that distance who cry the loudest in this country. Quiet and unobtrusive work is at a discount; and much as any other method than what has hitherto been associated with us may be disagreeable to our community, we are forced to adopt that which is most effective in the realization of our aims. Similarly, it is noticeable that the interests of the minority have often been disregarded by a pushing majority, if not delibeartely, then through oversight, or as I think, through the natural desire of the majority to work for those interests which are nearest and dearest to it, namely, its own. It is quite possible that our friends, the Hindus, may repudiate any suggestion of such disregard of our interests, but you, gentlemen, who have come to Eastern Bengal, unprejudiced and unbiassed, nay in many cases even sceptical of the facts as represented by myself and others who aired a grievance, have been, I am assured, convinced in the most practical manner by your own observation that in one part of India at least the grievance is real and has not been overstated.

As I have said, this movement of the Musalmans of India is nothing new or strange. I was surprised to read, only a few days ago, that as early as in 1893, our revered leader, the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, had felt the need of a separate political organization for the Musalmans of India; while it is only too well-known that as early as in 1887, his great speech at Lucknow kept the Mohammedans back and stopped them from joining the so-called National Congress. It is only now that I, for one, have been forced, by the practical needs of our community during the crisis through which we in Eastern Bengal are passing, to believe in the urgent necessity of a separate political organization for the Mohammedans of India which the far-sighted Sir Syed Ahmed had felt more than a decade ago. There were then before us four alternatives:

(1) to take no part in politics, and leave to the Government the task of safeguarding our interests; (2) to step into the arena, and take up an attitude of direct hostility to the Hindus; (3) to join the Hindus in the National Congress and do what they did; and (4) to form a separate organization of our own. The third alternative, namely, joining the Congress, was declared even in 1887 to be out of the question, and no one can say that we have wavered since then in our belief; and even our worst enemies cannot say that we have ever followed the second alternative of taking up an attitude of hostility towards any other community. Out of the other two alternatives, in 1887, we were certainly in favour of a policy of 'masterly inactivity' as regards politics; but the disadvantages of such a quiescence forced themselves upon our attention before long, and in 1893, we decided under the leadership of Syed Ahmed Khan to form a separate political organization, called the 'Defence Association'. But then, as before, our aim was defence not defiance; and, to guard still further against the dangers of political activity in a half-educated and war-like race, such safeguards were devised as almost paralysed the organization even for purposes of defence. To this, gentlemen, I should like to draw your attention, as, though we may now be compelled to remove some of the safeguards devised in 1893, I am anxious to impress upon your minds that the spirit of those safeguards, the spirit of caution, will still be as essential a part of our activity.

In 1893, we were naturally very anxious to impress upon the British Government that we were loyal subjects and law-abiding citizens, for it was considered that our rulers had some doubts on the subject, which, however unnecessary, were perhaps not wholly unnatural at the time. Again, education had not toned down the passions of a war-like community, and turned the irascible temper of a newly fallen race into a sweet reasonableness. There was, in addition, the great danger of our giving up the difficult and constructive work of education in favour of the easy task of a destructive critic in politics. The need of self-help might then have been ignored on account of the less taxing effort of criticizing others. The endeavour to deserve might then have been paralysed by the intensity of the desire to obtain. The voice of the reformer might have been drowned in the babel of the demagogue.

To-day the aspect of affairs has greatly changed. The Government has been convinced of our steadfast loyalty under the most trying situations. In 1897, Lord Elgin bore testimony to the unflinching fidelity of the Mohammedan troops that opposed their own co-religionists on the battle-fields of Chitral and the borderland, and shed their own blood and the blood of their brothers for their king and country. This, gentlemen, was a situation which no other community has had a chance of being tried in. If, then, we have special claims on the Government, it is because the test of our loyalty has been specially searching and unique. From those who were considered so dangerous at one time as to be allowed no other career than that of the plough-

man in the fields, we have risen so much in the estimation of our rulers, that leading statesmen of England call us the forces of loyalty in India and one of the greatest assets of the Empire, some portion of which has been won with our own support, and the whole of which we are guarding to-day. It is no more necessary to waste whole regiments in the interior in order to guard against an imaginary danger of rebellion, and the Commander-in-Chief can set free with a light heart the major portion of our army for guarding the frontier of the Empire.

As regards education, although we have not achieved all that we desire, we do not at least belong to the category of barbaric hordes which it was at one time the fashion of some people to regard us. Our passions, though they are even now those of a war-like race that carved out Empires, wherever its flag was unfurled and the sound of its kettle-drums was heard, are more under our control than we could assume them to be even 50 years ago. We can respect the restraints which law has devised for the peace of the land, though even now we shall not be making, like some other communities, a virtue of necessity. I am afraid the danger of our neglecting the best means of advancing our political rights and interests, namely by education, still exists; but we can safely leave the renowned leader of our community, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk Bahadur, and his colleagues and the old students of the Aligarh College, to combat that danger as they have hitherto been doing, and to work on with a will in order to found our future university, which will be an even more unique and splendid constructive work than the Aligarh College, which has no equal in India.

In short, gentlemen, we are to-day prepared to enter on a political career as a community which the spirit of the times impels us to do. A more active propaganda, a more candid statement of our needs and aspirations, and the giving of a more public and more representative character to our Political Association, are more necessary to-day than was the case in 1893. But nothing of the spirit of loyalty is lost thereby, and no amount of candour shall rob us of our traditional courtesy. The resolution which I have the honour of moving to-day has been so framed that the object of our League is frankly the protection and advancement of our political rights and intere ts, but without prejudice to the traditional loyalty of Musalmans to the Government, and goodwill to our Hindu neighbours. Whenever it is necessary to do so, we shall represent our views to the Government, and respectfully submit our claims for due consideration. But whenever the intention of any measure of Government is misunderstood by our people, it shall equally be our duty to remove that misconception. Those interests which we have in common with other communities will be advanced by us in common with them, and those additional interests which are exclusively ours will be advanced exclusively by us, though we shall advance them both through our League. But just as we shall be respectful and moderate in the representation of our views to

the Government, so shall we be just and fair to the other communities whose interests may clash with ours. This latter contingency may by some be regarded as a remote one, but at any rate it is possible, and it is on this account that the formation of a separate organization of the Musalmans is necessary. I cannot conceive that the ultimate interests of the various communities of India could ever conflict, but their immediate interests are, and shall often be at variance; and unless each community looks after itself, it can have no chance of achieving or retaining what is, by right, its own. This is only natural, and it is only on this account that our neighbours are asking for self-government. Can they, then, with any show of consistency, deny to us what they so vehemently claim for themselves?

In conclusion, gentlemen, I must say that only after a central League like the one proposed to be formed to-day comes into existence, can the Government find a representative body to which to turn for ascertaining the views of the Musalmans of India, and to which the Musalmans themselves can turn for consistent and firm support, sensible and sincere advice, and a true interpretation of the wishes of the Government. The materials have, for long, been ready, but only now shall we be able to rear from them the mighty and splendid fabric of a united people. And the spirit of the League will be the spirit of our poet who said:

Azad-rao hun aur mera maslak hai sulhi kul
Hargiz Kabhi kisi se adavat nahin mujhe.

Hakim Ajmal Khan seconded this resolution. He said, "I have nothing to add to the able speech of the Nawab Bahadur. The resolution itself is so clear, and its motives so apparent, that I shall only be reiterating what has already been said. I would therefore merely say that I second the resolution, and leave it for open discussion."

Mr. Zafar Ali made a speech in support of the resolution.

Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, supported the resolution, but wished to amend clause (c) substituting for the words 'to prevent the rise among the Musalmans of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities', the following words: 'to remove the cause of friction between the Musalmans of India and other communities'.

Sheikh Abdullah seconded the amendment.

Mr. Mohamed Ali explained that the words of the amendment only pointed out a method of "preventing the rise among the Musalmans of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities," and the amendment was therefore wholly covered by the language of the original resolution. On this the amendment was withdrawn. The original resolution was put to the vote, and passed unanimously.

RESOLUTION II

Resolved that a Provisional Committee be formed consisting of the

following gentlemen, with powers to add to their number, with a view to frame, within four months from this date, a Constitution for the League:

Joint Secretaries

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk.

Members

Eastern Bengal: The Hon'ble Nawab Salim-ul-lah of Dacca; The Hon'ble Choudhury Nawab Ali (Mymensingh); Moulvi Himayat-ud-din (Barisal).

Assam: Moulvi Abdul Majid, B.A. (Sylhet).

Western Bengal: Mr. Abdur Rahim, Bar-at-Law (Calcutta); Nawab Nasir-ud-din Khayal (Calcutta); Nawab Amir Hossain (Calcutta); Mr. Shams-ul-Huda, Vakil (Calcutta); Mr. Seraj-ul-Islam, Vakil (Calcutta); Mr. Abdul Hamid, Editor, *Moslem Chronicle* (Calcutta).

Bihar: Mr. Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law (Patna); Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, Bar-at-Law (Chhapra); Mr. Hasan Imam, Bar-at-Law (Patna).

Oudh: Mr. Nabi ul-lah, Bar-at-Law (Lucknow); Mr. Hamid Ali Khan, Bar-at-Law (Lucknow); Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk (Belgram); Munshi Ihtisham Ali (Lucknow); Mr. Zahur Ahmed, B.A., LL.B. (Lucknow); Mr. Mahomed Nasim, Vakil (Lucknow); Mr. Ghulam-us-Saqlain, B.A., LL.B. (Lucknow); Raja Nowshad Ali Khan (Lucknow).

Agra Province: Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk (Aligarh); Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk (Amroha); Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, Bar-at-Law (Aligarh); Mr. Mahomed Ishaque, B.A., LL.B. (Allahabad); Moulvi Karamat Hussein, Bar-at-Law (Allahabad); Mr. Abdur Raoof, Bar-at-Law (Allahabad); Mr. Mahomed Raoof, Bar-at-Law (Allahabad); Haji Mahomed Musa Khan (Aligarh); Khan Bahadur Mahomed Mozammil-ul-lah Khan (Aligarh); Mr. Abdullah Jan, Vakil (Shaharanpur); Mr. Abdul Majid, Bar-at-Law (Allahabad); Haji Ismail Khan (Aligarh); Sheikh Abdullah, B.A., LL.B. (Aligarh).

Punjab: Mr. Mahomed Shafi, Bar-at-Law (Lahore); Mr. Fazl Husain, Bar-at-Law (Lahore); Mr. Abdul Aziz, Editor, *Observer* (Lahore); Khwajah Yousaf Shah (Ludhiana); Hakim Ajmal Khan (Delhi); Shaikh Gholam Mohamed, Vakil (Amritsar); Mr. Ghulam Sadiq (Amritsar).

Frontier Province: Mufti Fida Mahomed Khan, Bar-at-Law (Peshawar), Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law (Peshawar).

Sindh: Mr. A.M. Dehlavi (Hyderabad).

Kathiawar: Mr. Ghulam Mahomed Munshi, Bar-at-Law (Rajkote).

Gujrat: Mr. Mohamed Ali, B.A. (Oxon.).

Bombay Presidency: His Highness Sir Aga Khan (Bombay); Nawabzada Nasr-ul-lah Khan, Bar-at-Law (Bombay); Mr. Rafi-ud-din, Bar-at-Law (Bombay).

Madras Presidency: Khan Bahadur Abdul Hadi Badsha (Madras); Khan Bahadur Ahmed Mohayy-ud-din (Madras); Mr. Yakub Hasan, Proprietor of the *Muslim Patriot* (Madras); Nawab Gholam Ahmed (Coromandel, K.G.F.); Mr. Abdul Hamid Hasan, B.A., L.L.B., Editor of the *Muslim Patriot* (Madras).

Orissa: Mr. Nur-ul-Haq, Secretary, Mohammedan Association (Cuttack).

Central Province: Khan Saheb Mahomed Amir Khan, Pleader (Nagpur); Mr. H.M. Mullick (Nagpur).

Burmah: Mr. A.S. Rafiqi (Rangoon).

Mr. Nabi-ul-lah proposed this resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Ahmad Mohayy-ud-din, and carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION III

Resolved that the Provisional Committee be authorized to convene a representative meeting of Indian Musalmans at a suitable time and place for the consideration and adoption of the constitution framed in this manner.

The resolution was proposed by Mr. Hasan Imam, seconded by Mr. Mahomed Ishaq, and carried *nem. con.*

RESOLUTION IV

Resolved that this meeting, in view of the clear interest of the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal, considers that the Partition is sure to prove beneficial to the Mohammedan community which constitutes the vast majority of that Province, and that all such methods of agitation as boycotting should be strongly condemned and discouraged.

This Resolution was moved by Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saqlain, seconded by Mr. Ghulam Sadiq and supported by several speakers. It was carried unanimously.

Votes of thanks were then passed for the Chairman and for the Nawab of Dacca, and the meeting dissolved.[1]

A PRESS VERSION

On December 30, 1906, after the conclusion of the Educational Conference, a special meeting was called to discuss the formation of a Political Association of Mohammedans. The meeting began about two hours after the advertised time, but was most enthusiastic. The speeches were clear and forcible, the packed audience listening with the greatest attention. The debate was keen and every point was followed with interest. Nawab Mohsin-

[1] *Green Book No.* 1, prepared by Mohamed Ali & printed at the Indian Daily Telegraph Press, Lucknow, 1907.

ul-Mulk made a graceful little speech thanking the Nawab of Dacca for his splendid hospitality, the like of which he declared he had not experienced elsewhere. He expressed satisfaction at the spirit and enthusiasm shown by the people of the new Province whom he had been told before were backward, ignorant, stupid and feckless, but who, under the new conditions of freedom, were bound to go far and fare well. The Nawab of Dacca then requested Viqar-ul-Mulk to take the Chair. The President, who spoke in Urdu, in an introductory speech said that there was no need to enlarge upon the subject they met to discuss. Time and circumstances made it necessary for Mohammedans to unite in an association so as to make their voice heard above the din of other vociferous parties in India and across the wide seas to England. Unless united in support of one another and working in loyal unison with the Government of India, the Muslim majority[1] who, through misfortunes and errors, had fallen from their once high estate, were in danger of being submerged by the enormous Hindu flood. Of the vital necessities of education he had spoken. Now they were concerned with matters political. In education and politics all Muslims, old and young, were concerned, but the direct business of youth was education. Theirs was not while students to make their voices heard in the political arena. In their immaturity and irresponsibility youth were to be discouraged here as dangerous and needless. When they acquired wisdom, width of outlook and sobriety then their turn would come. As the young gentleman who had seconded the Nawab of Dacca's proposal that he should take the Chair had said, youth was too hot, too frothy, therefore, unless mature wisdom and experience guided its councils, dangerous and ineffective. Advantage and every safety of the Mohammedans lay in loyalty to the Government. So much was their cause bound up with that of the British Raj that they must be prepared to fight and die for the Government if necessary. None knew that they might not yet be called on to do so. The political outlook of India was full of peril. At the present moment the air was full of thunder. The Mohammedans, whilst uniting and making their carefully considered wants heard, must maintain sanity and courtesy. The more revolutionary tendencies now rife in the country should be condemned and discouraged by all. There was at the same time no need for unreasonable bitterness of hostility against other parties. In safeguarding our cause, maintaining cordial relations with Government, who had made and kept India what it was—a land of peace, of equity, of opportunity and freedom, and where anarchy would ensue and the final ruin of Mohammedans if British Rule were for an hour removed—Mohammedans were doing their sacred duty. Their motto was 'Defence not Defiance' Mohammedans were with the Congress where the action of the Congress was for the good of the public and the Empire, but they reprobated utterly

[1] This may well be a misprint for minority!

all rabid, senseless opposition to Government. The cause of the Mohammedans was the cause of the British, the sympathies of Government were with Mohammedans. The Viceroy's reply to the Simla deputation, the logical consequence of which was this meeting, was full of encouragement for Mohammedans. His friend the Nawab of Dacca would now explain the scheme which would greatly strengthen the Muslim position and at the same time prove of great assistance to the rulers of this country in the accomplishment of their splendid but onerous and delicate task.

The Nawab of Dacca, rising, introduced the resolution in a lengthy speech. He said that a special necessity called for increased political activity of the Muslim community. All were in touch in India and Mohammedans felt a thrill of new life galvanizing the community. India was on the eve of a new era—a Mohammedan awakening from coma. The movement was not new, but the turning point of course was the result of the work of Sir Syed Ahmed. The new political movement had been forced on them. Had the party now in power in England been familiar with the position of Muslims, had Indian public men justly represented Muslim claims, the movement might perhaps not have been heard of, but quiet unobtrusive work was at a discount. Only those who cried loudest had a chance of being heard. The Muslims therefore were forced against their own wishes to abandon the traditional policy in order to secure easement of very real disabilities and to avoid the danger of their interests being neglected, whilst other Indians benefited. There had been a time when the formation of such a political union as now proposed was not unattended with some peril, and was inadvisable when the community was uneducated, with passions still unrestrained, spirit of caution lacking, loyalty in places undeveloped, and the situation delicate. Twenty years had wrought a vast change. To-day Government was convinced of the proven Mohammedan fealty. A great statesman had styled the Muslims as the "force of loyalty in India, one of the great assets of the Empire". The race, still warlike, saw what 50 years ago they were ignorant of, the advantage of their position under just restraints, lawful rule, and to-day was prepared to enter a political career as a community united, enlightened, loyal, and law-abiding. The resolution he was moving was framed to secure the protection and advancement of political rights and interests without prejudice to loyalty to the rulers or goodwill to their Hindu neighbours. As it shall be a moderate representation of their views to Government, so it shall be just and fair to other communities. Only after the central league as proposed came into existence can Government find a representative to-day to which to turn for ascertaining the views of Muslims, and Muslims turn for consistent, firm support, sensible, sincere advice, true interpretation of the wishes of Government. The materials had been long ready, only now were they able to rear the mighty and splendid fabric of a united people.

The following resolution was then read and carried with acclamation after a short debate, one or two slight amendments being held over for consideration in Committee when the scheme is being finally shaped for submission to a representative meeting, which will be held probably at Lucknow at Easter:

Resolved—That this meeting, composed of Musalmans from all parts of India assembled at Dacca, decides that a Political Association styled the 'All-India Moslem League' be formed for the furtherance of the following objects:

(a) To promote among the Musalmans of India feelings of loyalty to the British Government and to remove any misconceptions that may arise as to the intentions of Government with regard to any of its measures.

(b) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India and respectfully to represent their needs and aspirations to Government.

(c) To prevent the rise among the Musalmans of India of any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other objects of the league.[1]

1. *The Englishman*, December 31, 1906.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

FIRST SESSION

KARACHI, DECEMBER 29-30, 1907

The First Session of the All-India Muslim League opened on December 29, 1907, and was largely attended by delegates from different parts of the country. Sir Adamjee Peerbhoy on his entrance to the conference *mandap* was received with enthusiastic cheers.

Mr. Dehlavi, Karachi Secretary of the League, opened the proceedings by welcoming the delegates. He said that when he was first asked to accept the post of Local Secretary in Karachi, he hesitated to do so because he did not know whether the line of action he had to take in Sind would be consonant with the line of action which the League had in view now. He was in a position to say that it had the same spirit which their old thinkers and elders wished it to be. In benighted Sind political methods were calm, in fact they were devoid of agitation. The Muslim League was a new institution in India, but he thought if it carried on work in that quiet and calm manner which was characteristic of the political methods in Sind, it would grow into a most powerful and effective political force.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk then moved that Sir Adamjee Peerbhoy be elected President. Nawab Ali Choudhri and Mian Muhammad Shah Din respectively seconded and supported the proposition.

Mr. Shah Din said that Sir Adamjee held a very high position in the estimation both of the Government and the public. It was estimated that his public charities amounted to no less than Rs. 50 lakhs. Only in the previous year he had made a donation of Rs. 1,10,000 for the establishment of a science college at Aligarh. In view of his high virtues, his disinterested philanthropy

and his public spirit there was no Mohammedan in India who stood higher in public estimation than Sir Adamjee, and therefore, it was fit and proper that they should select him to preside over their deliberations.

At the request of the President, his son, Mr. Mohamedbhai, read his Presidential address, which was listened to with keen interest and punctuated with frequent applause.[1]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF SIR ADAMJEE

Gentlemen, I thank you most heartily for the great honour you have done me in selecting me to preside over your deliberations at this second gathering of the All-India Muslim League. I can only say that this is one of the proudest moments of my life and that the memory of the honour you have done me will never fade from my mind.

I need hardly tell you that this is only the second occasion on which this League has met. Its first public appearance was in December last year at Dacca when that great son of our patriotic community, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, occupied the presidential chair. The success of that first effort was all that we could naturally expect. Its proceedings were reported throuhgout the British Empire, and in the great London Press there were inspiring comments and criticisms which not only indicated that the movement had the widest sympathy of all well-wishers of the Mohammedans, but has imposed upon us the duty of developing this organization to its fullest possible extent.

If any doubt has ever existed, and I know of none, that the Mohammedans of India would fail in their duty to themselves, the gathering here to-day, the leaders of our people, the men in whom we put our trust and who are writing a memorable page in our history indicates in no uncertain way that the message has gone to the heart of the people, and we have at length awakened to the stern necessity of guarding our interests and advancing our cause. I have said that the first public evidence of our consolidation was given at Dacca, but the initiation of this movement goes a little further back. I know nothing which has been more productive of concrete results for the benefit of ourselves than that great and memorable national deputation which in October 1906, went to Simla and laid before H.E. Lord Minto the Petition embodying our national sentiments and aspirations. It will always be a matter of keen regret to me that circumstances denied me the honour and happiness of proceeding to Simla with the deputation, but I have some slight satisfaction in the fact that my own kith and kin, my son Ebrahim, together with Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad, represented this part of India.

The splendid courtesy with which that deputation was received by H.E. the Viceroy, inspired the Mommedans throughout India with complete confidence. His speech in reply to our memorial was a statesmanlike utterance

1. *Civil & Military Gazette*, December 31, 1907.

and the very words of it are engraven indelibly on our memory. It breathed confidence, and whilst it committed neither His Excellency nor his Government to any particular line of action, we knew that the great interests of Mohammedans would never be lightly set aside or suffer neglect. Concrete evidence of that fact has already been given in the schemes suggested by the Government of India for the improvement of the representation of the people on the Legislative Council, which regulates the affairs of India.

As I desired to say, the initiation of the League dates from that visit. You know as well as I do that the deputation was headed by His Highness the Aga Khan. That leader of our community is still young in years, but I only speak what we all have in our minds when I say we have hopes of his rendering us still higher services in the future. With him was the lamented late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, the Honorary Secretary of the deputation, to whom I must refer again. The first practical work was the formation of the plans for the organization of this League. It first met at Dacca in the east and was pronounced a success. It has met again here at Karachi in the west, the greatest city of Sindh, the centre of Islam, and as I look round me to-day, I can only express my surprise that a young movement has so quickly found the heart of our people and touched us with one common object, the advancement of our historic people. What the future has in store for the League I dare not prognosticate; but if the same spirit which animates us to-day guides its destinies, it will not be long before our rulers, and Mohammedans the world over, will look to the proceedings of this League for knowledge of our aspirations and the correct measure of our advancement along the paths we are destined to proceed. I appeal to every Mohammedan in India to realize this important fact, to do all in his power to add to the strength of the League, to understand its aims and objects, and to render it that practical support without which it can do nothing. We have ventured to draw the attention of the whole of India upon us; we have elected to give evidence to our rulers that we are a community imbued with high ambitions, and we have thus imposed upon ourselves a task from which we dare not shrink. We have taken a step forward; to go back would be to drop into oblivion and stamp ourselves as unworthy of the place we demand in the British Empire. I cannot dwell on this aspect of our duty too long or with too much earnestness. What is our first duty to this end? It is to be united in ourselves, to be of one mind and one purpose. We must of all things discard sectional jealousies and personal animosities; two evils which are capable of cankering the heart of the sublimest purpose. We must look to the good of the community as a whole: work shoulder to shoulder as true children of Islam. We are putting in the foundations of a mighty structure. Let us do good work.

My duty to-day, gentlemen, is to direct your energies to the consideration of those highly important subjects on which you will be called upon to express an opinion. They are momentous in all consideration, and whilst

I have no intention of impressing upon you any particular views of my own, I ask you to proceed with moderation and with a due recognition of the responsibility placed upon you. It is scarcely necessary for me to say that I have but a poor knowledge of the paths of political controversy. I am no scholar nor a man of many words. My sphere of action in this life has been cast in an entirely different direction. Since the time when nature made it possible for me to turn my hand to toil, I have laboured, and I must admit I still have much affection for the man who uses his energies in that direction. But I do not wish to be misunderstood. I do not despise those who labour in other fields. There is work for us all. Circumstances have compelled me to direct my energies into the paths of industrialism and no higher duty could be placed upon an individual. I believe in the dignity of labour as the great Prophet did. The history of our people, the history of our heroes and of those who have carried the flag of Islam over the world has been one of strenuous and ceaseless effort. Whatever we may have lacked in recent times in purely literary accomplishments, no one can charge the Mohammedan with not doing his fair share of the world's work. In India he has shown his special aptitude in industrialism, and I believe it is along these lines that he can best exert his influence and carve for himself a high position in the Empire. I love to see the development of Mohammedan enterprise, for it is a true measure of the energy and spirit of the people and we can never be without hope so long as we can maintain the reputation we have already earned. The history of the British people has shown that industrialism leads the way and on that foundation they built the great surperstructure of the arts. We, above all others, cannot afford to neglect higher education, for our people must take their part in the responsibilities of Government and the advancement of all such movements as require the energies of trained intelligence. It gave me particular satisfaction two years ago, at the time of the memorable visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and his beloved consort, to show that I was capable of appreciating work in another sphere, by, in some slight measure, assisting to found the Science School in connection with the Aligarh College.

It will be your duty, gentlemen, to turn your attention to highly important matters arising out of the proposed reforms in connection with the Indian Legislative Councils. I have no wish to impress upon you any ideas of my own, or to anticipate the decisions at which you may ultimately arrive. For myself, I must say that I received the news of the decision of Government, to reply to popular agitation by a considerable expansion of the principle of the Legislative Council, with every satisfaction. And this was enhanced by the fact that the Government has seen its way to recognize our prayer in the memorial addressed to H.E. Lord Minto, and safeguard the interests of the Mohammedans by providing class representation. As you are aware, the proposed reforms provide that there shall be a minimum of four Moham-

medan representatives in the Imperial Council. Whether that number is adequate or not will be for you to say, but we must be grateful to the Viceroy and the Government of India for the recognition of those claims we specifically set out in our memorial. It indicates that the Government is prepared to listen to the popular voice, and if this attitude is carried still further and influences the Government in its nomination of suitable men to represent us we shall have little to complain of. We must as far as possible preclude the monopolization of these appointments by those who have only personal ends to serve and encourage and stimulate our rising young men to exert their talents and energies for the good of their community. In the provincial councils, the same provisions for Mohammedan representation are made, and if we can only infuse into provincial governments the spirit which has animated the Government of India and the Secretary of State in dealing with our just and moderate claims, our labours will be considerably lightened. It is necessary for us to remember the wisdom expressed by Lord Minto to the deputation which waited on him at Simla. He said, "I agree with you, gentlemen, that the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government are to be found in the municipal and district boards, and that it is in that direction that we must look for gradual political education of the people." I am in full accord with those words and it is in this direction that our real labour must commence. When we learn to control our parochial surroundings, we can lay claim to adding our influence to imperial policy.

Another point in the memorial was the matter of the adequate employment of Mohammedans in the higher branches of the public service. We were told in the past that we lacked competence. That reproach can no longer be fairly brought against us in these days. We have in our midst educated Mohammedans who have fitted themselves for all responsible positions in the administration, and certainly our traditions show that we have always been faithful to any administrative trust reposed in us. It will be part of your duties, gentlemen, to discuss this matter, and I trust you will be able to add such weight to your words that the Government will adequately respond to your legitimate claims.

Our loyalty to the Government has never yet been impeached, and I trust it never will. But when a vast community sets itself to work to bring about its regeneration, its methods must be precise and open to no misconstruction. We recognize the difficulties of the Government in adjusting conflicting claims, but we must be as fearless as we are honest in our criticisms, whoever and whatever they may affect. So far as I know, the Government of India is the last to complain of criticism so long as it is fair, moderate and upright.

As you know, the third object of our League is to prevent, as far as possible, the rise of hostile feelings between the different communities in India. With that object I am in complete sympathy, for it passes my

understanding why the Mohammedans should in the advancement of their own interests injure those of any other people. We contribute to the common good by improving our own surroundings. It is no part of the purpose of this League to oppose the progress of other communities or to be aggressive towards them in any direction whatever. We respect all who work for the common good of the country.

I mentioned in opening my address the name of the late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. His death at such a time was a great blow to our community. Never were his services more needed than at the present time. He worked strenuously for the success of the deputation to Simla and it is some slight satisfaction to know that he saw at least the first fruits of his labours. His work was universally approved, for he had but one single object, and that the steady progress of his people. We have need of many such patriots and I cannot do better than ask our young men to study his life and works and let them be an example to follow.

The late Nawab has been succeeded as Secretary of the Aligarh College by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur. The wisdom of that appointment is fully indicated in the fact that it was unanimous. I know of no one more capable of wearing the mantle of the late Secretary than his present successor. His past labours have all been for the good of his people and Mohammedans may congratulate themselves that the Nawab has consented to take up the work at Aligarh.

I have but lightly touched upon those subjects with which you will be called upon to deal. I can offer you but small guidance in your deliberations, but my heart and soul is with you, and I pray with all the earnestness of an old man that God will direct your energies and lead you into the paths of righteousness and wisdom.[2]

On the conclusion of the address, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk thanked Sir Adamjee on behalf of the whole Mohammedan community of India for accepting the invitation to preside at the conference.

Mr. Ali Imam, in an eloquent speech, moved a vote of thanks to the President. He appealed to his co-religionists not to neglect their political interests, and not to ignore the efforts of Government who were ready to meet them halfway. Once the Mohammedans made common cause, and other communities would find that the Mohammedans were able to unite, they would respect them and co-operate with them.

Haji Musa Khan seconded the resolution which was carried by acclamation. Three cheers were then called for Sir Adamjee by Moulvi Rafi-ud-din and were heartily given. The Session adjourned till the next day.[3]

It was resolved to form a committee to prepare the draft of rules and

2. Official copy of the printed address.

3. *Civil & Military Gazette*, December 31, 1907.

regulations of the All-India Muslim League. It included those members who were elected in accordance with Resolution No. 2 of the Dacca proceedings of December 30, 1906, to form a committee to prepare the draft of rules and regulations of the League, and who were also present at the Karachi Session. It included those members who had formed part of the Simla Deputation, but could not be elected members of the committee in pursuance of Resolution No. 2, due to their absence from the Dacca Session, being in Government service or due to any other cause. It was unanimously resolved that other persons who had come from distant places and were specially interested in this work, should be deemed delegates of their provinces. In addition to these, three more members were unanimously co-opted, raising the total strength of the Committee to 26. It was further decided that the election of office-bearers should take place in March 1908 in a meeting of the All-India Muslim League at Aligarh.[4]

The Session also considered the question of affiliation of the Provincial Branch in the Punjab, where two Leagues were established. One was formed by Mian Fazl-i-Hussain in February 1906, the other by Mian Shafi on December 4, 1907. Besides Mian Shafi and Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, Raja Ghulam Hussain, Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. (later Sir) Ali Imam participated in the discussion. Eventually Mian Fazl-i-Hussain withdrew his claim, and it was decided to merge the two bodies into one with Mian (later Justice) Shah Din as President, Mian Shafi, General Secretary, and Mian Fazl-i-Hussain as Joint Secretary.[5]

4. *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, March 25, 1908, p. 8.

5. Azim Husain: *Fazl-i-Hussain*, 1906, p. 97.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

FIRST SESSION (*Contd.*)

ALIGARH, MARCH 18-19, 1908

First Sitting

The members of the All-India Muslim League assembled at Aligarh on March 18, 1908, to transact important business left unfinished at Karachi. The spacious bungalow of Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan had been borrowed for the accommodation of the guests from outstations and for the Meeting. The first sitting of the League began at 8 a.m. The members present, including a few new members elected at the meeting, are listed in Appendix A.

As President of the Reception Committee, Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan welcomed the members of the League to Aligarh and asked them to elect their Chairman.

Mr. Fazl-i-Husain, moved, seconded and supported by Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan and Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad, respectively, that Mr. Muhamad Shah Din, be voted to the Chair. The motion was unanimously carried. Mr. Shah Din took the Chair and called upon the Secretary to lay before the Meeting the proceedings of the Karachi sitting of the League, which were read and confirmed.

The Secretary reported with regret the death of two leading members of the League, Khalifa Syed Muhamad Husain of Patiala and Mr. Abdul Hadi Padsha of Madras. He also announced with gratification the elevation of a prominent member of the League, Maulvi Syed Karamat Husain to the Bench of the Allahabad High Court, though regretting that the League will now be deprived of his valuable guidance and co-operation.

The resignation of Nawab Syed Sardar Ali of Bombay from the membership of the League for private reasons was placed before the meeting and accepted.

The Secretary invited the opinion of the meeting as to the desirability or otherwise of not enforcing with rigour the provision as to the date by which the existing members of the League should pay their admission and membership fees. The date by which the members ought to have sent in their dues was February 15, 1908, but it was unanimously agreed that in view of the fact that the League is yet in its infancy, this rule may be relaxed in its application, and fees received subsequent to the date be duly accepted. It was also resolved that the original members nominated under groups first, second and third of Rule No. 4 should be permanently regarded as members and enrolled as such on the new register from the date on which they pay their fees and thus become entitled to exercise the rights of membership under Rule 12.

A donation of Rs. 500 from His Highness Sir Aga Khan, G.C.I.E., was announced and received with acclamation, out of which Rs. 50 were credited to the account of the League as the admission and membership fees of His Highness.

After this the election of new members began, and the following were duly proposed and elected:

	Name	*Mover*	*Seconder*
1.	Syed Mohamad Husain of Barisal	Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur	Haji Musa Khan
2.	Sheikh Abdul Rauf, Rais of Mau Aima (Allahabad)	do	Khan Bahadur Muzamil-ul-lah Khan
3.	Amir Mustafa Khan, Rais of Buragaon (Aligarh)	do	do
4.	Sheikh Shahid Husain, Bar-at-Law	do	Maj. Syed Hassan Bilgrami
5.	Maulvi Khalilur-Rahman Khan, Rais of Bhikanpur (Aligarh)	Khan Bahadur Muzamil-ul-lah Khan	Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur
6.	Maulvi Manzurun-Nabi of Pilibhit	—	—
7.	Haji Muhamad Sahib Khan, Rais of Bhikanpur (Aligarh)	Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur	Mr. Habibur-Rahman Khan
8.	Mr. Sakhawat Ali (Lucknow)	do	Sayed Nabi-ul-lah
9.	Nawab Muhamad Hasan Khan (Lucknow)	do	do

	Name	*Mover*	*Seconder*
10.	Maulvi Abdus Salam, B.A.,LL.B. (Aligarh)	Sheikh Abdullah	Haji Musa Khan
11.	Haji Isa Khan, Rais of Dataoli (Aligarh)	do	do
12.	Haji Muhamad Yusuf Khan, Rais of Bhuransi (Aligarh)	do	do
13.	Mr. P. B. Kadri, Bar-at-Law (Aligarh)	do	do
14.	Mr. Muhamad Yakub (Shahjahanpur)	Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur	do
15.	Sheikh Kifayat-ul-lah, Hony. Magistrate, (Partabgarh)	do	Khan Bahadur Muzamil-ul-lah Khan
16.	Mirza Sami-ul-lah Beg, B.A., LL.B. (Lucknow)	Syed Zahur Ahmad	Mr. Muhamad Nasim
17.	Maulvi Ali-ud-din Hasan of Hyderabad (Deccan, Native States group)	Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur	Haji Musa Khan
18.	Mr. Sultan Ahmad, Bar-at-Law (Calcutta)	do	do
19.	Khan Bahadur Maulvi Hayat Ashraf-ud-din (Hugli)	do	do
20.	Khan Bahadur Maulvi Abdul Jabar (W. Bengal)	do	do
21.	Moiyadaleslam Aga Sayed Jalal-ud-din, (Calcutta)	do	do
22.	Khan Bahadur Badr-ud-din Haydar (W. Bengal)	do	do
23.	Sir Adamjee Peerbhoy (Bombay)	Unanimously nominated at the instance of Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad, in honour of his being the President of the League meeting at Karachi, whose name ought to have been added to the original list of nominated members prepared at Karachi, but was inadvertently omitted.	

Mian Muhamad Shafi then proposed the names of 24 gentlemen from the Punjab to be elected as members of the All-India Muslim League, and Sheikh Ghulam Sadiq of Amritsar seconded the motion.

Mr. Fazl-i-Hussain, proposed the names of 18 gentlemen from the Punjab for election who were not included in the list of Mr. Mohamad Shafi. This motion was not seconded. Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan moved and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur and Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan seconded and supported that, as under the rules only 24 more members could be elected from the Punjab, time should be allowed to get the two movers to combine their lists and between themselves agree to propose only 24 on behalf of the Punjab, and therefore the election of the members for the Punjab was unanimously adjourned to the afternoon sitting.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk then moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Major Syed Hassan Bilgrami and supported by Sheikh Abdul Qadir, and unanimously adopted:

> The All-India Muslim League is of the opinion that with the view of promoting its objects it is desirable that the League should co-operate with, and support financially and otherwise, the British Committee which has recently been founded in London under the presidency of Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., in whom the League has perfect confidence.

With regard to financial support it was unanimously decided to send a lump sum of Rs. 1,500 (or £ 100 in English money) to Syed Ameer Ali's Committee on behalf of the League as the aid the League can afford to give at present.

Second Sitting

March 18, 2 p.m.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur proposed that the 15 gentlemen whose names had been put forward for election by Syed Ali Imam, at Bankipur, be elected as members. Haji Musa Khan seconded the proposal and it was carried unanimously. (For the names of the members from Bihar thus elected see the list of 15 names marked Appendix B.)

Mr. Yakub Hasan moved that the following be elected for the Madras Presidency:

1.	Khan Bahadur Ghulam Muhamad Muhajir	Madras
2.	Khan Bahadur Walji Lalji Seth	George Town
3.	Maulvi Hazi Ziauddin Mohamad	George Town
4.	Malaong Hayat Badsha	Madras
5.	Maulvi Syed Murtaza	Trichinopoly
6.	Mohyuddin Badsha	Kallai

The motion was seconded by Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad and carried.

The election of the members for the Punjab being taken up, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur asked Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan to make a statement

before the meeting as to the result of the negotiations carried on by him and Sheikh Muhamad Abdullah between the representatives of the two Leagues at Lahore about arranging terms on which the two Leagues could unite and form one body. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan said that he had found both Mr. Fazl-i-Husain and Mr. Muhamad Shafi willing to bring about the desired union, and they had all but agreed about the terms, the only difficulty being about certain offices. Mr. Fazl-i-Husain was agreeable to uniting and co-operating with the League of which Mr. Muhamad Shafi was the Secretary, if 10 members of the former were taken on the Executive Committee of the latter and if one Vice-President, one Joint Secretary and one Assistant Secretary was taken on the latter from the office-bearers of the former. The difficulty was about the Joint Secretary, as Joint Secretaries had already been appointed and there was no vacancy. The Meeting, therefore, pressed Mr. Muhamad Shafi to add another Joint Secretary to the two already appointed and welcomed this settlement.

This understanding facilitated the business of the election, and Mr. Muhamad Shafi moved and Mian Fazl-i-Husain seconded a list of 22 members from the Punjab for election, and they were unanimously elected. This list had been prepared by both in consultation out of the two lists prepared by them in the morning. The names of the members thus elected are given in Appendix C.

After the election, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan proposed and Haji Muhamad Musa Khan seconded "that in its present united form the League in the Punjab may be taken as the Provincial League established by the All-India Muslim League under para (a) of Rule 24". This proposal was unanimously carried.

The election of office-bearers was the next item on the programme. Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad, proposed and Mian Muhamad Shafi seconded, supported by Haji Muhamad Yusuf Khan, "that His Highness Sir Aga Khan, G.C.I.E., be elected President of the All-India Muslim League". The resolution was unanimously adopted and communicated to His Highness by wire. Mian Muhamad Shafi moved, and Mr. Muhamad Muzamil-ul-lah Khan seconded, supported by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk that "Major Syed Hassan Bilgrami, I.M.S., be elected Honorary Secretary of the League": carried unanimously.

Mian Muhamad Shafi moved, seconded by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, "that Haji Muhamad Musa Khan be elected Honorary Joint Secretary of the League": carried unanimously.

Sheikh Abdul Qadir moved a vote of thanks to Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, the retiring Provincial Secretary. He referred to the Nawab as virtually the founder of the League and the originator of the idea in its present form, and expressed the regret felt by all the members of the League at the loss of his services to the League in the capacity of a Secretary, but they found consolation

in the fact "that it was on account of his taking up the still more onerous duties of the Secretary of the M.A.O. College that the Nawab had to resign the Secretaryship of the League". This motion was seconded by Syed Nabi-ul-lah, and supported by Mr. Muhamad Yakub Hasan, and carried unanimously.

The question where the permanent headquarters of the League should be was taken up next at the instance of Munshi Ihtisham Ali; but after a good deal of discussion, it was agreed that it would be an advantage not to bind the League to any particular centre and to be free to hold its meetings wherever necessary for promoting its objects. Mr. Yakub Hasan moved, and Mr. Muhamad Shafi seconded, that the existing members of the All-India League in Madras be requested to take early steps for the formation of a Provincial Muslim League in that Presidency. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. Yakub Hasan called the attention of the President to a correction that was necessary on page 23 of the printed Rules, in para (a) of Rule 39, where the words "two-thirds of the members of the League" should be read as "two-thirds of the members present at the League", because the Rule, as it stood, would be obviously meaningless when read in conjunction with Rule 16 disallowing votes by proxy. He said that he was present at Karachi where the Rules were framed and had understood the Rule in question to mean two-thirds of the members present at the League, and therefore moved formally that the correction may be made. Mr. Muhamad Shafi seconded the proposal and it was resolved that the correction may be made.

The programme for the day being finished the meeting adjourned till the next morning.

Third Sitting

March 19, 1908, 8 *a.m.*

The Secretary laid before the meeting the opinions that had been received regarding the question of Indians in the Transvaal in response to his invitation to the members of the League to express their views on the subject. As the opinions were connected mainly with the dissatisfaction that prevailed among the Indians in the Transvaal about registration and thumb marks, it was decided, in view of the compromise recently arrived at in South Africa, to file the papers for the present, as no immediate action on the part of the League was needed now. The formation of a Central Committee of the League, in accordance with Rule 17, was the next item on the programme. A misprint in line 4 of Rule 17 was corrected, and it is placed on record that the words "including the office-bearers of the League" must be read as "excluding the office-bearers".

Maulvi Zahur Ahmad proposed and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk seconded

that the Central Committee should consist of 40 members, the maximum allowed under the present rules.

Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan moved an amendment seconded by Sheikh Abdul Qadir that it should consist of 35 for the present.

The amendment was lost and the substantive motion taken as accepted.

The distribution of the 40 members of the Central Committee over different provinces followed next. The award was in proportion to the number of members allowed to each Province under Rule 5 and came out as follows:

Agra and Oudh	7
Punjab	7
Bombay, including Sindh	4
Madras	2½
N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan	1½
Upper Bengal, Bihar and Orissa	7
Eastern Bengal and Assam	7
Berar, Central India and Ajmer	1½
Burma	1
10 Native States etc.	1½
	40

Fractions occurring in some cases were adjusted as follows after great discussion:

Mr. Yakub Hasan moved, Haji Musa Khan seconded, that Madras should get 3 instead of 2½.

Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan moved the amendment that Madras should have 2, and this being seconded by Maulvi Zahur Ahmad, was carried.

Mr. Abdul Aziz moved, and Haji Musa Khan seconded, that the N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan should have 1.

Mr. Muhamad Shafi moved, and Major Syed Hassan seconded, that the N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan should have 2.

The amendment was put to vote and lost, and the N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan got 1.

Major Syed Hassan moved, and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk seconded, that Beara, Central India and Ajmer should have 2.

This was carried.

Mr. Yakub Hasan moved, and Mr. Muhamad Shafi seconded, that one seat on the Central Committee now left for disposal on account of fractions[1] should be allowed to one of the provinces having fractional numbers and that the N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan should get it.

Mr. Zahur Ahmad, seconded by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, moved that it should be given to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The Nawab explained that this was necessary in the interests of the League, as its centre of

[1]This implies one member for Native State etc.

operations for the present was in the United Provinces, and it would help the conducting of ordinary business to have enough members in this part of the country to secure easily the presence of a quorum at the ordinary meeting of the Central Committee. Mr. Muhamad Shafi, admitting the force of the explanation, said that he and the mover would give up their proposal in favour of the United Provinces, if it was expressly agreed that this additional seat was not to fall permanently to the share of the United Provinces, but was to be understood as a temporary arrangement specially necessitated by the present requirements of the League.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk admitted that such was the object of the motion he had seconded, and thereupon the resolution was adopted.

The election of the members of the Central Committee was postponed to the afternoon sitting.

The Council's Reform Scheme of the Government of India was then taken up for consideration. A draft prepared on behalf of the League embodying the Mohammedan view of the Reform Scheme was laid on the table by the Secretary. Printed copies of the opinions already sent to Government by the Trustees of the M.A.O. College and by the Provincial Muslim League of Punjab were also there along with individual opinions of some leading Mohammedans received by the Secretary. Sheikh Abdul Qadir moved that the draft and the printed opinions on the Government scheme for the expansion of Councils be referred to a representative committee of the League with full powers to consider and adopt it with any necessary changes and to submit it to Government as the opinion of the League. Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan seconded this motion.

Mr. Zahur Ahmad moved an amendment that the principles on which the committee is to proceed should be discussed before the meeting and the drafting done by the Committee. Mr. Ihtisham Ali seconded this amendment. The amendment was put to the vote and lost; then the original motion was carried by majority, and a committee with full powers consisting of the following gentlemen was nominated: Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk; Syed Nabi-ul-lah, Bar-at-Law; Mr. Yusuf Hassan; Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad, Bar-at-Law; Mr. Zahur Ahmad; Mr. Fazl-i-Husain, Bar-at-Law; and Khwaja Yusuf Shah.

It was decided that the Committee should prepare and send the opinion, so that it might reach the Government before March 31, the date up to which opinions on the scheme could be received by the Government, and it should bear the signatures of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, Major Syed Hassan Bilgrami and Haji Muhamad Musa Khan, as Ex-Secretary, Secretary and Joint Secretary, respectively.

The next item on the programme was a resolution about the separation of judicial and executive functions.

Mian Muhamad Shafi moved, and Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan seconded, "that this meeting of the All-India Muslim League is of the opinion

that in view of the stage of administrative progress which this country has reached, it is in the highest degree desirable that, so far as may be, judicial functions should be separated from executive functions, as the combination of the two in one officer tends not infrequently to defeat the ends of justice. The League fully approved of the experiment of the separation of the two functions which it is proposed to try in certain districts of Eastern Bengal and Assam and suggests that similar experiments be tried, with due regard to local circumstances in each Province."

In the discussion that followed Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan and Haji Yusuf Khan spoke against the resolution, and Mr. Zahur Ahmad and Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad spoke in favour of it.

On votes being taken, there were only five votes for dropping the resolution and the rest for passing it, and it was carried.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk moved and Haji Muhamad Musa Khan seconded that a message of condolence be wired on behalf of the League to the bereaved family of Khalifa Syed Muhamad Husain. The motion was unanimously carried.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk moved, and Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan seconded, that "The All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of gratification at the appointment of the Honorable Maulvi Syed Karamat Husain, Bar-at-Law, as a Judge of the High Court of Judicature for the United Provinces, and is also gratified at the confirmation of the Honorable Justice Sharf-ud-din in his appointment as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court." The resolution was carried unanimously.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk called the attention of the members to Rule 31, under which the Honorary Secretary may, during his temporary absence, appoint one of the Joint Secretaries as his *locum tenens*, and then to Rule 37, under which the Secretary may draw on funds deposited in the Bank under his signature. He suggested that the words "Secretary or in his absence his *locum tenens*" be substituted for the word "Secretary" in rule 37, as without a clear statement of that kind in the Rules, the Bank would not accept any signature except those of the Secretary, which would be detrimental to business during the absence of the Secretary.

The suggestion was unanimously adopted.

Fourth Sitting

March 19, 1.30 *p.m.*

Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad moved the following resolution with a suitable introductory speech:

The All-India Muslim League takes this opportunity of respectfully calling the attention of the Government to the prayers embodied in the address presented by the All-India Mohammedan Deputation to His Excellency

the Viceroy at Simla, and earnestly hopes that the Government will be pleased to take steps to grant such of those prayers as have not been yet acceded to. In particular the League would invite attention to the following matters:

(a) The imperative necessity which exists in India for the appointment of a Mohammedan Judge to each of the High Courts and Chief Courts of the country where such appointment has not already been made.

(b) The urgent need for giving the Mohammedans their share of appointments in the various branches of the Public Service, inasmuch as the existing disparity as regards numbers between Mohammedans and the members of other communities in Government Service has resulted in unduly depressing the status of the former, and, if allowed to continue, would tend to intensify the dissatisfaction caused by the present state of things.

(c) The vital importance of the adequate representation of Mohammedans as a distinct community on the Legislative Councils, both Imperial and Provincial, and also on municipal, district and local boards throughout the country by enabling Mohammedan voters to elect their own representatives on these Boards.

(d) The great desirability of safeguarding Mohammedan educational interests by securing the due representation of Mohammedans on the Syndicates and Senates of the Indian Universities and on the Textbook Committee connected with the Department of Public Instruction.

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan seconded the resolution. Major Syed Hassan moved that as the Council's Reform Scheme was under consideration, the part of the resolution dealing with representation in the councils and municipalities may be omitted or postponed for the present.

Mr. Fazl-i-Husain seconded this amendment. Maulvi Habib-ur-Rahman Khan spoke in favour of the original resolution urging that all the requests made in the epoch-making memorial of the Mohammedan deputation to H.E. the Viceroy at Simla should be embodied in the Resolution, and Mian Muhamad Shah Din supported this view. On votes being taken on the amendment, there were only two votes for the amendment, which was thus lost. The original Resolution was then put to the vote and passed unanimously.

Mr. Yakub Hasan moved and Sheikh Abdul Qadir seconded that the election of the members of the Central Committee may be a special resolution and be made for one year for the present and not for three years as provided by Rule 19, because the provincial organization of the League being yet incomplete, it would cause dissatisfaction in different provinces if on formation of Provincial Leagues there, it is found that their representatives on the Central Committee have already been chosen for them.

Doubts were expressed as to whether the meeting would be within its

rights in passing any such resolution suspending the operation of a rule adopted at the last meeting after deliberation.

Mr. Zahur Ahmad expressed the opinion that the meeting could do so, being an adjourned sitting of the Karachi meeting. After some discussion, it was decided to have a vote on this latter point, and 12 votes to 10 decided that this meeting had no power to pass a resolution like the above.

Election of the members of the Central Committee for different provinces was then taken up. Shaikh Sayid Husain moved, and Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan seconded, that Syed Nabi-ul-lah, Bar-at-Law, Mr. Zahur Ahmad, B.A., LL.B., and Munshi Ihtisham Ali may be elected to represent Oudh. No other names having been proposed, no ballot was necessary, and the three gentlemen were unanimously elected.

Two lists of five persons each having been put forward on behalf of the Province of Agra, the ballot was taken and the following five gentlemen were declared duly elected: Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur (Aligarh); Maulvi Habibur-Rahman Khan (Aligarh); Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Bar-at-Law (Aligarh); Khan Bahadur Muzamil-ul-lah Khan (Aligarh); Sayed Abdur Raoof, Bar-at-Law (Allahabad).

A list of seven was put forward for the Punjab by Mian Muhamad Shafi, and his motion being seconded by Mian Fazl-i-Husain, the following seven members were elected:

Mian Muhamad Shah Din; Khwaja Yusuf Shah; Mian Muhamad Shafi; Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Editor of *The Observer*; Sheikh Abdul Qadir; Mian Fazl-i-Husain; and Mian Hisam-ud-din.

Sir Adamji Pirbhoy, Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad and Mr. A. M. K. Dehlavi were elected on behalf of Bombay and Sindh; and Mr. Yakub Hasan and Khan Bahadur Ghulam Muhamad Muhajir on behalf of Madras.

Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, was elected on behalf of N.W.F. Province and Baluchistan.

Nawab Amir Hassan Khan, C.I.E.; Nawab Nasiri Khan Khyal; Khan Bahadur Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg; Syed Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law; Nawab Sarfraz Husain Khan; Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, Bar-at-Law, and Mr. Abdul Rahim were duly elected for Western Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Nawab of Dacca; Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhri; Maulvi Abdul Majid; Sayed Muhamad Husain were elected for Eastern Bengal and Assam. Maulana H.M. Malik was elected for the Central Provinces; Mr. A.S. Rafiqi for Burma; Colonel Abdul Majid Khan of Patiala and Mr. Muhamad Ali, B.A. (Oxon.), of Baroda, for the group of Native States, etc.

The Statement of Income and Expenditure for the last year was presented by the Secretary and adopted; and expenditure up to Rs. 57 a month was sanctioned for the office establishment of the Secretary, consisting of an English-knowing clerk on a salary of up to Rs. 35 a month, a *muharrir* on Rs. 15 a month, and a *chaprasi* on Rs. 7 a month.

Mian Muhamad Shafi moved a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee on behalf of all the guests for the excellent arrangements for their comfort which the Committee had made, and specially mentioned the name of Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan in this connection. The latter, as the President of the Reception Committee, thanked the guests and warmly acknowledged the debt he owed to his colleagues on the Committee, Maulvi Habib-ur-Rahman Khan, Haji Muhamad Yusuf Khan, Mr. Muhamad Salik Khan, Mr. Amir Mustafa Khan and others for the success of the arrangements that had been appreciated by the guests.

Before concluding, Mr. Muzamil-ul-lah Khan made a practical suggestion to the members of the League that they should be on the alert whenever any distinguished visitor from England came to this country, and should try, individually and collectively, to make the Mohammedan point of view on the questions of the day known to them. By doing so, he said, they would be rendering a service both to the Government and to their community, as great harm was done by these well-meaning visitors coming in contact with only one party in India and knowing only one side of the political problems of this country.

Main Muhamad Shah Din, as Chairman of the meeting, then wound up the proceedings in a speech expressing gratification at the work that had been done by the meeting.

The meeting then adjourned with a vote of thanks to the Chair and three hearty cheers for His Majesty the King Emperor.[1]

1. Report of Haji Mohamad Musa Khan, Offg. Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League. Printed at the Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1908.

APPENDIX A

List of Members Present or Elected at the Meeting Held on March 18-19, 1908

S. No.	*Name*	*Address*
1.	Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, Maulvi Muhamad Mushtaq Husain Intasarjang, Rais, Amroha, District Moradabad	Aligarh
2.	Khan Bahadur Mian Muhamad Shah Din, Bar-at-Law	Lahore
3.	Khan Bahadur Mian Muhamad Shafi, Bar-at-Law	Lahore
4.	Maulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad, Bar-at-Law	Bombay
5.	Khan Bahadur Khwaja Muhamad Yusuf Shah, Hony. Magistrate and Rais	Amritsar
6.	Khan Bahadur Sheikh Ghulam Sadiq, Hony. Magistrate and Rais	Amritsar
7.	Mian Fazl-i-Husain, Bar-at-Law	Lahore
8.	Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law	Peshawar
9.	Sheikh Abdul Qadir, B.A., Bar-at-Law	Delhi
10.	Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan Ahmadi, B.A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law	Aligarh
11.	Sheikh Muhamed Abdullah, B.A., LL.B.	Aligarh
12.	Major Syed Hassan Bilgrami, IMS	Belgram (Oudh)
13.	Maulvi Muhamad Nasim, Advocate	Lucknow
14.	Khan Bahadur Muhamad Muzamil-ul-lah Khan, Hony. Magistrate and Rais	Bhikanpur, Dist. Aligarh
15.	Maulvi Muhamad Habibur-Rahman Khan Rais	Bhikanpur, Dist. Aligarh

16.	Sheikh Shahid Husain, Bar-at-Law	Lucknow
17.	Syed Nabi-ul-lah, Bar-at-Law	Lucknow
18.	Syed Zahur Ahmad, B.A., LL.B.	Lucknow
19.	Mirza Sami-ul-lah Beg, B.A., LL.B.	Lucknow
20.	Mr. Razzaq Bakhsh Qadri, Bar-at-Law	Aligarh
21.	Maulvi Abdus Salam, B.A., LL.B.	Aligarh
22.	Munshi Ihtisham Ali, Rais, Kakori	Lucknow
23.	Haji Muhamad Yusuf Khan, Rais	Bunhasi, Dist. Aligarh
24.	Mr. Amir Mustafa Khan, Rais	Burahgaon, Aligarh
25.	Haji Muhamad Saleh Khan, Rais	Bhikanpur Dist. Aligarh
26.	Mr. Yakub Hasan	Coromandel, K.G.F., Madras
27.	Sheikh Muhamad Abdur Rauf, Rais	Mau Aima, Dist. Allahabad
28.	Maulvi Abdullah Jan, Vakil	Saharanpur
29.	Sheikh Kifayat-ul-lah, Hony. Magistrate and Rais	Partabgarh
30.	Maulvi Muhamad Khalilur-Rahman Khan, Rais	Bhikanpur, Dist. Aligarh
31.	Haji Muhamad Musa Khan, Rais	Dataoli, Aligarh

APPENDIX B

List of 15 Members from Bihar

Elected on March 18, 1908

S. No.	*Name*	*Address*
1.	Sayed Muhamad Kamal, Rais	Diyanwan, Dist. Patna
2.	Sayed Najmul Huda, Bar-at-Law	Patna
3.	Sayed Tasadduk Husain, Rais	Pinjora, Dist. Gaya
4.	Hafiz Abdul Rahman, Rais	Kakoo, Dist. Gaya
5.	Mr. Wasi Ahmad, Bar-at-Law	Bhagulpore
6.	Sayed Mahboob Husain, Rais	Pinjora, Dist. Gaya
7.	Munshi Muhamad Saddiq, Mukhtar	Motihari, Dist. Champaran
8.	Sayed Khalil-ul-Rahman	Natul, Dist. Patna
9.	Sayed Said Ashraf, Rais	Patna
10.	Sayed Mahboob Ashraf	Natul, Dist. Patna
11.	Chowdhry Karamat Husain, Rais	Agrah
12.	Sayed Shah Muhamad Yahya, Rais	Monghyr
13.	Mr. Khairat Ahmad Khan Bahadur, Rais, Vakil, High Court	Gaya
14.	Mr. Shah Muhamad Suleman	Phulwari, Dist. Patna
15.	Qazi Farzan Ahmad Khan, Rais	Gaya

APPENDIX C

List of 22 Members from Punjab

Elected on March 18, 1908

S. No.	*Name*	*Address*
1.	Nawab Muhamad Ali Khan Qizilbash, Hony. Magistrate	Lahore
2.	Khan Bahadur Khan Ahmad Shah, Hony. District Judge	Jullunder
3.	Khwaja Ahmad Shah, Municipal Commissioner	Ludhiana
4.	Mian Ihsan-ul-Haq, Bar-at-Law	Jullunder
5.	Khan Bahadur Saith Adamji Mamoonji, Hony. Magistrate	Rawalpindi
6.	Mirza Ajaz Husain, B.A.	Ambala
7.	Mian Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law	Hoshiarpur
8.	Khan Bahadur Qazi Ghulam Muhamad Khan, B.A., Hony. Magistrate and Rais	Delhi
9.	Chowdhri Shahab-ud-din, B.A., LL.B.	Lahore
10.	Mirza Jalal-ud-din, M.R.A.S., Bar-at-Law	Lahore
11.	Maulvi Mahboob Alam Sahib, Editor and Proprietor, *Paisa Akhbar*	Lahore
12.	Khan Sahib Munshi Fakhruddin, Vice President, Municipal Committee, and Rais	Simla
13.	Maulvi Ahmad-ud-din, B.A., Pleader	Lahore
14.	Sheikh Muhamad Omar, B.A., Bar-at-Law	Amritsar
15.	Chowdhri Nabi Bakhsh Khan, B.A., LL.B.	Lahore
16.	Agha Muhamad Baqar Khan, Rais	Sialkot

17.	Raja Akram-ullah Khan, Hony. Magistrate	Gujranwala, Wazir-abad
18.	Qazi Siraj-ud-din Ahmad, Bar-at-Law	Rawalpindi
19.	Maulvi Fazl-ud-din Sahib, Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab	Lahore
20.	Mian Nizam-ud-din, Rais	Lahore
21.	Chowdhri Sultan Muhamad Khan, Bar-at-Law	Sialkot
22.	Sheikh Abdul Haq, B.A. LL.B.	Multan

APPENDIX D

Abstract of Income and Expenditure of the Account of All-India Muslim League up to March 18, 1908[1]

Date	*Income*	*Rs. A. P.*	*Expenditure*	*Rs. A. P.*
30-12-1907 to 15-2-1908	Entrance fee and annual subscription of 39 members	1,950.0.0	Salary of Munshi Abdushakoor from 16-1-1908 to 29-2-1908	22.11.9
16-2-1908 to 18-3-1908	Entrance fee and annual subscription of His Highness Sir Aga Khan, G.C.I.E.	50.0.0	Salary of Munshi Mohd. Raza for 7 days up to 29-2-1908	2.10.6
	Donation of His Highness Sir Aga Khan, G.C.I.E.	450.0.0	Salary of Abdulbhai, Daftari, up to 29-2-1908	7.10.6
	Entrance fee and annual subscription of 25 members	1,250.0.0	Printing charges of Urdu Rules and Regulations	20.14.3
	Mr. Ahmed Mohayy-ud-din, member of Madras	25.0.0	Printing charges of Regulations & letters	18. 2.6
			Telegrams up to 18-3-1908	74.12.0
			Postage stamps	64.10.3
			Summary	90. 5.6
			Balance	
			1. Bank of Bengal 2,300. 0.0	
			2. Loan granted to Reception Committee 386 .9.6	
			3. In hand of H.M. Musa Khan 736.9.3	
				3,423.2.9
		3,725.0.0		3,725.0.0

1. Report of Haji Muhamad Musa Khan, *op. cit*

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

SECOND SESSION

AMRITSAR, DECEMBER 30-31, 1908

First Sitting

The All-India Muslim League opened its first sitting, after the passing of the constitution, at Amritsar on December 30, 1908, at 11-30 a.m. in a beautiful *pandal* draped with fine specimens of Amritsar and Kashmir work. The proceedings commenced with the President of the Reception Committee welcoming the members. Khan Bahadur Khwaja Yusuf Shah, President, Reception Committee, said:

To speak the truth, I am quite at a loss to find words to thank those gentlemen who have nominated me as Chairman of the Reception Committee and as such have entrusted me with the most pleasant duty of welcoming the members of the All-India Muslim League that have assembled here to day. It has been very truly said that when the heart is full, language is too impotent an instrument to give due expression to the feelings of the heart; and no wonder that I find myself in still greater difficulty in being able to give adequate expression to my feelings of regard and respect towards you. The business that has brought us together here is to solve the great problem of Muslim politics and to safeguard their interests in the future administration of the country in all its important branches. I trust that the labours of the League will result in successful issue. There is, however, one thing which, with your permission, I might venture to suggest. That is that the great principle to be observed in passing our resolutions should be to give them the form of practical suggestions as far as possible, so as not to create any insurmountable

difficulty in their acceptance by the Government. At the same time, it should be respectfully, but emphatically brought to the notice of the benign Government that the Muslim community, though from the numerical point of view it is in the minority, considering its past history and its political importance, is after all an important and influential minority, and that in the best interests of the community, it is desirable that due consideration be shown to these points. With these few observations, I bid you Godspeed in your deliberations. Ours, gentlemen, is a righteous cause, and I fervently trust that under the providence of God and the wise guidance of our worthy President, every success will attend your efforts.

Haji Mohammad Musa Khan, the Officiating Honorary Secretary of the League, then introduced the President of the Session to the meeting and requested him to take the Chair.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF SYED ALI IMAM

Gentlemen, I thank you heartily for the great honour you have conferred upon me by asking me to preside at your deliberations on the occasion of this the first Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League held after its consitution was passed last March. To occupy the position with which you have favoured me to-day, is, to my mind, a proud privilege and, however unworthily I may possess it, I wish to assure you that the present moment is the proudest in my life. The political conditions that affect the Musalmans of India bristle with problems of much gravity; it is, therefore, greatly to be regretted that unforeseen circumstances have deprived this gathering of the presence amongst us of a leader of such exceptional ability as Syed Amir Ali, C.I.E., His vast learning, mature views and ardent love of Islam and Muslims entitle him to rank as one of the foremost Indian Musalmans of the day, eminently fitted to give the right direction to the political energy of our community.

You will miss in your deliberations on the present occasion the masterly guidance of a savant, an erudite scholar and a profund thinker. Under the circumstances, I keenly feel the weight of the responsibility placed on my shoulders for having been called upon to preside in this assembly. Political deliberations require much clearness of vision, foresight, temperate and dispassionate language, exactness of expression, sagacity, judgement, a genuine regard for the view of the opponent and no less an appreciation of the points of his case. Overwhelmed with the conviction of my own shortcomings, I am buoyed up with the confidence that the assembly in which I have the honour to preside to-day represents the intense earnestness, the high aspirations, and the elevating ideals of a community that, for all its numerical inferiority, is rich in quality of race and traditions of political perception and administrative ability. I feel assured that on the task that you have set to yourselves, the political development of your community, you will bring to

bear in our proceedings the sobriety, the patience and the wisdom which are the forerunners of the success of any undertaking.

Politically speaking, the Mohammedans of India occupy a unique position. I believe it is without a parallel in the history of the world. Close upon a thousand years ago, the Arab Mohammedan scented the desert air of Sind and found its sand-mounds and date-groves reminding him of Hejaz, of Arabia Felix. Since then wave upon wave of Muslim conquest has rolled over the entire length and breadth of India. In serried ranks, Musalman Royal Houses rose and fell, but Muslim domination of the country remained more or less an unbroken chain, till in comparatively more recent times supremancy hung in the balance between the Marhatta spear and the British bayonet. Islam, in its world-wide career of conquest and conversion, met on Indian soil with a resistance which had little of the admirable military prowess of the Hindus. What Hindu chivalry was powerless to protect, Hindu ethics, Hindu philosophy and Hindu social system had made impregnable. Centuries rolled by but the conqueror and the conquerred in point of nationality, character and creed suffered not from their political association. Characteristics of race and religion and political and social ideals of the two presented irreconcilabilities. Quranic teaching throws open wide the door of conversion with equal right and liberty, social and political, to the new-comer. His entrance into the brotherhood of Islam is a passport to all that is the highest and the best in that community. Islam is expansive, has the capacity to hold all nations in its embrace. Hinduism inculcates a tenacious adherence to a faith that is not proselytizing, that has encased itself within the rigidity of the caste-system and that has no catholicity. To be a Hindu one has to be born one. Birth imposes no limitations on the Muslim. The methods of theological thought of the two communities are totally different. The Muslim's severely puritanical unitarian idea of the Godhead stands in violent contrast with the beautiful but crowded mythology of the Hindu. In the East, religion enters into the very life of the people. It permeates the fabric of society, supplies the spring of individual action in everyday life, and dominates habits of thought in a measure unknown to the West. The social relations of the Indian Muslim and the Hindu have not yet received the geniality of a common dinner-table nor the sacrament or legal sanction of matrimony. The two communities, from the truly social point of view, are as far apart to-day as they were a thousand years ago. Time has not worn out any of the angularities that characterized their social systems when they first came face to face. Similarly some of their political methods have been distinct. The two communities have different notions of sovereignty. The Musalman sovereign presides in the council chamber, leads at prayer, and commands in the battlefield. He is at once the head of the State and the Church. The Hindu monarch considered it a privilege, under religious obligation, to kiss the Brahmin's toe. The Hindu Rajah has an overlord in the authority of the

hierarchy. Papal Bulls had not the same terror for the crowned heads of Christian Europe as the frown of the Brahmin for a Hindu chief.

It is clear, therefore, that, apart from ethnic diversity of character, the two communities have nothing in common in their traditional, religious, social and political conceptions. There must be something imperishable in the cherished beliefs of both. Each has so far passionately clung to its own. Indeed there is much in Hinduism that evokes admiration. It is indestructible. It is perfect and complete in itself. Its foundation is laid in the innermost recesses of the sentiments and emotions of its people. It is a magnificently organized system, each part in faultless co-ordination with the rest. Hide-bound, it has lived down the influence of ages of alien rule. On the other hand, the vitality and robustness of Islamic principles made it impossible for the conqueror to be absorbed in the civilization of the land where he had come to stay. The soul-stirring preaching that followed the descent of the Great Prophet from Mount Hera has given mankind the essence of a rational and living faith. The trumpet call of Mohammad to duty, to righteousness, to Islam have left undying echoes. Under such conditions the fusion of the two, Hinduism and Islam, could not be predicated. The verdict of history is that, in holding India under subjection for centuries, the Mohammedan held only her body and not her soul. For political ends, for the happiness of the country as a whole and the formation of a flourishing commonwealth, the relation of the two communities was anomalous and out of joint. The keen-sighted statesmanship of the great Akbar saw this and aimed at unification by conciliation, compromise and concession in religious, social and political directions. A long and tolerant reign of about 50 years proved the failure of the experiment. Unification demands absorption and obliteration of the old landmarks of differences and divergences. The imperial reformer at best achieved a friendly understanding with his Hindu subjects, which resulted more from the consciousness of a just liberal government than any acceptance of the ethics of Islam or its religious, social and political principles. The innate difference of creed and character, of race and tradition and of social and political ideas remained ready to spring into active hostility as soon as a favourable opportunity presented itself. Aurangzeb saw, no less than his great-grandfather, the political necessity of unification. He adopted, however, the desperate and hazardous method of religious intolerance and forcible conversion. The experiment failed again. Prejudices and practices of both the communities, sanctified by the observance of ages, defied cohesion. Persuasion and persecution equally proved futile. With the weakening of administrative control, the Musalman found himself isolated. New Hindu powers rose in rebellion round the tottering throne of the Mogul. The strife had all the character of a crusade, and the disruption was but the reflexion of the irreconcilability of Hinduistic with Islamic conceptions.

It was at this period when the country was torn and bleeding, when

sectarian passions and prejudices had leapt up from their hidden lairs, and when Islam, whatever of it that was in India, was on the brink of an inglorious annihilation, that an inscrutable providence ordained the advent of a power that gave the country peace and religious toleration, that vanquished the forces of anarchy and disorder, and that introduced a form of government that paralysed the hand of fanaticism. The coming of the British into the country was the signal for Hinduism and Islam to retire, each within its own limits. It gave the land a strong and well-ordered form of administration that respects the personal law and religious principles and prejudices of all communities so long as they do not interfere with the general peace of the country. It is idle to deny that, however fortuitously, one immediate manifestation of British rule in India was the complete immunity the Indian Musalmans received from the not unnatural but fierce resentment of the Hindu. A new era dawned on the destinies of the vast continent of India, a morning full of promise and hope, of intellectual advancement and material prosperity. The impact of the Western methods of administration, the characteristically generous desire to govern in deference to popular views and the inauguration of a high-souled policy of public instruction, have created in the last 50 years aspirations and political perceptions which the people of India had never felt before. A free press, and till very recently an irresponsible press, public speaking, and similarly till very recently an unrestrained public speaking, have engendered indefinite and vague ideas of home rule, self-government, autonomy and *Swaraj* among many other political conundrums that have brought about an unrest which has in the present day occupied the anxious thoughts of many friends of India, both among the rulers and the ruled. It is impossible for a thoughtful man to approach the subject without regard to the pathetic side of the present situation. It is the liberalism of the great British nation that has taught Indians, through the medium of English education, to admire democratic institutions, to hold the rights of the people sacred above all rights, and to claim for their voice first place in the government of the country. The mind of close upon three generations of the educated classes in the land has been fed on the ideas of John Stewart Mill, Milton, Burke, Sheridan and Shelley, has been filled with the great lessons obtainable from chapters of the constitutional history of England, and has been influenced by inexpressible considerations arising out of the American War of Independence, the relation of Great Britain with her colonies, and last, though not least, the grant of autonomy to the Boers after their subjugation at an enormous sacrifice of men and money. The bitterest critic of the educated Indian will not hold him to blame for his present state of mind.

It is the English who have carefully prepared the ground and sown the seed that has germinated into what some of them are now disposed to consider to be noxious weed. It will be a dwarfed imagination, however, that will condemn the educational policy of the large-hearted and liberal-minded

Englishmen who laid its foundation in this country. Those who inaugurated it aimed at raising the people to the level where co-operation and good understanding between the rulers and the ruled is possible. Under the circumstances, the desire of the educated Indian to take a prominent part in the administration of his country is neither unnatural nor unexpected. The gracious proclamation of Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria, our loved and revered Malaka Moazzama, issued in 1858, contributed in no small measure to give shape to Indian aspirations. Among other messages of hope and peace not the least luminous was that her subjects of "whatever race or creed should be freely and impartially admitted to offices in her service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge." Since the promulgation of this Proclamation the country has enjoyed the inestimable blessings of internal peace. Education has taken long strides, commercial enterprise has shown enormous activity, industrial, agricultural and economic resources have developed, sanitation has improved, free medical aid has been brought within the reach of all, and the administration of the Public Works Department has been a monumental success. Railways and canals, roads and bridges and postal and telegraphic facilities have annihilated distance and brought distant provinces of the country within intelligent touch of each other. High offices of State, both administrative and judicial, have been filled by Indians. Bengal has seen the highest Executive Office next to the Lieutenant-Governor and the highest Judicial Office next to no one held by Indians. A liberal Secretary of State has reserved two seats on his Council for Indians, and the selection of the Honourable Syed Husain Bilgrami, C.S.I., to represent our community in that august assembly is a recognition of his towering personality among the Musalmans of India. It is a selection of which we are justly proud. There are expectations in the near future of the appointment of an Indian to the membership of the Executive Council of the Viceroy, and I have no doubt the country can furnish men of the necessary education, ability and intergrity duly to discharge the duties of the Viceregal colleague. As long as there are men of the necessary accomplishment amongst us, our community need not despair of seeing its representative occupy the proposed place. Recent appointments of Indian Musalmans to high judicial posts in different provinces of the country is indicative of the desire of the Government to co-operate with the Indian Musalmans in the work of administration with as much willingness and cordiality as with other communities. Given the necessary qualification of education, ability and integrity, the protection of the special interests of the Mohammedans demands their admission to high offices of State. Where the requisite efficiency is forthcoming, it is but the adjustment of political balance to admit Indians of all races and creeds to the public service. His Excellency the Viceroy very rightly emphasized the wisdom of this principle when in his speech in the Council on the occasion of the passing of the Sedition Bill he gave expression to these

words: "I repudiate once for all the insinuation that has sometimes reached me that the Government of India has for political reasons favoured the interests of one community against those of another. It has been the pride of the British Raj to balance without prejudice the claims of nationalities, of religions and of castes. It will continue to do so." It is clear therefore that, while developing the material resources of the country, the Government has not been regardless of its duty to invite and to admit the people of the country to share the responsibilities of administration. The grant of local self-government, the concession of the right of interpellation, the recognition of popular associations and corporations to send their representatives to the Legislative Chambers of the country, the tendency to encourage useful discussion in budget speeches, and the keen desire to take the natural leaders of the people into the confidence of Government before a measure is passed into law, are but emphatic expressions of appreciation of the popular element in the transaction of the affairs of State. With fostering care, for years the Government has from time to time introduced institutions and encouraged methods that have abundantly furnished opportunity for political training.

Above all, one not the least remarkable development of the results of British occupation of the country is that India has come to acquire a common language. English is now a common medium of exchange of ideas from one end of the country to the other. It has drawn the myriad races and communities of India closer together than ever before. Material, intellectual and political activities have brought about conditions of which the educated Indian is the embodiment. Hindu or Mohammedan, Parsee or Christian, intellectually the educated Indians have drawn nourishment from one and the same feeding-bottle, the great liberalizing influence of the great British race. With all the theological, social and ethnic differences between communities in India, it is futile to question the fact that the educated Indians, of whatever race they may be, have acquired a common attitude of thought relating to the land of their birth. There seems to be unanimity in the sentiment of love for the mother country. The passion to serve her, to advance her material and moral prosperity and to ameliorate her general condition, has taken firm root in the breast of the educated Indians. We, the educated Musalmans of India, have no less love for the land of our birth than the members of the other communities inhabiting the country. India is not only the land of our birth, we are tied to her by the sacred association of ages. We yield to none in veneration of and affection for our motherland. All our hopes and all our aspirations are wrapped up in the general advancement of our country, an advancement all along the line, giving protection and preferment to all her children alike without any invidious distinction. England may well be congratulated on the success of the result of her undertaking.

It was a proud moment when last June at the Indian Civil Service dinner in London, Lord Morley made reference to the awakening in India.

Addressing his hosts, His Lordship said: "It would be idle to deny that there is at this moment, and there has been for some little time past, and very likely there will be for some time to come, a living movement in the mind of those people for whom you are responsible. A living movement and a movement for what? A movement for objects which we ourselves have all taught them to think desirable objects." It has gratefully to be acknowledged that British rule has given the peoples of India a common platform where they can come together, and from where it is possible for them to proclaim a broad-based patriotism that will hold in loving solicitude the interests of all the races and creeds that inhabit our vast country.

From the point of view of race and creed, two communities only stand forth most prominently out of the large group that forms the Indian population. These two are the great Hindu community, embracing nearly four-fifths of the inhabitants of British India, and the no less important community, the Musalmans of India, that make up between one fifth and one fourth of the entire population. True, the significance of the Indian Musalmans in point of number, though over 62 millions, is not very large when compared with the number of their Hindu countrymen. But the uncivilized portions of the country classified as Hindu take away in no small measure from the strength of the Hindu community as a numerical majority, and thereby accord the Musalmans a larger proportion to the real Hindu majority. The importance of the Musalmans of India, however, if not based in their comparative numerical strength, is incalculably great on grounds of political considerations, as was pointed out in the Address presented by the famous Mohammedan Deputation at Simla two years ago to His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Minto. That Address, in urging the claims of the Mohammedan community, drew attention to "the value of the contribution which they make to the defence of the Empire", as also to "the position which they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago, and of which the traditions have naturally not faded from their minds". His Excellency's reply dealing with the position taken in the Address recognized its validity in these words: "You justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord with you." But, gentlemen, it is not necessary that the political importance of the Indian Musalmans should be, as it has been, ratified by Viceregal utterances. Our Hindu countrymen have paid us the just compliment, time after time, to say that their great organization, the Indian National Congress, remains incomplete as a political agency without the Musalmans freely participating in its activities. In the last 23 years, leaders of that assembly have been at great pains to draw the Musalmans of India to their annual deliberations. Indeed, from about September when the sittings of the Congress are about to be held, the political importance of Musalman co-

operation is openly preached. Exhortations from the platform rend the air and publications from the press carry far and wide to Musalmans the invitation to join. The reasons why the Musalmans of India have not responded to the appeal of the Congress leaders, I will dwell upon later.

I am at this stage of my discourse concerned with impressing upon you the consideration that you are a great community, that in the political affairs of the country you hold a place of unique importance, and it is your duty to realize fully the responsibility attaching to the position you occupy. Indifference to the political developments of the country and disregard of the phase through which these developments are passing are not possible any more. Side by side with the political activities of the Indian National Congress, the educational activity of the Musalmans has proceeded at no ordinary pace. It was stimulated thanks to the efforts of the Mohammedan Association by the well-known Government Resolution of 1885, which secures state encouragement to education among the Mohammedans and their employment in the Public Service. Consecration of lifelong devotion to the cause by private individuals was not wanting. The genuis of our Grand Old Man, the Late Sir Syed, the burning eloquence of his late coadjutor, our Mehdi, the untiring energy of our Mushtaq, the inspiring songs of Hali, the thoughtful writings of Nazir Ahmad, and the learned disquisitions of Shibly have done their work. They spurred on the Mohammedans to take to Western learning and their efforts have been crowned with success, and the inevitable result is that the younger generation of Indian Musalmans is not in a frame of mind to eschew politics. It may be, it is not yet, in the words of Lord Morley, "intoxicated with the ideas of freedom, of nationality and self-government", but, I say, it has sipped the strong wine of the intellectual vintage of Mill and Burke. It was some consideration of this sort that prompted a significant statement in the Simla Deputation Address: "Recent events have stirred up feelings, specially among the younger generation of Mohammedans, which might, in certain circumstances and under certain contingencies, easily pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance." The Mohammedan community, I feel persuaded, is confronted with problems of great political import.

One of the questions that the community had before it was whether its political requirements in relation to Government and to its countrymen of other races and creeds called for a separate political organization. The answer to this has been the founding of the All-India Muslim League. It is nearly a decade since Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur called an informal meeting of leading Mohammedans of India at the house of my esteemed friend Mr. Hamid Ali Khan of Lucknow. I was present in that meeting. After the necessary deliberations, the gathering broke up and all of us who had taken part in it felt the absolute necessity of a political organization of our own. Two years ago that necessity became an urgent call which terminated in the

Simla Deputation. On the occasion of the Deputation, advantage was taken of such a representative gathering, and the 35 signatories to the Address formed a band for the political organization of their people. A few months later, under the hospitality of that generous nobleman, the noble Premier of East Bengal, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, the foundation was laid. Last year Karachi saw that prince of merchants, Sir Adamji Peerbhoy, deliver the inaugural address. It was there that the constitution was framed, which an Extraordinary Sitting of the League passed last March at Aligarh; thereafter the acceptance of the presidential chair of the League by His Highness the Aga Khan was universally acclaimed by Indian Musalmans as the pledge of the stability of the organization. The presence of representative Musalmans from all the different parts of India in our gathering to-day is an assurance that the community has realized its political responsibility and that it is answerable for stewardship to the younger generation both within itself and without. We indentify ourselves with all that aims at the general advancement of the true interests of the country. We have a rooted conviction that the true interests of the country lie in the maintenance of cordial relations among the Indian communities, and that the true political ideal is the one that aims at peaceful progress of such a national character as subserves the protection and advancement of the interests of all denominations.

Gentlemen, I claim for the League responsibility for working out political amelioration not only for the Musalmans but for all races that inhabit our beloved country, India. I assert that ours is not a mission narrowed down to self-seeking and sectarian aggression. I repudiate the suggestion that the League is in opposition to other political organizations of the country and that it has given a blank cheque to Government. We reserve the right of frankly, fearlessly and boldly criticizing the measures of Government; we reserve the right to protest, howsoever respectfully, against the continuance of certain of its methods; we reserve the right to refuse to believe in the soundness of a particular policy of it; and we also reserve the right of standing shoulder to shoulder with our brethren of other denominations when we find our country suffering under a real grievance. But at the same time we declare that in our relations with Government we will not permit malice to cross our path, warp our judgement and create disaffection.

Gentlemen, in these days of political tribulation and unrest, professions of loyalty stand on slippery ground. But this I will say that, apart from ethical aspects of loyalty to the British Crown, the best sense of the country recognizes the fact that the progress of India rests on the maintenance of order and internal peace, and that order and internal peace, in view of the conditions obtaining in our country at present and for a very long time to come, immeasureably long time to come, spell British occupation. British occupation not in the thin and diluted form in which Canada, Australia and South Africa stand in relation to England, but British occupation in the sense in

which our country has enjoyed internal peace during the last 50 years. Believe me that as long as we have not learnt to overcome sectarian aggressiveness, to rise above prejudices based on diversity of races, religions and languages, and to alter the alarming conditions of violent intellectual disparity among the peoples of India, so long British occupation is the principal element in the progress of the country. The need of India is to recognize that true patriotism lies in taking measure of the conditions existing in fact and devoting oneself to amelioration. Idealism may be enchanting but has little place in practical politics.

The idealistic *Swaraj*, as understood in the light of a Calcutta High Court ruling, is a fascinating picture, but their Lordships who delivered that judgement were not concerned with the political inadaptability of the moral it teaches; they were concerned only with the question whether it teaches any thing unlawful. Now, no one can claim that to advocate the grant of *Swaraj* to India as understood by their Lordships is unlawful or treasonable, but I do think that there are strong and valid reasons to hold that it will be the biggest political blunder for the peoples of India to ask, and the British Parliament to grant, it in the near or even the measurably remote future. I admit it is difficult to detect treason if the self-government of the idealist is, as put by that eminent countryman of ours, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, "autonomy within the Empire and not absolute independence". But, gentlemen, the entire population of India is not made up of lawyers nor is it concerned with legal subtleties. What disastrous consequences may not flow by the lay public acquiring notions of *Swaraj* without the capacity to understand the technicalities on which their Lordship's decision is based. *Swaraj* or self-government, autonomy or a self-governing Member of the Empire, in other words, home rule under the aegis of the British Crown in India, is possible only when racial, religious, social and intellectual disparities are removed, and a fusion has levelled down characteristics of separate denominations to a plane where the pulsations of a common national life are the most prominent features.

I cannot say what you think, but when I find the most advanced province of India put forward the sectarian cry of '*Bande Mataram*' as the national cry, and the sectarian *Rakhibandhan* as a national observance, my heart is filled with despair and disappointment; and the suspicion that, under the cloak of nationalism, Hindu nationalism is preached in India becomes a conviction. Has the experiment tried by Akbar and Aurangzeb failed again? Has 50 years of the peaceful spread of English education given the country only a revival of denominationalism? Gentlemen, do not misunderstand me. I believe that the establishment of conferences, associations and corporate bodies in different communities on denominational lines are necessary to give expression to denominational views, so that the builders of a truly national life in the country may have before them the crystallized needs and aspirations

of all sects. In this connection, every lover of India will welcome such institutions as the Kayestha Conference, the Bhuinhar Conference, the Rajput Conference, Mohammedan *anjumans* and conferences, the associations of the domiciled community, and all such denominational institutions. Such activities help to bring into focus the thoughts of all sections of the population of India. Regard for the feelings and sentiments, needs and requirements of all is the key-note to true Indian nationalization. It is far more imperative where the susceptibilities of the two great communities, Hindus and Musalmans, are involved. Unreconciled, one will be as great a drag on the wheel of national progress as the other. I ask the architects of Indian nationalism, both in Calcutta and Poona, do they expect the Musalmans of India to accept '*Bande Mataram*' and the Sivaji Celebration? The Mohammedans may be weak in anything you please, but they are not weak in cherishing the traditions of their glorious past. I pray the Congress leaders to put before the country such a programme of political advancement as does not demand the sacrifice of the feelings of the Hindu or the Mohammedan, the Parsee or the Christian.

The preparation for self-government does not consist in merely insisting on it year after year in language that fires the imagination of the educated classes of the country into uncontrollable and fatal excesses, as is too painfully manifested in what is happening in Bengal. It does not consist in launching forth on the troubled waters of Indian politics the frail bark of *Swaraj* without care of its seaworthiness. Does *Swaraj* mean transfer of control, from the British to the peoples of India, of all internal affairs of the country, legislation, finance, administration of civil and criminal justice, police, state education, military service? I suppose this is what is contemplated by Article I of the Allahabad Convention Committee. That Article sums up the object of the Indian National Congress to be "the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the Self-Governing Members of the British Empire". As a mere ideal without any reference to the conditions prevailing in India it is unexceptionable. Utopia is not unimaginable. But that it should furnish a basis in practical politics to divide off into moderates and extremists is incomprehensible. Have politicians of these two cults considered the futility of a schism that is engaged in laying down irreconcilable lines of policy for conditions that are not likely to be possible even in any measurably remote future? Is it wise to weaken the solidarity of political unity? Have we Indians put our own house in order? Have the Hindu and Mohammedan sunk their many differences? What has kept the Mohammedans as a people away from the Indian National Congress? It was, I say, this very demand for the transfer of legislative and administrative control from the rulers to the ruled; in other words, that the ruling authority should vest in the party that commands a majority of votes in the Council Chambers of the Indian Autonomy. It did not require much imagination to see that such a majority would be the Hindu majority. What did the suggested change

of masters signify? Twenty-one years ago Sir Syed answered the question in his memorable Lucknow speech, and that answer has been for over two decades the rule of conduct for the Mohammedans of India in relation to the Congress. The All-India Muslim League has to answer that very question again. Should the Mohammedans of India accept the views of what was the Indian National Congress before the fateful and abortive Surat Sitting? It seems to me that there are many questions of practical politics where the interests of the two communities are identical, and that in so far as these questions go, there is no earthly reason why the League should not hold out its hand in loving and patriotic grasp to the Congress.

The separation of the judicial from the executive, the repeal of degrading Colonial Ordinances, the extension of primary education, the adoption of measures of sanitation, the admission of Indians of all races in larger numbers into the higher branches of the public service, discontinuance of official interference in matters of local self-government, reasonable reduction of military expenditure without endangering efficiency, recognition of the legitimate and patriotic desire of the warlike races of India to render military service as volunteers, the grant of commissions in the army to Indians, equitable adjustment of Home Charges, limitation of revenue on land belonging to the State, establishment and development of village unions for the disposal of petty civil and criminal cases, encouragement and protection of indigenous arts and industries, the eradication of insolence, on one hand, and feeling of inferiority and mortification, on the other, between the rulers and the ruled, are some of the many grave questions of practical politics in India that equally affect all classes of our countrymen. I deny the accusation that the Mohammedans of India have not either the capacity to understand the value of co-operation for the accomplishment of reforms or the courage to face official disapprobation. Gentlemen, Mohammedan political foresight and Mohammedan courage do not require any advocacy. The world has seen enough of both to judge that they are wanting in neither. Why is it then that we have held aloof from the Indian National Congress? Not because we do not want co-operation, not because we do not feel the urgency and wisdom of the reforms mentioned above and others of their kind, and not because we suffer from any nervous or morbid fear of the rulers, but because the Indian National Congress does not only seek reforms such as are described above. It wants far more. To ask our rulers for specific measures of reform is to admit and recognize the necessity of their control, but to ask them to hand over that control is to ask them, however politely, to take to their ships and return from India. To ask for the latter is to ask for a change of government, and to press for the former would be, as put in Article I of the Allahabad Convention, "a steady reform of the existing system of administration". It is obvious that the existing system of administration is not "a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the Self-Governing Members of the

British Empire". That article puts the latter as the object of the Congress and the reform of the former as the method of attainment.

It seems to me therefore that to attain the object, the method suggested would not be 'reform', however steady, of the 'existing system', but its extinction. The article does not seem to seek reform but revolution, though bloodless. Surely the Indian public has a right to have more light thrown on the meaning of that article. A shrewd suspicion may read between the lines and find the genesis of the inconsistency in the desire to pull together men of different shades of political views, loyalists, ultra-moderates, moderates and those verging on extremism. The desire is laudable, but the *modus operandi* questionable. It is possible to hide in dialectic obscurity the differences of basic principles for a time, but it will be blind folly to hope they will remain there. I wonder how those who have gone to Madras interpret "steady reform of the existing system of administration". If it really means extinction, the language of the Convention may serve to capture the unwary but not to captivate him. It resolves itself into the ideal put forward by the Indian National Congress year after year. The moderate wants autonomy or representative government under the aegis of the British Crown, and the extremist wants the same but without the fiction of the aegis. They both desire the extinction and not the reform of the present system of administration. Canada and Australia are tied to England by sentiments of race, character and creed, and their continuance as such under the aegis of the British Crown, as long as they are not treated with unpolitic interference, has an intelligent basis. The grant of autonomy to the Boers is of too recent a date to prognosticate that the aegis will be respected. In the case of America the aegis proved too brittle to survive the effects of the Boston Port Bill. In the light of the differences of social, moral and religious standards of England and India, and the diversity of race, character and creed between the ruler and the ruled, one may be pardoned for thinking that of the two ideals, however impracticable both, the one of the extremist, though steeped in treason, is not disingenuous. It definitely sets before the country the honest version that if self-government is attained by India, the British may not flatter themselves with the belief that they will have even the slender thread of the aegis to connect them with this country. The moderate hopes to hasten self-government by giving assurances of profound loyalty to the aegis, and with such assurances asks for autonomy. But gentlemen is this all that is needed for India? The ideal of the one or of the other? Is the present need of India contemplation of ideals? Has the good sense of the country run away with the notion that self-government is to be built in the land from the apex and not the base?

I crave your indulgence to quote from a speech that I delivered when I had the honour to preside at the first session of the Bihar Provincial Conference. "To my mind the greater problem is how to equip ourselves for receiving and assimilating the amenities and advantages of self-government,

than an insistence on the right to enjoy a privilege which, once we have reached the requisite efficiency, can no more be denied than the truth that water finds its own level. I consider that in the development of national life in India there is far less danger from without than from within." Have the apostles of Indian autonomy given us, up to this time, any indication how their great ideal will maintain internal peace, what will be its relation to the ruling chiefs, what will be the features of its military administration, how will it adjust the difference of standards of morality in its scheme of national education, how will it conduct itself in the devious and difficult paths of foreign policy, what guarantee will it give to capitalists of other countries who have their millions vested in India, what protection will it accord to the domiciled European, how will it get over the dangers of intellectual disparity between races and sexes in India, and how will it reconcile religious, social and racial antipathies? Are religion, society and politics watertight compartments? Can you separate politics from the other two? If a religious procession, the slaughter of a particular animal, the moral of Bunkim's plot in *Anund Muth*, the preachings of fanatics in East Bengal or any other part of India, and numerous other subjects connected with religion, inflame the mind, it is insanity to dissociate Indian politics from them. Surely gentlemen, the mere elevation of an ideal is no title to its serious acceptance. True statesmenship is to work for the highest public good realizable. Before self-government, our ideal should be 'United India'—united in a patriotism that leaves distant and visionary ideals to moulder in the vagueness and impracticability of their conception, and that addresses itself to working on non-controversial lines. How true are the words of the president of the unfortunate Surat Sitting of the Congress in his undelivered speech. He said: "hasty maxims drawn from the history of other nations and other times are extremely dangerous, as the conditions are never the same, and action which produces certain results in one country at one time may lead to a directly opposite result in another country and at another time." Has not this ideal of self-government, however elevated, caused impatience on account of its impracticability, and has not the impatience carried the idealist off his feet, and has not this loss of equipoise created extremism, and has not extremism given birth to anarchism, bombs, secret societies and assassination, and is not all this the greatest menace to the peaceful progress of the country?

Gentlemen, does the contemplation of an almost impossible ideal compensate for all the repressive measures that have been passed in the last two years? Resurrection of Regulation 3 of 1818, the Ordinance of May 1907, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Newspaper (incitement to offences) Act, and the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act are the bitter fruits of the misspent labour of the idealist in the last two decades. These Acts may be a reproach to the Statute Book, but who is responsible for the reproach? The responsibility lies with those who, infatuated with the seductions of an

idealistic but impracticable autonomy, have caused widespread intellectual distempter among the educated Indians, a distemper utterly regardless of surroundings, of expediency and of the best interests of the country. The gospel of representative government in India has been preached with reckless carelessness, and the energy of the educated intellect of the country has been employed for the creation of longings the fulfilment of which within any measurable distance of time is impossible. The result is a sullen, disappointed, demoralized and morbid disposition in the best portion of the national asset of the country—the educated Indians.

Is this not sufficiently deplorable a state of affairs to serve as a warning to us, Musalmans? Has not the League a right to beseech the Congress leaders not to prolong the agony any more, imperil the safety of the country any further and jeopardize peaceful progress by a profitless devotion to a chimera? Let the Indian National Congress shake itself free from the baneful blandishments of "Self-Governing member of the British Empire"; and let it announce that in our practical politics, loyalty to the British administration of the country is loyalty to India, and that the reform of the 'existing system' is possible only with the maintenance of British control. Gentlemen, I am not putting this supplication forward in any spirit of cavil, but solely with a view to bringing about an *entente cordiale* between the Indian National Congress and the great community that you represent—and also with a view that in the great work of the regeneration of India, the firm but guiding hand of our rulers may be in comradeship with our own. As long as the leaders of the Indian National Congress will not give us a workable policy like the one indicated above, so long the All-India Muslim League has a sacred duty to perform. That duty is to save the community it represents, and specially the youth of that community, from the political error of joining an organization that in the main, as put by Lord Morley, cries for the moon.

There is another matter not of principle but of procedure that influences the question of the participation of the Musalmans in the deliberations of the Congress. The Allahabad Convention with the best of motives has adopted the conciliatory measure contained in its Article XXVI. That article lays down the procedure that in the Subject Committee or in the Congress no subject shall be introduced to which the Hindu or Mohammedan delegates may object as a body by a majority of three-fourths of their number. I have read much in papers, as also in a contribution to the *Hindustan Review* by Mr. Abbas Tyabji, of the soundness of the safeguard this Article provides for the protection of minorities. It is with the greatest deference to the framers of that Article and its admirers that I venture to point out that this safeguard does not count for much as long as the number of delegates to the Congress is not fixed, and as long as the minorities do not have their own denominational electoral colleges. For it is quite obvious that when an unlimited number of delegates are permitted to attend the Congress, the few simple souls of

our community who may join the Congress with the genuine desire of serving Indian Musalmans in that body may find themselves swamped by their own co-religionists, no doubt, but mandatories of non-Muslim electorates. For the principle of the protection of minorities, it is necessary that a minority should feel and enjoy absolute security in its own solidarity, which is impossible without a denominational basis. I believe this was recognized in the scheme of the reform of Councils, and therefore a separate electorate for the Musalmans was considered necessary. Once the Congress Convention has recognized the wisdom of the unqualified protection of the minorities, I have no doubt it will see the necessity of carrying Article XXVI to its logical conclusion.

It seems to me therefore, gentlemen, that should the Indian National Congress in the two particulars mentioned above, the one of the policy underlying the abandonment of an unrealizable ideal and the other of the procedure affecting the protection of minorities, be pleased to reconsider its position, there is every hope that the aspiration of the All-India Muslim League—United India—may be realized in the near future. It is then alone that Mohammedans can work with Hindus on non-controversial lines. I may take the liberty of mentioning that we have made a beginning in this direction in Bihar, and that the Bihar Provincial Conference held last April at Patna brought Hindus and Mohammedans together because it resolved to work on a non-controversial and practical basis. Gentlemen, should my feeble voice ever reach the ears of such stalwart leaders of the Indian National Congress as Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Gokhle and Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, I pray them to believe in the earnestness of my appeal. The creed of the All-India Muslim League is co-operation with the rulers, co-operation with our non-Muslim countrymen and solidarity amongst ourselves. This is our idea of United India.

Gentlemen, I fear I have already trespassed too long on your patience, but I cannot close my address without an appeal to all my Musalman brethren of India, of whatever persuasion they may be, that the one paramount duty they owe to their king, country and themselves is the maintenance of a strong and powerful solidarity within their own community. We must not forget that division amongst ourselves means sacrifice and surrender of our political position. Gentlemen, if you desire your voice to be heard in the land, you must strive for and maintain unity amongst yourselves. The Government and your non-Muslim countrymen have equal need of your services. It is your duty to support and uphold the Government in the measures it has adopted to stamp out lawlessness, sedition and anarchism. It is your duty equally to co-operate with your non-Muslim countrymen in praying Government to inaugurate a policy of steady reform and courageous conciliation consistent with the dignity and integrity of British control. Gentlemen, the country is passing through the throes of a political convulsion. Of all times, this is the one when, in serving the best interests of the country, you

should stand together and make your presence felt in the proper and happy adjustment of the relations between the rulers and the ruled. Can you do so without unity amongst yourselves? Without an absolute political solidarity your position is full of peril, and I implore you to unite to exist.

Gentlemen, the last Despatch of Lord Morley to His Excellency the Viceroy on the scheme of the Reform of Councils, seems to overlook the principle that representation to minorities must have its origin in a denominational basis from the very start to finish, from the first voting unit to the elected representative. Without this the Musalmans cannot hope to secure the true protection which their interests demand. Hasty expression to my views on this Despatch, received last week, I hesitate to give; but the principle involved is of vital consequences to our community, and a united expression of our views alone can save us from the perils of imperfection contained in the Despatch. Gentlemen, I again call upon you to unite. It is a solemn and sacred duty you owe to yourself and to your posterity.[1]

Second Sitting

The second sitting lasted from 2-30 p.m. to 6 p.m., and was devoted to the consideration of the Reform Scheme of the Government of India and the recent Despatch of the Secretary of State. The following three Resolutions were moved from the Chair:

RESOLUTION I

That the All-India Muslim League begs to express its grateful thanks to the Right Honourable the Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, and His Excellency Lord Minto, the Viceroy, for the broad and general policy foreshadowed in the Despatch dealing with the Reform Scheme.

RESOLUTION II

That the All-India Muslim League regrets that the Secretary of State for India has not explicitly confirmed in his Despatch on the Scheme of Reforms of Councils the just pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy, in reply to the address presented by a Deputation of Musalmans in October 1906, that in consideration of the value of contributions which the Musalmans make to the defence of the Empire and in view of the position which they occupied in India until recently, His Excellency was in entire accord with the members of the Deputation, who, in His Excellency's opinion, justly claimed that the position of the Musalmans should be estimated not merely by their numerical strength but in respect to the political importance

1. *Speech of Syed Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law, President of the All-India Muslim League, Amritsar Session, 1908.* Printed by Panch Kory Mittra at the Indian Press, Allahabad.

of their community and the services it has rendered to the Empire, and this League trusts that important pronouncement will specially be confirmed by the Secretary of State and given practical recognition in fixing the proportion of seats on the Councils to be filled in by purely Mohammedan electorates.

RESOLUTION III

That whereas the language of paragraph 12 of the Despatch of the Secretary of State dealing with the Scheme of Reform of Councils is such as has possibly engendered in the mind of some of the loyal Indian Mohammedans the incorrect impression that the paragraph in question suggests the grant of separate and denominational representation to the Mohammedans of India; and whereas the All-India Muslim League regards such impression to be solely due to an optimism that proceeds from the unqualified trust the Indian Mohammedans have traditionally reposed in the justice and impartiality of the British Government, the All-India Muslim League deems it to be its duty to deplore the vagueness of the language of that paragraph, and most regretfully construes it to mean that the scheme of representation of the minorities contained in the said paragraph does not and cannot secure the protection which is intended to be given to such communities, as the creation of non-denominational electorates whether original or intermediary, precludes the possibility of the successful election of the real representatives of minorities, and that mere reservation of a certain number of seats on Imperial and Provincial Councils in favour of such communities without any system of denominational representation from the first voting units to the representatives in the Council Chambers will end in the return of such members of minorities as are only mandatories of majorities and that under the circumstances the All-India Muslim League views the suggestion in paragraph 12 of the said Despatch with great alarm, and have grave apprehensions that in their present form they are sure to create dire disappointment in the Mohammedan community, and that unless materially altered to suit their requirements, the essentials of which are representation on a purely denominational basis, they will mark the first breakdown of that implicit faith which Musalmans have so long placed in the care and solicitude of Government whose just pride and profession have been to hold the scales even.

In moving the above Resolutions, Syed Ali Imam said:

Since my address presented to you this morning went to press, I have had an opportunity to carefully consider some of the important aspects of the Reform foreshadowed in the famous Despatch of the Secretary of State for India, and I am glad to say that I am now in a position to place before you

my views with some degree of confidence. I think, with some important reservations, a general treatment of the Reform Scheme will result in laying bare before us the two important features that seem to underlie its conception; one, and the more prominent of the two, is a jealous and vigilant insistance on the unimpaired integrity and maintenance of the Legislative and Executive control of the existing system of administration, and the other is a generous recognition of the necessity to hear what the people may have to say affecting the interests of their country. In both these particulars, Lord Morley, has, I venture to submit, given proof of statesmanship of the high order which has been long associated with his name. He has realized the danger of compromising imperial supremacy by withholding concessions that might, in the present politically undeveloped condition of the peoples of India, lead to serious conflict between races, creeds and degrees of intellectual advancement. He has also taken a correct measure of the political expediency of securing deliberative co-operation of the representatives of the people in the Council Chambers of the State.

The non-official majority in the Provincial Council and the permanently substantial official majority in the Imperial Council, taken with the frank admission with regard to the very limited scope of the Provincial Councils and unlimited concurrent power of the Imperial Council to legislate, leave no doubt in our mind that the non-official majority has been designed to be effective only as a deliberative agency and not legislative. The value of the proposals of the non-official majority has been carefully appraised as "recommendations to Government, having only such force and effect as Government after consideration shall deem due to them". No ambiguity has been allowed to mar the retention by local governments of "the ultimate control over the financial policy of their provinces", and the discussion of the provincial budgets, however lengthy and discursive, seem to suffer from limitations that do not confer upon them anything higher than a deliberative degnity. Similarly, the extention of the range and right of interpellation has been safeguarded by subjecting it to "such restrictions as may be found requisite in practice, and to the existing general powers of the President". The proposal to create executive councils from time to time is accompanied with the proviso that a constitutional change of this kind will not be permitted at the risk of impairing 'the prompt exercise of executive control'. The sum and substance of such precautions seems to justify the conclusion that the Secretary of State is not prepared to inaugurate a system of government in which popular control, whether legislative or executive, is an element.

Gentlemen, it is obvious that this attitude of the Secretary of State is one that is not likely to commend itself to the extremists, nor do I think the moderates, after the jubilation over the dazzling glamour of a 'non-official majority' is over, will admit it to be what they had bargained for. The suggested reforms, in my humble judgement, are far short of the ideals of the

extremists and the moderates. They do not give the people any share whatsoever in the government of the country, except what is advisory, scrupulously centring in the existing system of administration all legislative and executive control. Gentlemen, I am drawing your attention to the care that has been spent on this aspect of the scheme, not with any desire to discount the wisdom and the statesmanship of the new measures, but to emphasize the fact that at present the best interest of our country has been recognized in the scheme to lie in the absolute maintenance of British control. This is a principle which for a long time to come has to be kept in view for the inauguration of any measures of reform in our country. To my mind, without such security, the most perfect system of representative government would be unworkable and injudicious in a country that suffers from the unhappy internal conditions that prevail in India. I therefore think any feeling of disappointment at the complete withholding of administrative control from the people should not be permitted to mar the happy occasion of thanking and congratulating the Secretary of State and His Excellency Lord Minto for the grant to the peoples of India of the right to have their voice heard, if not necessarily acted upon, in the administration of the country. I trust that the All-India Muslim League will heartily and unanimously thank and congratulate the liberal minister and the large-hearted Viceroy who intend to provide for our country the means of bringing the rulers and the ruled near enough to understand and appreciate the views of each other.

But when I ask the League to thank, and cordially thank them, for the recognition of this principle, I do not for a moment ask it to accept the machinery that the Despatch of the Secretary of State seems to favour for the representation of the minorities. No, and emphatically not so. I regret to say that the Despatch has failed to recognize the interests of the great minority you represent in two most weighty particulars. One is that it underestimates the claims of the Mohammedans by giving them a proportion of 1 to 3 to our Hindu countrymen, which may be in accordance with the numerical strength of the two communities, but is certainly not justified by the social, traditional, and religious considerations attaching to the Indian Mohammedans. The test of mere numbers is dangerous and misleading. As a community, the Mohammedans contribute largely to the defence of the Empire and have also the weight of their Pan-Islamic relations to enhance the value of their position in India. I should have thought that the memorable pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to our Simla Depution address, "You justly claim that your position should he estimated not merely on your numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of your community, and services it has rendered to the Empire", had once for all given Imperial recognition to our claim. I do not know how you feel, but when I contemplate the tendency of Lord Morley's Despatch to rely on numerical strength to understand the significance of our community in India, I look upon such a

tendency as not only in the highest degree prejudicial to ourselves, but also as exceedingly impolitic and flagrantly unfair to the Viceregal utterances of a statesman of the levelheadedness, care and circumspection of Lord Minto. The definite and clear pronouncement of the Viceroy, and the above-mentioned tendency of the Despatch, convince me that the importance of the political position of Indian Musalmans has not been brought home to the serious consideration of the Secretary of State. I feel persuaded that a closer acquantance with the internal problems of Indian politics will put Lord Morley in possession of facts and circumstances that will amply justify the pronouncement this great Viceroy made in reply to our address at Simla.

In this connection, I fear we have to admit that our more enterprising Hindu countrymen have successfully secured a hearing in England, and their political missionaries have preached in quarters where our voice has only to reach to be appreciated. It is to this very silence on our part that I attribute the failure of the Despatch to recognize and protect our interests in the other particular. I refer to the suggestions in the Despatch that relate to the representation of the minorities in the Councils. This subject has been principally dealt with in paragraphs 9, 11, 12, and 13 of the Despatch. Paragraph 9 enunciates the just principle that "No system of representation should be satisfactory if it did not provide for the presence in the Councils of sufficient representatives of communities so important as are the Mohammedans and the landowners." In this paragraph Lord Morley has, I think, advisedly used the expression 'representatives of communities' as distinguished from 'members of communities'. The distinction lies in the fact that a member of a community is not necessarily a representative of that community. For a representative it is essential that he should enjoy the confidence of the community he represents, and not only be a member of it. In the same paragraph, His Lordship discovers difficulties in the plan of the Viceroy to secure class representation, and distrusts the method of nomination to supply the defficiencies of election. In paragraph 11, His Lordship is, on the one hand, solicitous of maintaining the right of Mohammedans "to vote in the territorial electorates of which rural and municipal boards will afford the basis", and on the other hand, regards the exercise of such a right, in the event of also creating denominational electorates, as giving us a double vote that may be resented by other classes of the population. It might be urged before His Lordship that if the full due of the Mohammedans can be secured in the Councils by means of separate and denominational electorates of which the Mohammedan section of the rural and municipal boards may form a part, the Mohammedans will not care to court the resentment of their non-Muslim countrymen to vote again in the said boards. It has to be remembered that the Viceroy, in giving us the double vote, threw open to purely Mohammedan electorates, only a portion of the seats to which we are entitled both on political and numerical grounds; as such the double vote is only a legitimate compensation,

and ought not to be the basis of any grievance to our non-Muslim countrymen. Paragraph 12 provides the machinery which, His Lordship thinks, will be superior to the one proposed by the Viceroy for the purposes of securing denominational representations; and Paragraph 13 sums up that superiority in claiming for Lord Morley's machinery merit on the following grounds:

1. Minorities would be protected against exclusion by majorities.
2. All large and important sections of the population would have the opportunity of returning members in proportion to their ratio to the total population.
3. Popular election, instead of requiring Government to supply defficiencies by the dubious method of nomination.

Gentlemen, the dubious method of nomination would naturally not find favour in comparision with the popular election in the eyes of such a liberal statesmen as the Secretary of State; and in the abstract, without regard to the difficulties of the conditions prevailing in our country, it has to be admitted that his choice is not one that was not expected from a statesman of Lord Morley's democratic conviction. But with due deference to abstract principles, I venture to submit that His Lordship, in the desire to brush aside 'the dubious method', has suggested a machinery in paragraph 12 which, to my mind, has swept away the protection which is admitted to be the first essential of the efficiency of the Scheme, and that is the protection of the minorities. The paragraph in question looks upon the mere reservation of seats in the Councils and in the intermediary agency, the electoral college, as a sufficient protection to save minorities from exclusion by majorities and to secure for the minorities, the ratio of "members in proportion to their ratio to the total population". Paragraph 12 of the Despatch as I understand it, I regret to have to say, utterly, fails in securing for us either of the two measures of protection which are claimed as its principle features. More reservation of a certain number of seats in the electoral college mentioned in the paragraph without carrying down the denominational element to the very base of the entire structure, the first voting unit, as also without carrying the same principle up to the top, the Council Chamber, will, I am sure, prove disastrous to our community, as it will leave the minorities bound hand and foot at the mercy of the majorities. Gentlemen, it will be a system that will be eminently successful in returning to the Councils mandatories of the majorities who are 'members' of our community, no doubt, but certainly not 'representatives' of our people. It will be a system that foretells the political annihilation of our communal life. Whereas it intends to protect and preserve in its practical working, it will end in damage and destruction. Here is illustrated the peril of not relying on the advice and counsel of the man on the spot. Had Lord Morley given the suggestions of the Viceroy the considerations to which they are entitled, his Lordship, I put it most deferentially and respectfully, would not have fallen into an error that in the present

condition of our country will be looked upon as a political blunder the consequences of which I fear to contemplate. I think in this hour of our peril it is our bounden duty to support and uphold the suggestions of His Excellency the Viceroy who had undoubtedly taken the correct view of the problem of class representation.

Gentlemen, I ask you to voice forth our support to the Viceroy's suggestions, and our humble but emphatic dissent from the Secretary of State's view on this question and want of acquaintance with our true political position. I pray you to unanimously pass the resolution which I have the honour to put from the Chair.

The above resolutions were seconded by Mian Mohammad Shafi, who observed:

I rise to-day not to address a passionate appeal to your sentiments and feelings, but to ask you to go with me through the broad features of the Scheme of Reform embodied in Lord Morley's Despatch and, in view of the vital interests involved, to consider it critically and soberly in order to form a correct judgment as to the effect which this scheme will have upon the future welfare of the Indian Musalmans. The President has placed before you for discussion three resolutions, the first of which offers the grateful thanks of the community to Lord Morley and Lord Minto generally for the proposed Scheme of Indian Reforms, apart from its particular bearing on the communal interests of the Mohammedan community, and the remaining two briefly and succinctly set out the opinions generally held by the Mohammedan community, as regards the effects which this Scheme will have upon their own interest, and embody certain demands which they regard as absolutely essential, alike to their own future welfare as well as to the welfare of the country as a whole.

Gentlemen, I take it that it is the foremost principle of Indian Politics that while the 70 millions of His Majesty's Musalman subjects in India have interests in common with the rest of the populations in this country, they form a distinct community, having peculiar interests of their own, as vital as the general interests and essential to their very existence in India. This principle was clearly enunciated in the address presented to His Excellency the Viceroy by the All-India Mohammedan Deputation on October 1, 1906, and was accepted by Lord Minto as perfectly sound and fully justified by the existing political conditions, and has now been finally confirmed by Lord Morley in paragraphs 8 and 9 of his Despatch. This being so, it is absolutely clear that no scheme of Indian reform can be considered either complete or based upon a correct conception of the peculiar conditions which the British Government has to face in this country and, at all events acceptable to the Indian Musalmans, which does not adequately safeguard their interests and does not provide for their representation, not apparent but real, on the Legislative Councils and municipal and district boards. It is, therefore, absolutely clear that before any scheme of reform can be considered as entitled

to our grateful thanks, it must satisfy this essential test. Of what value can any gift conferred by the Government be to us in which we have not that share to which we are justly entitled? How can I be possibly expected to offer my thanks for such a distribution of good things of this life which enable my neighbour to live in comfort and luxury, but leaves me in starvation? The Musalmans form an integral and exceedingly important part of the Indian people and no scheme of reform can be possibly considered beneficial to the people which does not safeguard Mohammedan interests. I gladly recognize that the scheme formulated by His Excellency the Governor General in Council, after due consideration of local circumstances and based upon local knowledge of the political conditions prevailing in this country, provided for better representation, on proper lines, of all important interests on the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, though we asked for more. I therefore freely give my support to that portion of the resolution which offers the grateful thanks of this League to Lord Minto. I am further in entire agreement with the President in thinking that it is our duty to express our gratitude to Lord Morley for his recognition of the right of our community to separate representation in the Council Chamber of the Indian Empire. But as regards the Scheme of Reform as at present embodied in Lord Morley's Despatch, while, in deference to the fact that the resolution offering the thanks of this League has been moved from the Chair, I agree to its being passed as it stands, I refuse to accept the position that we are bound to express our gratitude to the Secretary of State for what is said to be the Scheme of General Reform, even if, as it stands, it is calculated to materially injure our interests and to fill our minds with dire disappointment. With the other two resolution I am entirely in accord and do not think it necessary to add anything to what the President has already said.

The President having invited a free discussion of the resolutions, a large number of the members of the League spoke on the subject. The discussion strongly brought out the same disappointment with which Lord Morley's Despatch had filled Indian Mohammedans and served to clearly emphasize the complete unanimity of Muslim attitudes towards the Scheme as modified by the Secretary of State.

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan explained that considering that the present movement was a turning point in the history of India and the proposed reforms promised to open a new era in the political life of the country, he agreed with the President in thanking the Secretary of State for the broad and general lines of the reforms, but protested strongly against the scheme as a whole. It was clear that if the Indian Musalmans were a distinct community and had to safeguard distinct interests, they should be placed in a position to safeguard their interests properly. The proportion of seats allotted to them should be real and commensurate with their importance.

Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed pointed out that as a result of the concession

made in 1882, the operations of local self-government had passed into the hands of the majority and though the Musalmans had been ever since portesting against such a condition of things, the provincial governments were now about to be placed in the same unfriendly hands. The unwisdom of granting local self-government to the people of India without a guarantee of protecting Muslim interests was unquestioned. The speaker also reminded the audience that in their opinion on the reform scheme they had asked for nine Musalman members being appointed to the Imperial Council by election; but the Secretary of State wished to reduce the number still further and limit their maximum to five; and it was most remarkable that the Mohammedans of Bombay were to share a seat with the Madras Presidency, though Sind was an entirely Muslim Province. The Simla Deputation had stated before the Viceroy that the younger generation of Indian Musalmans were not satisfied with this situation; and if His Excellency Lord Minto's reply had not been what it was, many of them in Bombay would have gone over to the Congress camp. But the Viceroy's generous reply saved the situation, which they looked upon as the Petition of Rights, embodying as it did a definite promise on the part of the King Emperor's representative that the Mohammedans would be admitted to the councils and committees as a distinct community.

Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhry also spoke in favour of the resolutions. He observed:

The resolutions which we have heard from the Chair just now need our serious attention. The new reform schemes promulgated by Lord Minto and revised by Lord Morley are indeed of a very liberal nature and ought to be welcomed by all Indians as giving greater scope for a larger measure of self-government than has hitherto been initiated. The only class that will be largely benefited is the Hindu community, who have made rapid strides in educational matters. It is when the Scheme is considered in the point of view of the Mohammedan interest that we are awfully disappointed, and our condition, instead of improving will have a tendency to retrograde progress. While the race antipathy exists, as it does, the backward condition of the Mohammedan in point of education is a serious matter to be confronted. Where are the qualified candidates to recruit members from for the electoral colleges as the provisos of the Scheme demand. The electoral colleges proposed by Lord Morley do not suit our requirements.

The next most serious question to ponder is that the Mohammedan cause will be jeopardized by the new scheme. As section 12 of Lord Morley's Scheme has it, the Hindus and Mohammedan members to Council will be returned by the entire body composing the electoral colleges. Since the Hindus in most provinces will naturally be in the majority, the Mohammedan who is more in sympathy with the Hindus may obtain more votes than another Mohammedan candidate who is preferred by the Mohammedans. Surely in that case, the Mohammedan interest will by no means be served when the

right man is not elected. It sounds very well to hear that the Hindus and Mohammedans should work together in harmony, but past events are a criterion to assure us that a difference exists between the Hindus and the Mohammedans, and that their interests, aims and objects cannot be one. The Mohammedans are a distinct community with interests of their own, which are not shared by the other communities. If each section returns its own members, there can be no objection entertained, but when it is left to the combined body of Hindus and Mohammedan members of the electoral college, there is a danger of not serving the sectional interest rightly and satisfactorily. Men who are in sympathy with the Hindus in their boycott policy will be elected, and thereby the community as a whole can have no chance to return the member whom they count upon as one who would serve their purpose. Section 12 of Lord Morley's Despatch may give one the idea that class representation is fully secured, but a careful perusal would dispel such an idea.

Again, the next most important point which will affect both the Mohammedan interest and the interest of the Government is the adoption of a non-official majority in the provincial council. It is utopian to expect the realization of peaceful working between the two classes; and as matters stand as they are, this Scheme of Lord Morley will not tend to the material benefit of the Mohammedans. The Mohammedans being in a small minority, the Hindus would carry before them everything to their liking and would not care the least as to how it affects the Mohammedan interest or not. It is of the utmost importance—nay a necessity—that this should not be put into force. The present political crisis does not admit of a non-official majority, and it behoves us therefore to ask Government to see that the official majority predominates in the provincial councils not only to safeguard its rights, but also to hold an even balance between the Hindus and the Mohammedans.

Yet another point should not be lost sight of, and that is the proposed inclusion of Indian members on the Executive Council. Here again, an important class like the Mohammedan community may be represented by a Hindu. Justice demands that a community which forms a fourth or a fifth of the entire population should have its own representative, as in the Indian Council.

Mr. President and gentlemen, I have in a few words brought to your notice the great injustice that will be done to us as a community with regard to the electoral college method of voting and representation on the Executive Councils and also the non-official majority in the provincial councils. To safeguard the interest and the right of our community, Government should declare the number of Mohammedans entitled to seats on municipalities, destrict boards, local boards, and Legislative Councils, and it should be "commensurate", in the words of our appeal to His Excellency Lord Minto, "not merely with their numerical strength, but also with their political importance,

and the value of the contribution which they make to the defence of the Empire'' and in consideration of the ''position which they occupied in India, a little more than a hundred years ago, and of which the traditions have not naturally faded from their minds.''

The political importance of the community and other reasons demand that the number declared for seats on the councils be more than the ratio of the number of the Mohammedans to the total population of the province, and as provision is made for election in the electoral college for members being returned in proportion to the population, the remaining number must be returned by nomination. This, unfortunately, is lost sight of in the Scheme by Lord Morley, although, Lord Minto has mentioned it in his proposal. It is also contrary to the reply Lord Minto gave to the All-India Mohammedan Deputation, when His Excellency was pleased to say that the Mohammedan claim would be considered according to the numerical strength and political importance of the community. In this original scheme, Lord Minto reserved four seats out of 28 and there was room for more Mohammedans being returned by election. Roughly calculating, therefore, we hoped to secure not less than eight Mohammedan members for the Imperial Council out of 28, and the League prayed for a still larger number, but the present scheme shows only five to be the maximum in the enlarged Council.

With these remarks I would support the resolutions moved by the President; and I am of the opinion that in the interest of our community, we should respectfully draw the immediate attention of both Lord Morley and Lord Minto to the injustice that will be done to the community, if this paragraph 12 is not altered to suit our purpose, and embody such objections to the Scheme as are detrimental to the interest of the Mohammedan community in the form of a memorial.

Mr. Mohammad Ali said:

The views which have been expressed just now by the representative Musalmans of several provinces of India have impressed me greatly for two reasons. On the subejct of offering thanks to Government opinions have differed. There are among us men who, while emphatically protesting against the inefficiency of the means of protecting the Musalman minority and the inadequacy of a reservation of seats in the Council Chambers in favour of Musalmans in proportion merely to their ratio to the total population of India, are still anxious to thank the large-hearted Secretary of State and the no less generous Viceroy for the general and broad policy of reforms foreshadowed in the former's recent Despatch, which is rightly hoped to open a new chapter in the political life of our motherland, I myself am a humble unit in the ranks of such men. There are others among us who accept all the reservations of the group to which I belong, but are ready to thank Government not only for what is given, but also and mainly for what has rightly been withheld. I believe you, Mr. President, belong to this latter group. But

there is a third group among us, entitled to great consideration not only on account of numbers but also on account of the intensity of its feeling for our co-religionists, which thinks that it would be almost hypocritical to thank anybody at the present moment, when the method devised by the final authority in the Government for our protection is honestly and rightly considered by us to be the surest means of our political annihilation. I have been greatly impressed, as I said, by this difference of opinion. But I have been still more impressed by the solid unanimity that runs through all these differences. Let us consider our position. We are representatives of our co-religionists in various parts of this Empire, and have travelled to Amritsar to discuss matters vital to our political existence.

This is no mass meeting, no huge demonstration such as we have been used to seeing and hearing of every Christmas when the Congress holds its sittings. If we come to exchange ideas and views, to discuss important questions from all possible points of view, rather than to voice only certain opinions held by a few men and decided upon long before we meet, let there be no futile effort at an artificial unanimity. Such unanimity is necessary for demonstrations and mass meetings, but it is not essential, and is in fact injurious, in a meeting such as this, when we meet primarily to exchange views and ideas and only incidentally to impress others. We speak to each other and not to a gallery. The impression that we should therefore try to make on Government and our neighbours must not be one of numbers or of a delusive unanimity, but of our representative character, the carefulness of our deliberations and, above all, of the soundness of our views. To arrogate to ourselves such titles as a 'National Congress' or to try to secure an artificial unanimity can only end in one thing. That road only leads to Surat.

I think that in spite of all its defects, the Scheme of Reforms which we are now discussing entitles its framers to our hearty and sincere thanks and congratulations. We have changed a great deal, and on the whole for the better during the last 16 years, and the system of government must also change. Evolution is the best preventive of a revolution. Our rulers must adjust themselves to the changed circumstances of the ruled. If political myopia prevents their taking a long view of men and things, the consequences can easily be imagined. Much as we all abhor the excess of political fanatics, can we silence those who say that they are in some measure due to the tardiness of our political evolution. Much as it may be necessary, it is always a bad policy to correct with the right arm the mistake of the brain. But we can turn aside from the contemplation of recent horrors to rejoice in the future that is foreshadowed in these Reforms.

You, Mr. President, have analysed the reforms in the spirit of the lawyer and can congratulate the Reformers, not only for what has been conceded, but also for what has been withheld. My own temperament does not

permit me to view them merely in their legal aspect. I like to think not only of the present but to picture to myself the glorious vision of the future. To my mind the significance of the Reforms lies not so much in what they are as in what they promise. It has been said in some quarters that the Reforms are due to a liberal government and, particularly, to Secretary of State Lord Morley's antecedents. I concur with this view to a large extent, but I feel that it is not one party, much less one person that is bound by the pledges of to-day.

I feel that the honour of the British Government, the honour of the British nation has been pledged to us for the fair promise of the future. Lord Morley and the Liberal Party have taken their stand on a policy from which no minister and no party can recede without jeopardizing the honour and the safety of the British nation. That policy is not a nation's policy, and the word of a sovereign has been given to us once more, 50 years after our Sovereign Lady Victoria gave it to us unasked. It is for this rather than for the meagre provisions of a single Despatch that we should thank the Government. And if I can judge for you, I am sure you will all readily thank the Government on this score. But beyond thanks of this nature, we certainly owe nothing to the Secretary of State. The Viceroy who was conversant with the details of the situation had proposed a scheme for our representation which would have secured us a voice in the Council Chambers of the State. But the Secretary of State who had only a distant acquaintance with our peculiar position in India failed to provide for our representation, because instead of relying on the advice of the careful and circumspect Viceroy whom he has so often and so justly praised, His Lordship listened to the sanctimonious apostles of unity. I had often marvelled how a philosopher and a literary man had so long escaped the pitfalls which beset the path of such a person when he begins to reform a world entirely different from the one in which he has himself lived and moved, without even those advantages which the much maligned 'six-week-expert' has of forming a first hand acquaintance with this new world. But even Lord Morley, who had hitherto made the needed allowance for such a difference in not rushing into reforms that did not suit India, at last failed to recognize one of the most important differences between Great Britain and our own country. This difference is that in India the line of cleavage between various political interests is not territorial but denominational. Moreover, in India the religious creed of man does not only stand for his relation with his Maker and is not only a spiritual difference; it has in the course of many centuries become a strong temporal difference, and stands for a different outlook on life, different mode of living, different temperament and necessarily different politics.

It is indeed curious that a philosopher like Lord Morley should have mistaken the accident of representation for its very essence. It is indeed a mere accident that in great Britain the territorial divisions mark off rival

interests also. But it is wrong to assume that Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow and Birmingham are represented in the British Parliament separately because they are different localities, rather than clearly marked off interests, it is as such that they are represented and not because the territorial limits as such are distinct. Look at the religious demarcation between the various countries included in the United Kingdom: were it not for the accident that Ireland is distinctly Catholic, Scotland Presbyterian, and that non-comformity has its habitat in Wales, whereas England has an established Church of its own, there would have resulted an awful confusion if representation had been based, as it now is, on territorial divisions. Imagine a devotee of the Church of England returned by the votes of a majority of his own way of thinking, but resident in Wales, returning him to Parliament to propose the establishment of the Church of England in that principality. Imagine a follower of Knox returned by the Presbyterian majority from Ireland proposing that there should be no Popery in that distressful country. Can you not imagine the wrath of Mr. Lloyd George and Dr. Clifford, and Mr. Redmond and the Nationalists? And can you not imagine the humour of the situation when the M.Ps. returned by the majority boasted, with a merry twinkle in their eye, that they spoke in the name and on behalf of a United Wales or a United Ireland, and denounced the Non-Conformists and the Catholics, who of course could not be returned to Parliament by the opposite party to raise a foolish cry?

I make a present of this glorious vision of unity to the Secretary of State. But to you in India, I can give no better instance of such confusion than the opinions of the Indian 'National' Congress. Because a Moulvi Liakat Hussain has said so, the Congress gives out in the name of all Musalmans that they are all against the Partition of Bengal, excepting that 'man of no moment', my friend the Hon. Nawab Bahadur of Dacca. Because a Mr. Haider Raza has joined the Congress, all Musalmans are represented to be in full sympathy of every demand of Congress. By the way I hear this gentleman has joined the ranks of the extremists and has very logically ceased to be, in the opinion of the moderates, a true representative of Musalmans. Mr. Asquith complained of these 'mysterious divinations' which inform the House of Lords that the country does not want measures passed by a huge majority of the House of Commons. But a colleague of Mr. Asquith recommends a system of election which would regularize such 'mysterious divinations', because unlike that 'Annexe of the Tory Party in the Commons' against which the Liberals are arming themselves, our House of Lords would be composed of members of our own community but mandatories of the majority of our political rivals. Lord Morley began by devising a system for the protection of Musalmans and ended by inventing a system of political ventriloquism. He has reserved a number of seats, though too few, in favour of members of our community. We are therefore apparently assured a hearing. But it will be only apparently that we would be heard. The lips and the

tongue would be of Muslims, but, like the oracles of ancient shrines, the voice that of the Brahmin. We complained that our co-religionists were not elected as members of Legislative Councils. That grievance would be now removed. For our own sword is being sharpened to cut our throat.

Lord Morley had not far to look to find how dangerous it was to base representation on territorial division in countries in which religions or racial distinctions were greater and more significant than territorial demarcation. There are many countries in Europe which could offer a warning or a guidance to so eminent a scholar of politics. France, Austria, Russia and Turkey could furnish enough of both. Take the last named only. Are not the interests of Christian and Jew, Muslim and Christian, Latin Christianity and Orthodox Church, Patriarchate and Exarchate and Metroplitanate different and even conflicting in that country? And if they are conflicting, would territorial representation be adequate protection for an Israelite in an anti-Semite district in Austria or France, or an Armenian in a Kurdish locality in Turkey? Nay, why go so far? I would request His Lordship to cast his glance at Ireland itself. That Island is also part of the United Kingdom along with Scotland. But between the union of Scotland and the union of Ireland how strange an analogy and how strange a contrast! Is not Ulster responsible for much of this contrast which has made a full union of Ireland with England impossible? But what is Ulster in its importance to the greater Ulster that exists in India, the Ulster of Islam? And what protection does Lord Morley make for our Ulster? Only this that the representatives for Ulster must be the nominees of the rest of Ireland: dummies to represent men who think and suggest and feel, players that must not utter a word on the stage, puppets to dance as the wirepuller manipulates them. We wish to congratulate his Lordship on his political workmanship. We cannot congratulate him on his encouragement of political jugglery.

The sanctimonious apostles of unity contend that the interests of Mohammedans do not differ from those of Hindus; and if the wish were father to the thought, I would say Amen. But let us not be ruined by political ambiguities. When they talk of interests, let us ask of what interests they talk. The ultimate interests of Hindus and Mohammedans are certainly the same. They were the same when Sivaji revolted against Aurangzeb or when the situation described in *Anand Math* existed. The interests, in that sense, of the whole of humanity are the same. The ultimate interests of all men are indentical. But because human beings have not all risen yet to such a lofty conception of their essential unity, because we have not reached the millenium in which the strong only protect the weak, the thief only protects the property of the rich, white bureaucrat only lives for the good of sable Congressmen, and Mr. Tilak and Mr. Gokhale only work for the good of us all, that the expensive machinery of administration, the police, the magistracy, judges and juries, and specially elected non-official members of Legislative

Councils have to be tolerated. The position of different societies in the scale of political evolution is judged according to the degree to which each has eliminated the personal equation from the principles that guide it in its system of government. It is therefore a retrograde step in our political evolution to leave us at the mercy of an angelic majority that invariably thinks of the unity of India's ultimate interest. It is not the ultimate interests that have caused all the horrible crimes of short-sighted humanity, all the bloody wars of ancient and modern times, and all the bitterness that rankles even to-day in human breasts. The analogy of litigation is indeed such a good one that we must ask ourselves whether by substituting the nominees of the maiority for the nominees of Government, Lord Morley is not depriving the judge of the right to nominate an advocate for an absent litigant in order to give the same right to the other party to the suit. Even in the best regulated families, differences sometimes lead to litigation. Would anyone permit one brother to say to the other, when they have counter claims against each other, "Let me choose your advocate for you", or would the judge be justified in saying to one of them, "Why have an advocate? You have friends in me and the jury."?

A good deal of nonsense has been talked and written about 'special treatment' and 'free competition'. The Musalmans ask for no special treatment, and they are fighting against political monopolists. The *Indian Daily News* said of denominational representation that "It is certainly an open question whether the bracing air of competition would not be a healthier atmosphere for the now rapidly awakening Mohammedan community than the hot-house culture that the Government seems so anxious to introduce." But who has ever heard of 'free competition' between constituencies for representation? Would Ulster be satisfied with the doctrine of free competition if the members for Ulster were to be elected by free competition with the majority of Catholic Ireland? Would England be satisfied with an arbitration court at The Hague in which her representatives were chosen by means of free competition by the larger populations of other European countries? The membership of the Legislative Council is not a lucrative or honourable appointment any more than the membership of an arbitration court, to be competed for by contending parties. It is the delegation of its deputy by each of several separate interests to a comprehensive body charged with the difficult task of legislation for all of them according to their united wishes, rather than the reward of competing interests in a struggle for existence. The numerically weak cannot and must not be allowed to go to the wall. This is so plain that I cannot believe an astute politician like Lord Morley could have been misled by any talk of free competition. His deception is due to more persuasive, because more plausible, Pharisees. "Denominational representation would accentuate religious differences", that is the argument of apostles of unity. A pretty phrase this, 'accentuate religious differences'. But has it been ascertained whether this measure will be the cause or is

already the consequence of religious differences? Are they not unfortunately but too patent? Are they not sufficiently accentuated? Have we not reached the bottom of these wretched squabbles? I am second to no Pharisee in detesting these pitiful struggles of communities that are due to no higher consideration than the lives of goats and cows, or the use of an Arabic or Sanskrit word. But howsoever we may detest them, we cannot be blind to their existence. Let it be admitted for argument's sake that the fault lies wholly with the fanatics of Islam, with their *jezzia* and *jehad*. Let it be believed that the tolerant Hindus have tolerated something more than the bare physical existence of nearly as many millions of men of their own faith as the Musalman fanatics. Let it be believed that, instead of every third Hindu being untouchable by the other two Hindus, including Mr. Tilak, the *Mang* and the *Mahar*, the *Dhed* and the *Chamar*, the *Bhangi* and the Pariah are men within the meaning of the terms, 'the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man'. Let it be believed that these castes euphemistically called 'the depressed classes'—depression far worse than any foreign oppression—are allowed the elementary rights of existence. Even then the fanaticism of Musalmans and the spirit of revenge which it gives rise to are facts that cannot be ignored. Is the Government to ignore such a fact in giving Indians territorial franchise without any provision for the protection of the minority? We all desire to see the end of religious and sectional squables. But we must build on the foundation of facts rather than of pious wishes. Statesmanship consists in building the ideal fabric on the foundation of reality. It is foolish to ignore *what is* in the desire to achieve *what ought to be*. The ostrich may be an excellent idealist, but he is a poor politician. Let us condemn every measure of Government that tends to turn solidarity into disintegration. But let us recognize the practical good sense also that does not ignore the universally acknowledged disintegration that is of our own creation.

It is no use warning the guileless Mohammedan fish that rushes at the bait offered by the Government, if the Hindu fish has no better record of its own discrimination or contentment. The greater political blunder of an ex-Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, who is now denouncing political blunders of others has not been forgotten. Did not the apostles of unity swallow a tasty bait, and begin thereafter the boycott of every word of Arabic or Persian origin in that glorious language, Urdu, the camp language of their darling Akbar and his successors, throwing into the dust-heap the shining coins of Arab and Ajam mints which enriched our common treasury. That was by no means a conspicuous example of catholicity and tolerance. I wish my Hindu friends would only learn the disillusioning but useful fact that there is no short cut to patriotism or unity.

Thou'lt come, knit men, join nation unto nation,
    But not for us who watch to-day and burn.
Thou'lt come, but after what long years of trial,

Weary watching, patient longing, dull denial.

I know that there is current in India a view of unity which is the dream of all spiritualists. It looks forward to unity in Nirvana, the annihilation of the finite and its incorporation with the infinite. It is possible that in a confused application of this view to more mundane affairs our friends desire our annihilation and the Nirvana of the minority in the majority. But even this short cut has been tried before, and those who walked along this path discovered, though too late, that it led only to their destruction. The dream of unity led Spain to banish all Moriscoes from its territories after the fall of Granada. The same glorious visions caused the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the expulsion of Huguenots from France. But did Spain succeed or fail? Was it not the other day that Catholic Clergymen were roughly handled in the selfsame Paris, and inventories taken of their churches by free-thinking Parisians? The unity that is sought through the annihilation of minorities reacts upon itself. An even-handed justice commends the ingredients of poisoned chalice to our own lips. At any rate the Musalman cannot be expected to take the poisoned cup and drink it to the dregs without a murmur as a martyr to the Unity of India. He has hitherto been credited with a genius for forcing the cup of martyrdom on others. No Nirvana can attract him; and those who have succeeded in inducing some guileless men to commit political hara-kiri must remember that the Musalmans in general are rather tenacious in their longing to live.

One word more and I have done. When we show distrust of the system of the before-mentioned representation, we do not say that every Hindu leader who talks of unity and wishes to bring it about by mixed electoral colleges is insincere and wishes only to lure us to our destruction. It is not that. No, these leaders come and go, but the bad system goes on for ever. Lord Morley could not be unfamiliar with our line of reasoning, for the Liberals' Cabinet has just now announced a similar line of policy with reference to Germany and the dreadnaughts. England and its ministers do not distrust Germany. But Germany or no Germany, their supremacy on the high seas is essential to their national existence, and cannot be risked on the words, no matter how sincere, of an Emperor or a Chancellor of the *Faterland.* Circumstances may change, other Emperors and Chancellors may be in power, and the tempting weakness of England may lead them to forget all the sincere pledges of to-day. An unprotected minority cannot rely on the sole asset of the sincerity of the majority's present leaders. We cannot lay down two keels to every one of the Hindus. But let our dreadnaughts, even one to their two, be our own and not theirs in all but the flag they fly. Otherwise, circumstances may and would change, and our unprotected condition would tempt the leaders of rival communities, who could not then be expected to remember the sincere pledges of long ago. The question is one of our life and death. We cannot jeopardize our existence on promises, sincere

or otherwise, and must see this thing to the end.

Sheikh Abdul Qadir said that they were not in duty bound to thank Lord Morley. The principle of his scheme conflicted with those on which they had so far been basing Muslim policy since the days of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Moreover, the proposal to nominate electors was absolutely unprecedented, and did not stand the test of reason. If the Secretary of State recognized the principle of the nomination of electors, what prevented him from recognizing the justice and expediency of the same principle in the nomination of members? He emphatically supported the last two resolutions, but agreed to the first only in deference to the wishes from the Chair.

Mr. Yakub Hasan of Madras remarked that the Musalmans of the Madras Presidency had already passed a resolution conveying the sense of the three resolutions now proposed.

Khwaja Gul Mohammad, agreed with Sheikh Abdul Qadir's views, while Khwaja Ahmad Shah was in favour of passing the last two resolutions, but suspending the expression of thanks to Lord Morley till the time when the scheme was modified in accordance with Mohammedan wishes. On Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur pointing out that there would be nothing improper in conveying thanks for what was acceptable to them, and pressing their views on Government on points where the Musalmans felt agreed, Khwaja Ahmad Shah did not formally move any amendment.

Nawab Khwaja Sir Salimullah Khan Bahadur, K.C.S.O., Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, said:

We have all heard the speech of the President on the Despatch dealing with the Reform Scheme. The ability with which he has handled the subject can leave no doubt in our mind that he has given our community the benefit of the remarkable talents he possesses for dealing with political questions that affect the interest of our community. The view that he takes of the Despatch is one that may possibly strongly appeal to you. His power of exposition and criticism, I have the highest regard for. In fact I have a greater regard for it, I claim, than any one of you have; yet I venture to submit to you that I have so far held views on the question of the protection of the minorities different from those pronounced by the learned President. I read the Despatch of Lord Morley in this connection as giving us, the Mohammedans, pure and separate denominational representation, to use the Presidents language, from start to finish. It was on the strength of this opinion that I have of the Despatch that I gladly went with the All-India Loyal Representative Deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy to thank him and the Secretary of State for their liberal concessions. I was then, and am still, under the impression that justice has been administered to the Hindus and Mohammedans alike, and that the 25 Mohammedans out of the 100 in the college, the electoral college, will elect Mohammedan representatives separately from the remaining 75 Hindus. I feel certain that when you approach their Lordships with the interpretation,

as given by the President, of the Despatch on this point, you will find that the interpretation given by me is correct. Yet inasmuch as I have strong faith in the good sense of our President and the present assembly, I, in spite of my own convictions, think that a fair amount of doubt has been raised to justify our supporting the President in putting the resolutions before us from the Chair, and I therefore, to maintain the solidarity of our attitude in relation to political action, freely join you in the support.

The resolutions were carried by acclamation.

Third Sitting

The third sitting opened at 11 a.m. on December 31 and closed at 2-30 p.m. Syed Ali Imam was in the Chair and members and visitors were present as on the previous day.

In a spirited speech, full of facts and figures, Mian Mohammad Shafi moved the following resolutions:

RESOLUTION IV

> The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the principle of purely denominational representation should be extended to all municipal and district boards throughout India, a principle which has already worked with success in a large number of municipalities in the Punjab.

The resolution was seconded by Khwaja Gul Mohammad.

Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhary, supporting the resolution, said:

The resolution which has been so ably moved and seconded just now has my heartiest support and approval. The municipal and district boards are but initial rungs in the ladder of self-government and if denominational representation is extended to these we shall have gained a very important step towards adequate representation in the Legislative Chamber of the Empire. A community which has a glorious past and which forms a fourth or fifth of the entire population should have adequate representation on the municipal and district boards which are the embodiments of local self-government. If the denominational principles applied to the municipal boards in the Punjab has worked there successfully, there is no reason why the principle should not be applied to both municipal and district boards uniformly throughout the Indian Empire. These boards have to deal with important matters concerning the health, educational needs and, at times, the religious concerns of the locality, and it is a matter greatly to be deplored that the Mohammedan taxpayers are not adequately represented. To overcome such defects, Government ought to declare the number of Mohammedan members on these boards in proportion to their numerical strength and political importance, and they should be returned by the Mohammedan electors residing in any particular municipality or within the limits of a district board. In some municipal areas, the Moham-

medans may not stand a good comparison to the other classes in point of numbers and taxes, but the political importance of the community should be taken into consideration in the declaration of the numbers. Need I say, gentlemen, that the resolution has the hearty support of all of us assembled here.

The resolution was also supported by Mr. Mohammad Ali, Mr. Mazharul Haque and Mr. Yakub Hasan.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION V

Sheikh Abdul Qadir proposed:

> In view of the appointment of Indian members to the Executive Councils of the Governor-General and the Governors of Bombay and Madras, the All-India Muslim League hopes that the claims of the Indian Mohammedans will be duly considered.

The motion was supported by Raja Naushad Ali Khan, Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Moulvi Mahbub Alam and Nawab Naseer Hasan Khan Khyal. It was passed unanimously.

RESOLUTION VI

> The All-India Muslim League considers it necessary that a committee should be appointed with full powers to draft and finally adopt an address embodying the resolutions relating to the Reform Scheme of the Secretary of State, unanimously passed by the League, and to make all necessary arrangements for presenting it to H.E. the Viceroy, with His Excellency's permission, at an early date through a Deputation of such members of the League as are able to wait upon His Excellency, and that the President of this session be the chairman of the said committee, which should hold its sitting at a place convenient to the chairman, the quorum consisting of four members, and that the following members of the League should form the said committee: Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur; the Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur of Dacca; the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhry; Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Bar-at-Law; Mr. Fazale Hasan, Bar-at-Law; Khan Bahadur Mian Mohammad Shafi, Bar-at-Law; Sheikh Abdul Aziz, Editor, *Observer*; Nawab Naseer Hasan Khan Khyal; Mr. Yakub Hasan; Mr. Mazharul Haque, Bar-at-Law (Secretary of the Committee); Moulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmad, Bar-at-Law; Khan Bahadur Sarfraz Hasan Khan; Mr. Mohammad Ali, B.A. (Oxon.); Mr. Nabiullah, Bar-at-Law; Mr. Abdus Salam Rafiqi; Khan Bahadur Khwaja Yusuf Shah; Khan Bahadur Sheikh Ghulam Sadiq; Sheikh Abdul Qadir, Bar-at-Law; Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law; Raja Naushad Ali Khan; Haji Mohammad Musa Khan, Offg. Hony. Secretary,

All-India Muslim League; and Syed Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law (Chairman). And further that this League also deems it necessary to empower the said Committee to send some representatives of the League to wait upon the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India and bring to His Lordship's notice the just and legitimate claims of the Mohammedans of India.

In moving the above resolution, Raja Naushad Ali Khan said:

It is not necessary for me to say much in moving this resolution. You know to what extent the interests of Musalmans have suffered by their silence and also to what extent rival interests have triumphed because the political missionaries of our neighbours have succeeded in quarters where, as our President has so justily said, our voice has only to reach to be appreciated. This League has already unanimously and heartily passed three resolutions moved from the Chair on the subject of the Reform Scheme. I am one of the representatives from the Province of Oudh, and though I gave a silent vote in favour of the resolutions yesterday, I take this opportunity of saying that Oudh heartly supports them. The conclusions at which we unanimously arrived are, therefore, clear. We have only to add to them weighty arguments to support them and draw up a memorial in which we should plead our just and righteous cause. We should then arrange to obtain His Excellency the Viceroy's permission to wait upon His Excellency and lay before him our just grievances. But as the final authority is the Secertary of State's, we should also arrange to send some representatives to England to acquaint his Lordship and the Cabinet with the true state of our community and the well-justified apprehensions it has for its future, if the interests of the minorities are not protected better than under the system outlined in paragraph 12 of the Secretary of State's Despatch. I am sure there can be no two opinions about the question, and I trust you will pass the resolution unanimously. A word or two may be said about the machinery designed for the work before us. I think our President, Mr. Ali Imam, should be requested to draw up this memorial, as he is in every way the most proper person to do it, for not only have we had proofs of his great political ability in the two speeches of yesterday and the resolutions passed by us, but also because, as our President of this session, he moved those important resolutions.

We leave the selection of the place of meeting to him, as he is a busy man and we must seek his convenience; and though after having settled the conclusions at which we have unanimously arrived yesterday, we could very well leave the whole work of the memorial to him, it is better to appoint a committee, with representatives of the various provinces. The quorum for meetings is such that the work of the committee can go on without hitch and without delay, for delay at this hour is dangerous. Our deputation should consist of every member of the League who could wait upon the Viceroy in Calcutta, unless circumstances make it necessary to curtail the number of its

members. This is necessary because we should throw the door open to all members of this representative League. The committee proposed by me should be our plenipotentiaries, for it will be impossible to refer to the whole League for the settlement of every little point. The committee's representative character will, I trust, make it acceptable to all. Gentlemen, I ask for unanimous support of this resolution.

The resolution had the hearty support of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, Sheikh Ghulam Sadiq, Sheikh Abdul Aziz and other members; and was adopted unanimously.

RESOLUTION VII

The All-India Muslim League, after very carefully considering the prayers contained in the address of the Deputation of the Deccan Provincial Muslim League that waited upon His Excellency the Governor of Bombay in September 1908, and His Excellency's reply to the same, regrets that the just and reasonable requests of the Mohammedans of the Bombay Presidency have not met with that considerate reception on the part of the Bombay Government which they deserved. This League cannot believe that the real representation of the Mohammedans in the municipalities can adequately be secured by rectifying, by the dubious means of Government nominations, the inevitable deficiencies of electors on a non-denominational basis, which has been amply proved by the experience of such elections in that Presidency during quarter of a century; and this League is strongly of opinion that Government nominations cannot but create in the Mohammendan community an indifference towrds civil affairs which is sure to affect their interests prejudicially, that they will to a large extent defeat the purpose of local self-government which was primarly intended to be an instrument of political popular education (*sic*). Nor in view of the very serious difficulties pointed out in the Government of India's Despatch of October, 1908, to the Secretary of State with reference to that plan, can this League accept as proper the suggestion of the Bombay Government to give favourable consideration to selections made by voluntary associations of Mohammedans. This League also holds that, in view of the great need of encouraging the educational efforts of Mohammedans and the importance of proper instruction in Urdu—which in addition to being the Lingua Franca of the Indian Empire, is without a doubt the Vernacular of the Mohammedans of Bombay Presidency—the request of the Deccan Muslim League in favour of the establishment of an Urdu Training College and the appointment of qualified inspecting officers for Urdu schools merits a more favourable reconsideration. This League further believes that His Excellency the Governor's reply to the request of the Deccan

Muslim League recommending that a due proportion of Mohammedans shall always find a place in the public service has been due to a serious misconception as regards the true nature of the said request; and this League, while not in the least desiring that undue favour should be shown to Mohommedans, or that the standard of qualification for public service should be lowered in their favour to the prejudice of the efficiency of administration, very emphatically holds that it is essential for the efficiency of administration, as well as for the proper adjustment of the political balance, that so long as qualified Mohammedans are available for the public service, they should be employed to the exclusion of members of other communities till their due proportion, according to their importance and population, is secured.

The motion called forth a dignified speech from the mover, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, who was strongly backed up by other members of the League, and was adopted.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

RESOLUTION VIII

Proposed by Mr. Mazharul Haque and seconded by Mr. Mohammad Umar:

That in view of the uncertainty in the administration of the Hindu and the Mohammedan Law, in consequence of which grave dissatisfaction is often caused among the people, the Right Hon. the Secretary of State be moved, through the Government of India, to appoint a Musalman and a Hindu as members on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

RESOLUTION IX

Proposed by Mian Mohammad Shafi and seconded by Sheikh Abdul Qadir:

In view of the necessity and importance, under the existing circumstances of India, of each community being duly represented in the administration, the All-India Muslim League considers the number of Mohammedans employed in the various branches of the public service as absolutely inadequate, and strongly urges the Government to give the Mohammedan community that share in the public service to which it is entitled by reason of its importance and numerical strength.

Mr. Mohammad Yakub, in supporting the resolution, observed:

The number of Mohammedans in the judicial service of the Province of Agra is very inadequate; and unless prompt and effective measures are taken to make up the deficiency, the Mohammedans will, in the course of a few years, nearly disappear from the higher grade of this most important

branch of Government service. In the last quarter of the year 1908, out of 21 sub-judges, there were only four Mohammedans, of whom two are on the eve of retirement and will, according to the gradation given in the civil list, be succeeded by Hindus; and the whole Province of Agra, one of the most advanced Mohammedan provinces in India, has only two Musalman sub-judges. In the grade of *munsif*, the situation is far from being satisfactory, and out of a total number of 69, there are only 12 Mohammedans.

Although we can never admit that our share in the Government service or anywhere else should only be in proportion to our numerical strength, and in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, we justly claim a share equal to our Hindu brethren, owing to our special importance and the position which we occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago, still even according to the view taken by Sir Antony (now Lord) Macdonell, the most unsympathetic English Governor that the Mohammedans of India ever had, out of every five there ought to be two Mohammedans in the judicial line.

RESOLUTION X

Proposed by Mr. Mohammad Ali and seconded by Sheikh Abdul Aziz:

That Government be asked to appoint a commission to enquire into the number, general purposes and manner of administration of Musalman endowments designed merely for public benefit.

RESOLUTION XI

Proposed by Mr. Nabiullah, and seconded by Moulvi Habibur Rahman Khan:

In view of the disintegration of Musalman families consequent on the misinterpretation of the Musalman Law of Family Wakf, and the disastrous effects resulting therefrom to the well-being of the community, it is necessary for the Legislature to enact some measure to validate the Musalman Law of Wakf in favour of the endower's family and descendants with any safeguard that may be considered expedient against the perpetration of fraud.

RESOLUTION XII

Proposed by Mian Mohammad Shafi and seconded by Raja Naushad Ali Khan:

In view of the existing conditions in some parts of the country, the All-India Muslim League fully recognizes the urgent necessity, on the part of Government, of taking strong action to punish, adequately and without delay, the dastardly crimes of the kind which have recently been committed, and to deal effectively with anarchism and other seditious associations which are the cause of these crimes; and expresses

its hearty approval of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act recently passed by the Imperial Legislature.

RESOLUTION XIII

Proposed by Mr. Nabiullah and supported by Moulvi Mahboob Alam:

The All-India Muslim League deplores the spirit of recent anti-Asiatic legislation in the British colonies of South Africa, especially in the Transvaal, which has placed a great strain on the loyalty of our countrymen, both here and in such colonies, and considers it as one of its bounden duties to the British Government, as well as to its African colonies concerned, to inform it of the likely mischievous consequences of colonial legislation, based on racial distinction, humiliating to H.M. the King Emperor's Indian subjects; and this League has grave apprehensions that unless the good sense of the colonies helps them to devise means to end the present crisis in such colonies by some permanent compromise, and failing that, unless the Imperial Government successfully asserts its undoubted supremacy in matters of Imperial importance to obliterate racial distinctions in political life within the Empire, the reforms foreshadowed in the Despatch of the Secretary of State for India may fail to exercise that wholesome influence on the present situation in India which they are intended to exercise.

RESOLUTION XIV

In view of the recent utterances of Dr. Rashbehari Ghose and the action of the Madras Congress in passing a resolution against the Partition of Bengal, the League felt that it was necessary to inform the Government and the public of the Mohammedan attitude in the matter, and unanimously adopted a strongly worded resolution in favour of the Partition.[1] A very large number of the members of the League, hailing from all parts of the country, supported the resolution, which was moved by Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhry. He said:

The advocates of withdrawal of Partition have repeatedly urged that the unrest and excitement would subside with the withdrawal. I confess I have not for myself been able to comprehend such a position, so persistently and strenously advanced. Was the Partition synchronous with the unrest? I ask you, gentlemen, to say aye or nay. I am sure that the interrogation would yield a unanimous nay. For even the most careless critics of events cannot deny that the unrest is of no recent growth, and that its origin dates back to a time far antecedent to the Partition of Bengal. Again, is it not natural to ask that if the root cause of the unrest and anarchism is the Partition of Bengal, why should the unrest and anarchism have spread over all of India?

1. The wording of the resolution is not given in the report of Proceedings.

It is therefore absolutely absurd to assert that the modification of the Partition would be followed by the subsidence of the anarchical spirit. The anarchcial spirit has nothing to do with the Partition. The exposures in the law courts of the bomb conspiracies, of the train wrecking attempts of the secret societies for the destruction of British rule, of the doings of the 'national' dacoits, would go to show that the spirit of turbulance and terrorism is not a recent product, but has its roots in deep-seated plans and plots for the overthrow of the Government. Do the palliators of the unrest really know their constituents? Do they then really mean to tell us that the cry for *Swaraj* is a meaningless and absurd cry and would stop the moment the crime of Partition is atoned for by its withdrawal? People who have lived long enough in India would not, I am sure, submit to this sort of tomfoolery.

Gentlemen, I can say one thing in the full confidence and courage of conviction: if the Partition was a blunder, a greater and graver blunder would be to withdraw or modify it. Indeed, it would be the most egregious blunder in the history of British India. I am not sure whether any sane administration would go to that extent, for while it would be a practical surrender of *Pax Britannica* into the hands of the vociferous agitators, it would also mean to the larger and more important population in Eastern Bengal, the Musalmans, that the Government seeks not the happiness of the greatest number—the established, admitted and accepted principle of English political ethics—but is prone to climb down to the hectoring and terrorizing bodies of agitators. But what are the arguments against the partition? Up to now the stock argument with the anti-partitionists has been the mere sentimental one that it divides the Bengali Hindu race. Could not the Bengali Musalmans say the same thing? Could not the Musalmans, too, cry that the partition has divided the Bengali Musalmans into two different provincial areas? Could not the Punjabi Musalmans, in like manner, say that the creation of the Frontier Province divides them into two different political divisions? Could not, I ask, the Mohammedans of upper India similarly complain that the Punjab and the United Provinces break up a no less homogeneous people into two different political and administrative areas?

Could not Musalmans have raised the standard of revolt when Delhi, Karnal and Gurgaon districts were transferred to the Punjab Province? Could not similarly the Biharis threaten disturbance because they have been included in the Bengal administration? Assam was separated in 1874 from Bengal and made into a separate Province. Could it not raise the same cry when, by the redistribution of 1905, it had to revert to the old order of being mixed up with Bengal? I must say that the enunciation of such a doctrine is the enunciation of a dangerous principle in the governance of a country like India.

The duplication of the administrative machinery has not only raised

the standard of efficiency in the government of the reconstituted province, but has afforded a great security of life and prosperity to the people. What was the state of affairs in the eastern part of the province, especially in the tracts watered by the Brahamputra, the Pudda and the Megna. They were so detached and segregated from the centre of administrative influence that it was impossible, under the old system, to have hoped for any improvement, social, political, educational or commercial, before many long years to come.

The Partition has given a new life to the people in the Eastern Province. They are feeling a refreshing sense and a relief from the thraldom of...[1] Calcutta. They find their rights more quickly recognized and their existence and importance more adequately appreciated than they could as a mere appendage, as heretofore, of Western Bengal. They find that if...[1] some 100 deputy magistrates and a like number of sub-deputies, *munsiffs* and sub-registrars have had to be appointed, these appointments went to the children of the soil, Hindus and Mohammedans. In fact, the people feel that in neglected Eastern Bengal, the people have got what Ireland has so strenuously been fighting for, I mean home-rule and not rule from Calcutta.

I hope it would not be out of place if I attempted to meet the criticism of our Bengali Hindu friends on what they regard as the detriment to nationalism as they apprehend it by Partition (*sic*). One is really very curious to hear from them the cry of unity and nationalism in danger. What is, pray, the real significance and import of this nationalism? Does it mean a cementing together of the Bengali Hindus within themselves and outside with all other races? Does the euphonious phrase 'Indian Nation' mean only and restrictedly the Hindus of the two Bengals? Is not the mixing up and fusion of all the various races a consumation to be striven after and desired? Why, then, I ask my Hindu friends, should there be the cry of the break up, the split up, the division and so forth of the Bengali Nation?. Is it to be assumed and adopted (*sic*) that the development of an Indian nationality should be synonimous with the development of the Bengali Hindu, apart from and outside all other races and communities? An eventual evolution of an Indian nationality logically means the fusion of all races ultimately into a homogeneous whole. The cry of nationalism in danger cannot therefore come with good grace from our Bengali Hindu friends, when a portion of them are asked to cast their lot with the Assamese, another fraction asked to join the hands of fellowship with the Biharis, or another group required to mingle with the Orias. So far, therefore, the cry of nationalism in danger is a false and unfounded cry; for what is really in danger is not nationalism, but the spirit of exclucivism and privilege of monopoly.

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1. These clauses have been omitted as, doubtless owing to some editorial error in the source document, they do not make sense.

OTHER BUSINESS

A representative sub-committee was appointed to revise the rules of the League.

Some donations to the All-India Muslim League Fund were announced: a donation of Rs. 1,500 from H.H. Sir Sultan Mohammad Shah Aga Khan, G.C.I.E., the permanent President of the All-India Muslim League; one of Rs. 500 from Raja Naushad Ali Khan, and another of Rs. 500 from Mr. Mazharul Haque.

The President addressed a few words to the audience, thanking them for the trouble taken and expressing satisfaction at the work that had been done. Khwaja Yusuf Shah, the President of the Reception Committee and Mr. Mohammad Umar, the Honorary Secretary of this Committee ,were specially complimented for their untiring zeal and for the good arrangements they made for the Session of the League at Amritsar. The proceedings concluded with a vote of thanks to the Chair, applause for the President, and three cheers for His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor.[1]

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[1]. Report of Haji Mohammad Musa Khan: Pamphlet Published by All-India Muslim League, Aligarh, May 1, 1909, pp. 1-38.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

THIRD ANNUAL SESSION

DELHI, JANUARY 29-30, 1910

First Sitting

The All-India Muslim League, after holding private conferences on January 27 and 28, 1910, opened its first sitting with great enthusiasm on January 29, 1910, at the Sangam Theatre, in the imperial city of Delhi.

The meeting commenced with the speech of Hazikulmulk Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan, President of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates. Rising amidst loud cheers he said:

In the name and on behalf of the Reception Committee of the All-India Muslim League, I beg to accord a hearty and warm welcome to you all, our esteemed guests, who have come here from various parts of the country to join in our deliberations regarding the condition of the Indian Musalmans and to take part in the proceedings of the Delhi Session of the Muslim League—a session which, by recognizing the existence of the League separately from the Mohammedan Educational Conference, marks an important advance in the awakening political consciousness of the Muslim community. This Session of the League, therefore, possesses a weight which is all its own and is practically the first Muslim gathering with a purely political object, at which are met the representatives of the community from all parts of India to chalk out a safe and straight path for the desired goal.

Important and distinguished as the present assembly is, no better place could have been selected for it than Delhi, Imperial Delhi, the mention of whose name carries the mind back to a glorious past, whose fascinating life-story has ever captivated the imagination of students of history and

whose uniquely favourable position led British Viceroys to hold the two memorable *Durbars* of modern days on its historic soil. And it was in the fitness of things that a body which took its birth in the city of Jahangir (Jahangirabad or Dacca) should have completed the stage of its infancy in the city of Shahjahan (Shahjahanabad or Delhi). We are thankful to the organizers of the League for their accepting our invitation and are doubly thankful to you, gentlemen, for the encouraging and enthusiastic response you have made to our humble call.

The period that has elapsed since the last annual meeting of the League held at Amritsar has been crowded with notable events. Indeed, the country is still passing through times at once stirring and epoch-marking. The introduction of the Reform Scheme opens a fresh chapter in the history of British rule in Hindustan, and we are now standing on the threshold of a new era in the Indian polity. Great and invaluable concessions have been granted to the people, and British statesmanship, ever characterized by generosity and beneficence, is exerting itself to lead the peoples of this Eastern land, step by step, along the path of political progress on Western lines. Real and effective participation of the representatives of the people in the actual work of daily administration is being ensured, and the highest executive and deliberative assemblies of the Empire have been thrown open to the sons of the soil. The Hon'ble Mr. Sinha's nomination to the Viceroy's Executive Council and the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali's elevation to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council stand as conspicuous landmarks in last year's history of the British Empire. I may take this opportunity of congratulating my fellow-countrymen on the appointments, and of giving utterance to the satisfaction with which both events have been hailed in India; though prolonged delay in the nomination of a Musalman successor to Nawab Imadul-Mulk on the India Council is naturally causing the Mohammedans considerable anxiety. Confident though they are that in future appointments the Secretary of State will not ignore the principle which guided his first selections of Indians for the India Council, the principle of having a Musalman also on the Council to represent the Muslim point of view along with that of the non-Muslim community—confident though they are of this, the present suspense is a source of widespread concern.

In spite, however, of the bestowal of new privileges on the people, the difficulties of government have not altogether disappeared and the atmosphere continues to be surcharged with grave anxiety. The despicable crime of Sir Curzon Wyllie's murder, the more recent assassination of Mr. Jackson, the vile attempt on the Viceroy at Ahmadabad, the nearer-home bomb discovery at Ambala, and the latest atrocity of Mr. Shamsul Alam's murder within the precincts of the Calcutta High Court are a few dark deeds out of a number which, though planned by anarchical propaganda, undoubtedly owe their inspiration to the pestilential teachings of the sedition mongers. Unfor-

tunately for the peace of the country, the forces of disorder and disruption are still at work and the administration has had to strengthen its position, by adopting repressive measures. If, on the one hand, we deplore a resort to strong steps, we cannot, on the other, shut our eyes to the paramount duty of the State to uphold law and preserve order, which is the first essential of all progress. When the spirit of sedition and lawlessness is abroad, when the cult of the bomb is preached and practised, when assassinations have been attempted and committed, and when wildly suicidal schemes of *Swaraj* are hatched, is it wise or even possible for any government that cares for its own safety and of its subject-races to remain an unconcerned spectator of the game of violence sought to be played by the anarchist and the revolutionist? The responsibility for the enforcement of repressive measures must therefore rest with those whose insanity has forced their adoption on the State, and it should be the imperative duty of peaceful citizens to co-operate with the officers of Government in putting out the fire of sedition and anarchy.

Just as we have our duties towards the rulers, so have we other and no less binding duties towards our neighbours. It is obligatory on us not to injure the susceptibilities of peaceful neighbour communities, nor should we dislike a whole community for the unfriendliness of a few of its members. As imprudent individuals have striven to embitter Hindu-Muslim relations and as attempts are made to shove the blame for this on the Musalmans, it will not be out of place if I were to draw attention to some relevant facts and try to examine how far the charge is well-founded.

The first notable revolution in the political life of India, after the year 1857, began with the foundation of the Indian Association at Calcutta in 1876, which subsequently developed into the so-called Indian National Congress. The late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, however, foresaw serious danger for his co-religionists in their joining the movement, and exhorted them to keep aloof from it. Mohammedans had lagged behind in the race for education and were also numerically much weaker than the Hindus. Moreover, some of the founders and workers of the Congress were not cordially disposed towards the Government. By hearkening to the advice of the Sage of Aligarh, the Muslims as a body left the Congress severely alone, with the consequence that, instead of frittering away their modicum of energy and placing their destinies in dubious hands, they devoted themselves whole-heartedly to their greatest need, the reclamation of the ground they had lost in the field of education. To achieve the last object, they laid the foundation of the Mohammedan Educational Conference in 1888. This was the first national effort of the Musalmans which, though innocent in itself, excited the resentment of their neighbours in a manner that was no less unreasonable than it was unexpected. But every one can now see for himself that if Mohammedans had then permitted themselves to be entangled

in political squabbles, the consequences would have been disastrous to their best interests.

However, to argue from Sir Syed's attitude towards the Congress that desired the Indian Musalmans to avoid politics for all time to come is a mistake. He was himself helpful in founding a 'Defence Association', though his untimely death left the movement without a guiding hand. In the meantime, while the number of educated Mohammedans had increased, events were marching with great rapidity in India. A policy of indifference towards the political life of the country could no longer be justified, and the members of the Muslim Deputation which waited upon the Viceroy in 1906—itself the result of a general political awakening among the Musalmans—resolved to start a political organization of the community, which before long assumed definite shape in the foundation of the Muslim League at Dacca. But this was the signal for vollies of attacks from the Congress camp on the Mohammedans and their national policy. Those, however, who take exception to the existence of bodies established for safeguarding communal interests, forget that in advancing the cause of one section of the population you advance, indirectly, the cause of the whole, and that a network of Hindu associations and *sabhas* is already striving for the promotion of sectional interests. So long as such sectional institutions, whether of the Hindus or of the Mohammedans, do not jeopardize the larger interests of the country or community, we should welcome them, instead of criticizing their activities. The fact is all the same evident that the differences which I have enumerated above, and a few other minor points of divergence, have gone far to create a feeling of estrangement between the Hindus and the Musalmans. It is to be confessed with regret that party papers have materially contributed towards keeping alive these differences, the *Arya Samajic* periodicals being unquestionably among the greatest offenders in this respect. The time, I am positive, has come when Hindu and Mohammedan gentlemen of light and leading should put their heads together, and by agreeing that each community may legitimately seek to protect and promote its special interests without encroaching on the lawful rights of the other, learn to tolerate one another's existence. I am sure I can speak for my co-religionists throughout the Indian continent in declaring emphatically that Mohammedans regard as their brethren all loyal and law-abiding Hindus, whose exertions to advance the welfare of India, if they do not aim to remove the protection of the Union Jack, they are prepared to support and supplement in a broadminded spirit of judicious catholicism.

Reverting to the Reform Scheme and the definite recognition therein of the position of the Musalmans, as an integral but distinct part of the Indian population, I must give expression to our feelings of deep satisfaction at the Government having, in the main, carried out the pledges which had been held out to us, though our fate hung in the balance and swayed between

hope and fear for a considerable time. I have no doubt, gentlemen, that you will give your closest attention to the question of Mohammedan representation on representative bodies like municipal and district boards, universities and Legislative Councils. With the passing of the Indian Councils Act, the potentialities of these institutions have increased enormously, and the question of our proper representation on them has thus assumed grave importance, while the adoption of the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission will further enhance the value and status of all local bodies. In view, therefore, of the new state of things that has established itself in the country, and the changes that are yet in contemplation, there can be no two opinions as to the supreme importance of the question. We thankfully realize the benevolence of the rulers in what has been done for us as a community; but I cannot conceal from you the reality of the disappointment which has been felt in Muslim Punjab at the denial to us of the right of separate representation on the Provincial Council, in spite of the fact that the need for it was perhaps more insistent here than elsewhere. Though forming the majority of the population of the Puniab, the Musalmans find themselves, curiously enough, in the minority in every one of the five electorates on which the right of choosing representatives for the Council has been conferred—a disparity due, I believe, to some extent at least, to the exclusion of district boards from the electoral groups and, chiefly, to insufficient Muslim representation on municipal boards. It is the earnest prayer of the Muslim community in this part of the country that Government be pleased to bear this point in mind on the occasion of the next elections, and that steps be taken to remove an obvious anomaly.

Let me, in this connection, caution you against premature elation at our recent successes in the Punjab elections, successes which are purely accidental and due to various circumstances—the unusual phenomena of Mohammedan solidarity and Hindu differences being two of these. Similarly, it is necessary to raise the voice of protest against the impression prevalent in a certain quarters that Mohammedans have secured excessive representation on the Imperial Council. The notion is due to the mistake of including in the list of Muslim representatives the names of those Mohammedans who have been sent up to the Council by mixed electorates as the joint representatives of all classes and creeds. These are, of course, members of the Mohammedan community, but they are not and cannot be regarded as representing it solely. If, however, our Hindu fellow-countrymen resent this, they ought not, in all fairness to the Musalmans, blame the latter for the present results, which could be easily avoided by introducing completely separate communal representation on all representative bodies from top to bottom, as primarily asked for by the Musalmans.

To illustrate that thoughtful men among the non-Muslim races of India, too, who have not been carried away by the party cry of mixed electo-

rates, are not opposed to separate elections, I may remind you of the well-known opinion pronounced on the subject by that stalwart Congressman, Sir Pherozshah Mehta, whose promised explanation for his recent abdication of the Congress Chair we are—I may observe by the way—still awaiting with great eagerness. Almost identical views were strongly expressed by the President of the last Punjab Hindu Conference. Another staunch Congressman, the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha, as President of the Bhagalpur Conference, said: "I am strongly in favour of provision being made for the separate representation of the Musalmans to an extent which will enable them to be adequately represented on the Legislative Councils, regard being had to their numerical proportion, their position in each province, and in the country at large."

I cannot leave this point without offering grateful thanks to those whose partriotic efforts, on the one hand, and also those whose sense of equity, on the other, have secured for us our share in the promulgated reforms. Towards Your Highness our hearts are too full of gratitude to enable us to give adequate expression to our feelings, but I know I am echoing the sentiments of every one in this hall, and of the great Mohammedan community outside this hall, when I affirm that the Muslims, who are proud to own you as one of them, are fully sensible of what your Highness has done for their cause and realize that but for your timely intervention they would have been hopelessly handicapped in the new race on which India is starting. Your Highness's voluminous correspondence with the central office at Aligarh, your liberal finacial assistance to the League, your public speeches and your private interviews bear ample testimony to Your Highness's burning zeal for the cause of your co-religionists. In the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, Your Highness found an equally zealous and devoted co-worker, who brought his great talents, keen intelligence and untiring energy to bear on the consideration of the Mohammedan problem in India at the present juncture. Though absent in body, he is, we feel, present with us in spirit, and will shortly address us with words of characteristic wisdom and sagacity through a deputy. Howsoever fallen the Musalmans be, a voice from within whispers into my ears that so long as we have the priceless advantage of the leadership of a patriotic and self-sacrificing prince like Your Highness, and of the guidance of an enlightened pilot like the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, we have no cause to lose heart, and that we shall be able to pull ourselves through our plight.

I should be guilty of an unpardonable dereliction of duty if I omitted to proclaim what I believe is at this moment uppermost in the minds of you all. We are deeply grateful to the two illustrious statesmen who are now at the helm of Indian affairs and to whose generous appreciation of the Muslim position in India we are indebted for the equitable recognition of our communal rights. In His Excellency Lord Minto we have truly found a benefactor,

whose memory our future generations will bless. We are no less thankful to the Right Hon'ble Lord Morley, who has grasped the Indian situation with rare precision and whose attitude towards His Imperial Majesty the Emperor's Muslim subjects has throughout been characterized by justice and sympathy.

Gentlemen, having achieved some success, we cannot afford to go to sleep. Strenuous work has yet to be done, if we are fully to attain to the object of uplifting the nation from the low level to which it has sunk. The prospect before us is not free from anxiety, and unless we take time by the forelock and forge new weapons to fight the battle of life with new methods, our future will be even more gloomy than our present. Other races have stolen a march on us and are actively pushing on with rapid strides. The campaign of conversions to the Hindu faith, started with such vigour, threatens to create fresh difficulties for us. Our share in the public service of the land is yet absolutely inadequate. In education we are still very backward. We have only lately entered political life, and the League requires to be strengthened and consolidated. At present there is little cohesion between the central organization and its provincial branches, and the number of district branches is also comparatively small. Though we have happily earned the goodwill of the rulers, relations between the Mohammedans and sister communities are capable of being improved. The condition of our fellow-countrymen in South Africa is woefully unsatisfactory. The law of *Wakf-alal-Aulad*, as interpreted and administered by British courts, is bringing about the ruin and disintegration of many old Muslim families. These and kindred topics will doubtless engage your attention, and I trust your united labours will result in the elaboration of our national policy and in working out its details on lines that will conduce to the stability of the British Government in India, the welfare of the Musalmans and the promotion of Hindu-Mohammedan cordiality. Loyalty to his rulers is ingrained in the Muslim's nature and is inculcated by his religion. The Quran expressly lays down that the Musalman and the Christian are nearer each other than the followers of any other two faiths. We also realize that the presence of the British in India is the best guarantee for the preservation of peace and order in the country and for the equitable protection of Muslim interests. In steadfastly serving the cause of our own community, we ought never to embarrass the hands of Government. Intemperance of language should be as sedulously avoided by us as immoderation in aspirations. I feel assured that the task which our League has set itself to perform will be accomplished with the patience, sobriety and farsightedness that become a representative body of a responsible community.

With these words, gentlemen, I repeat the sincerest and warmest welcome to you on behalf of the Reception Committee and of the Muslim population of Delhi.

As soon as the speech of the President of the Reception Committee

came to an end, Maulana Syed Ahmad, the Imam of the Juma Masjid of Delhi, recited a few verses from the Holy Quran in a tone at once impressive and thrilling.

His Highness the Aga Khan then rose, amidst prolonged and thundering cheers, and delivered his inaugural address:

Seven years ago I had the honour of presiding at the Mohammedan Educational Conference held in this Imperial city at the time of the historic Proclamation Durbar of His Majesty the King Emperor. During the interval many things have happened, and one of the most gratifying signs of the times is the partial awakening of the Musalmans of India. The recent march of events has been as rapid as it has been momentous; its course is indicated by the enactment in the Indian Empire of what Lord Morley called the 'signal transaction', with which benevolent and statesmanlike policy his Lordship's name will be permanently associated—and by the formation of our League. At first the idea of the formation of the League was actually pooh-poohed in some quarters, while in others it did not receive the attention it merited. But as subsequent events have shown, it has more than justified its existence, and I am proud to say that I was one of the originators of the movement. The necessity for the immediate formation of a Muslim League impressed me on the occasion of my visit to Aligarh in 1906, and I communicated the idea to my late and most lamented friend, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, by whose death we have suffered a serious and irreparable loss. With characteristic foresight, he accepted my suggestion, worked for its attainment, and brought about the Deputation which, waiting on H.E. Lord Minto in 1906, was the starting point of the recognition of the principle that the important Muslim minority in this country should have its fair and legitimate share in the administration of the country. We must not, however, forget that a sympathetic Viceroy whose memory is dear to Hindu and Muslim alike—the Hon'ble Lord Ripon—had in the early eighties laid down the principle of communal representation. For the maintenance of our due share in the political life in this country, and for the removal of an old-standing exclusion, which formed a bone of contention between the Hindus and Mohammedans, the separate electorate for Musalmans was deemed to be an absolute necessity. Now that we have secured it, I hope it will result in a permanent political sympathy and a genuine working *entente cordiale* between the members of the two great sister communities.

Let me make it clear that we have not received any undue perference, as has been alleged in some quarters. In fact, we have not got all that we thought was promised or all that we had asked for; but in their final shape, the Reforms were publicly and gratefully acknowledged by us as a fair and reasonable compromise. Here, I must recognize the loyal support which your representatives in England, Syed Ameer Ali and myself, received from practically the whole of the Muslim community; and I must say that without

this practically absolute unanimity, we should never have had the fair share of representation in the new Councils to which we are entitled. When the elements of constitutional government were being introduced into India, it was only natural and right and just that we should press for the reasonable recognition of the special interests and peculiar needs of a vast and important community like the Muslims. I am glad our just demand has been recognized. Now that the Reform Scheme has been finally settled and is actually in active operation, we must accept it as final in an appreciative spirit, worthy of our traditions, and try to make the best of it as loyal subjects of our beloved Sovereign the King Emperor and as citizens of India. May I venture also to say most emphatically that it is to the interests of Indians—Hindus and Muslims, Christians and Parsis alike—to accept the Reforms in a spirit of cordial appreciation, and that it now lies with us to do our utmost as enlightened citizens to co-operate with Government and our representatives in the Councils in working them for the common welfare of the people, remembering that if we make a practical and beneficent use of this opportunity, we shall surely, in time to come, get a further advance towards constitutional government. In fact I may say that self-government has come to our very doors. On the other hand, if we waste our time in squabbles over the form of the Regulations, and in general hostility towards what should be regarded as a settled fact, we shall lose the sympathy of our well-wishers in India and England, and the result will be that the growth of liberal institutions, and our slow progress on the long path towards ultimate parliamentary institutions in India, will be greatly retarded. We must all remember that if these Reforms fail, the alternative will not be a more liberal set of regulations, but a return to the *status quo ante* that will check the realization of our aspirations. Public opinion in England scrutinizes India carefully and is watching to see how we discharge the great trust committed to us. Are we Indians prepared to go forward on the road to reform or to recede and disappoint our friends? Do we desire further liberal concessions, or do we wish the curtailment of the rights now at last granted? There can be no doubt as to the reply. Is it not then the duty of all, Hindus as well as Mohammedans, to prove by our conduct and ability that we are capable of making practical improvements in the moral and material conditions of the people, which is after all the aim of wise governments? If we fail in the initial stage, what prospect is there of our obtaining the further liberalization of the rules and regulations at a later stage? A grave duty rests upon us in connection with the new Councils; they are not an end in themselves but are only the means to achieve an end, namely, the improvement of the moral, material and economic condition of our people by the diffusion of education and science, so as to develop the intelligence and humanity of our peoples in the highest sense. If we prove by our knowledge of the conditions of the country, by our zeal and efficiency, that our co-operation is an indispensable factor in

the improvement of the administration of the country, then I have no doubt that gradually our area of utility and opportunity and powers will expand. But, if on the other hand, we view the Reform Scheme and the regulations under it in a spirit of obstructive particularism instead of using the wide powers placed in our hands for the conservation and development of those forces which are the dynamic factors in national progress all the world over, then as surely as night follows day, we shall divert the slant of fair wind which ought to drive us far on towards the realization of many of our cherished ambitions.

Hindu-Muslim Co-operation

Now that we Musalmans have striven for and obtained a reasonable recognition of our rights, should we not consider what our aims are, what interests we have in common with our Hindu brethren, and what are the peculiar communal interests which will demand the steady attention of our representatives? Our first and foremost duty is to prove our active loyalty towards our Sovereign and his heirs and successors by our endeavours to strengthen the foundation of British rule in India and its permanence by consolidating the sentiments of loyalty which permeate the land, by taking a ligitimate pride in the glorious Empire in which we are partners, by uniting the great sister communities through the bonds of sympathy, affection, and a community of interests. And may I plead again for no mere cold calculating loyalty, bound up with a materialistic sense of favours to come; but a warm passionate attachment to the Imperial House under which this country has made such gigantic strides, which has given us the most liberal *raj* the world has ever seen, and which alone guarantees us the peaceful attainment of those grand national destinies that we believe to be in our hand—an attachment to His Majesty's throne and person, and through that to the historic institutions of which he is the head, which shall burn in our hearts and colour all our actions. Our representatives in the Councils are first there as loyal Indian subjects of the Emperor, and then as the guardians of any special interests of the Muslims. Their function in the Council is of a threefold character. In the first place, they must co-operate, as representative Indian citizens, with other Indians in advancing the well-being of the country by working wholeheartedly for the spread of education, for the establishment of free and universal primary education, for the promotion of commerce and industry, for the improvement of agriculture by the establishment of co-operative credit and distribution societies, and for the development of all the natural resources of the country. Here indeed is a wide field of work for Hindus and Mohammedans acting together, in forwarding practical measures that must tend to the permanent welfare of the country. In the second place, our representatives must be ready to co-operate with the Hindus and all other sections of society in securing for them all those advantages that

serve their peculiar conditions and help their social welfare, for although the two sister-communities have developed on different lines, each suffers from some peculiar weakness in addition to the misfortunes common to general economic and educational backwardness. And then our representatives must watch and promote social measures exclusively for the benefit of their Muslim co-religionists with the co-operation, we hope, of the Hindu members; for we, too, have needs that are not known to them and which we alone can fully understand. We have committed to us the sacred duty of helping forward, with our sympathy and advice and practical help, the interest not only of Indian Musalmans, but also of our co-religionists outside India, whose true and permanent welfare depends, in no small measure, upon the greatness of England and upon the maintenance of the British Empire foremost in the councils of the world (*sic*).

I have no hesitation in asserting that unless Hindus and Mohammedans co-operate with each other in the general development of the country as a whole and in all matters affecting their mutual interests, neither will develop to the full its legitimate aspirations or give full scope to its possibilities. In order to develop their common economic and other interests, both should remember that one is the elder sister of the other, and that India is their common parent; religious differences should be naturally reduced to the minor position, as such differences have been in America and Western Europe. We must bear in mind that the healthy national unity which we seek to establish will not be promoted but retarded by forgetting the historical and social differences that have made Hindus and Mohammedans what they are to-day. We must determine what are the interests that we have in common with the Hindus, and co-operate for their advancement; then remember the measures necessary for the removal of our peculiar ills, and again help each other in removing them. What is the actual work of those who sit in the different Councils as our representatives, what is to become of the League, what is its legitimate sphere of work? My respected friend the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali has to some extent defined the proposed division of work of the League, and I fully and cordially agree with him. I need therefore say no more about it than this, that nothing would be more disastrous to our interests than the impression that its work is to be confined to the narrow limits of political activity or the attainment of merely selfish ends. It must embrace catholic interests in their broadest sense. We must ascertain the real, pressing needs of India; and then devote our attention and energies to satisfying them.

The Importance of Education

We have then before us a comprehensive programme involving a vigorous, practical, sustained attack on the problems relating to education, agriculture, commerce and industry. I place free primary education for the

masses in the front rank. Our aim must be to see that it is not only free and universal but also sufficiently practical to be of use to agriculturists and labourers. In arranging our courses of elementary education, we must keep in mind the fact that an immense proportion of those attending the primary schools do not proceed beyond them, and that they should be so designed that the pupil will fully benefit from the primary schools without reaching the secondary. We must concentrate our energies on primary education in such a way that there shall be no redundance or superfluity, so as to make it of real benefit to the recipients. The agricultural classes should in particular be given such training as will secure them the fruits of their industry. Our system of secondary education stands in need of a twofold development. We should extend and improve the facilities for imparting a sound grounding to those who are proceeding to the Arts Course, and then, on the other hand, we need urgently to develop a 'modern' side, which will be complete in itself, and will fully equip the student for a career in the rapidly increasing commercial activities of the country, or for the specialized scientific course, for which there is an ever-growing field. So far we have made little or no progress towards securing that diffused knowledge of science, which is absolutely essential if the country is to take its rightful place amongst the producer nations of the world. Until our teaching machinery is enormously improved, students in these special courses must obtain their instruction abroad, and there is no method better than the multiplication of Government and other scholarships. But we shall not rest content until there are provided in this country facilities for the instruction of its students up to the highest pitch demanded by the stress of modern industrial life. Then when we have our trained men, we have to assist them to develop the economic resources of the country. We must send our boys not only to England and the Continent but to America and Japan, so that they may learn the various processes in the lives of that great industrial commonwealth. Those who have acquired proficiency in commercial training should be helped by co-operative societies to open business not only in Europe and America but in Africa and Asia to find markets for indigenous Indian products. To foster local industries, to relieve agricultural indebtedness, and to ameliorate the lot of the peasantry and encourage artisans, it is necessary to form extensive co-operative societies under the aegis of the Government.

Agricultural and Industrial Development

To obtain the regeneration of Indian arts and industries, either a temporary moderate system of protection, or some corresponding economic expedient should be adopted, so as to prevent the strangulation of these infant industries. We must have ever before our eyes the fact that the great mass of the Indian population is dependent upon agriculture. In Europe and North America, society has passed from the agricultural to the industrial

stage of evolution, but here we are still in the primitive stage; our emergence from it will be slow and gradual, and Hindus and Mohammedans have ample scope for improving the lot of the toiling agriculturists, impoverished by the ravages of famine consequent upon drought and their social customs and thriftless habits. Here we have an immense agricultural class; our duty is to make that agriculture pay. By a rational system of elementary education we can keep the peasant from the coils of the usurer; by the extension of irrigation we can reduce his dependence upon an erratic rainfull. But the history of agriculture all the world over tells us that the salvation of the small cultivator lies in co-operation. Co-operation to secure cheap credit and wipe off the burden of hopeless debt that hangs round the necks of our *ryots*; co-operation to secure cheap and efficient distribution; co-operation in the introduction of agricultural implements and to profit by the lessons of our Research Institute and experimental farms—this is the only agency that can permanently benefit our backward agriculture. Then our industrial development must equally claim our united attention. No country in the world can be great or prosperous until its agricultural and industrial activities have been made mutualy dependent on each other. It is commerce and trade that have made European countries prosperous and powerful; and if we aspire to our legitimate place in the British Empire, we must concentrate our mind on our economic development.

Support for Indians in South Africa

Another direction in which the two communities must immediately work together is on the burning question of the Indians in South Africa. Our fellow subjects, who are there maintaining an unequal struggle in a heroic manner that commands our admiration are wilfully subjected to persecution, insults and indignity and are branded with the undeserved stigma of an inferior race. We must all do all in our power to help our compatriots in South Africa. Hindus and Mohammedans have combined there in the common defence of the prestige of the whole Indian population; and the passive resistance they offer, amid untold privations and sufferings, with patience and martyrdom, must set an example to those here who are not ashamed to have a recourse to measures that have brought infinite shame and disgrace to India. If no better method can be found of bringing the Colonial Government to see the glaring injustice and cruelty of their acts to our brethren, we must ask the Government to stop all indented labour to South Africa as a mild step of retaliation. Yet another channel, and even more important for immediate purposes than anything else, in which Hindus and Mohammedans can co-operate with all their powers of mind and will, is the wiping out of the blot on the fair name of India by the extirpation of the anarchical cult. We must send earnest missionaries, form organizations and vigilance committees, and from pulpits and platforms, from mosques and

temples, orders must emanate for the prevention of political crime, inflicting social disabilities on sedition-mongers and their disciples. In particular, students must be guarded from the tainted influence of the foolish and insane people who would ruin the country. All these are questions in which loyal and patriotic Hindus and loyal and patriotic Mohammedans can work hand in hand for a common goal with singleness of purpose and awakened conscience.

Muslim University

Now I will come to the questions of separate or exclusive Muslim interests, which, let me at once add, in no way clash with the interests of the great sister community, but still affect us only. Pre-eminent amongst these practical questions is the foundation of a Muslim University at Aligarh. As I pointed out here seven years ago, our youth must be in a position to acquire, in addition to modern science, a knowledge of the glorious past of our religion. Without a sincere and deep but unobtrusive and charitable faith, without that childlike feeling of dependence on the Unseen Power of which the visible universe is but a sign, our youth can never develop their highest and noblest faculties, their spiritual and emotional qualities. Our university must be a residential university. Like those great seats of learning, Oxford and Cambridge, it will strive to form the character, as well as train the intellect, and satisfy the emotions through the medium of a loving and charitable faith, of discipline, of field sport, and that intangible atmosphere that environs all which is best in university life. It should be the home of great ideas and great ideals. But it should also be much more: our efforts ought to be bent to the task of making Aligarh a Muslim Oxford—an educational centre and intellectual capital to which all Muslims should turn for light and guidance. We should lay bare before the rising generations the treasures concealed in ancient Arabic lore with a view to developing the spirtual and emotional side of their nature, which in its true sense is now even more backward than our economic condition. In order to enable us to come in touch with what is best in the ancient Hindu civilization and better to enable us to understand the origin and structure of Hindu thought and religion in its widest sense, as well as to inculcate in us a feeling of respect and affection for our fellow-subjects, and to teach us to consider their customs and their prejudices, Sanskrit and other Oriental literature ought also to be given due prominence in the curricula. The object of the university is not to gratify mere sentiment or vanity; we believe it to be necessary for the true development of our principles and the ultimate spiritual unity of our faith. Commonsense and science alike teach us that we are not independent agents but links between the past and the future; and all that is healthy and glorious in the past should be preserved, taught and understood, because it exercises a beneficial influence on the future. It is therefore necessary that all that is good should be conserv-

ed, to enable us to hold a spiritual communion with the beloved figures of the Prophet and his companions and with our splendid historic past. To avoid the catastrophe involved in the radical separation of ancient and modern ideals, the university is our great need. Moreover, it is our aim to develop discipline and reverence in our youth, and instil in their minds the principles of toleration, piety and charity, so that they can live in concord and harmony with other races. Our loyalty to the Throne must be absolute, and our relations with the Hindus and all other Indian communities who share that loyalty must frankly be most cordial. Otherwise our political activities will tend to the undoing of both, and ultimately prove detrimental even to the British Power. The true interests of the British Empire can never lie in a policy of 'divide and rule'. Such a policy, as British and Indian statesmen worthy of the name well know, can only weaken their ultimate power and make India a source of anxiety instead of a source of strength.

The Political Faith of Ordered Development

Whilst we hold fast to our own religious, social, and ethical ideals, whilst we hold equally fast to the separate organization and separate representation which are essential for their maintenance and to secure for our community its due influence in the body politic, it must be the desire of our rulers, no less than of ourselves, to pursue these ideals, to work out our constructive programme, in harmonious co-operation with all other Indians who accept the cardinal principles of our political faith—the ordered development of this country under the Imperial Crown. Time, the opportunities for co-operation in stimulating the social and economic progress of this country, and the diffusion of education will also, I believe, remove the acerbities attaching to the religious difficulties and caste disabilities which sap the foundation of Indian society, so that they will become, in the distant future, the minor forces that they are now in Western Europe and America. If we extend hearty and sincere co-operation in each other's transactions and interests and pursue higher ideals and act with moderation and judicious calm, then I have no apprehension for the future of India.

Wakf-alal-Aulad

Now I will say a few words in special support of the suggestions made by my distinguished friend Syed Ameer Ali, the President of the London Branch of this League—whose absence from our deliberations I deplore more than I can say—as to the system of *Wakf-alal-Aulad*. This is again our exclusive interest, but I hope the Hindus will co-operate with us in seeing that Muslim families are not broken to pieces. We must strive to bring about a satisfactory solution of this important question, as it is necessary that Muslim families should be protected against the impoverishing influence of constant and vexatious sub-divisions. I feel very strongly on the subjct, with Syed Ameer Ali, and I think this is a question where our Muslim representatives can

directly set to work, and thus benefit the community. I fully endorse the various practical suggestions made by Syed Ameer Ali, but I do not wish to tire you out by treading the same ground, as most of you are already famliar with my full agreement with his views on the practical proposals placed before us in his usual forceful manner by the London President.

The Future

And now, gentlemen, let me say a final word with regard to the future. We have before us a convincing demonstration of the altruism and liberality of British statesmanship. In the midst of difficulties so great that at times they threatened to overcast the political horizon, undaunted by acts of anarchy in India and those conservative influences that must beset the path of the reformer in every country and in every age, Lord Minto and Lord Morley have turned a bright new page in Indian history. We do not know which to admire most—the courage and sympathy of the Viceroy, or the judgment, intellectual strength and sober liberalism of Lord Morley. But we are confronted by the fruits of their work. We see the representatives of all classes of people in this country brought to the Councils of the Imperial and provincial governments in numbers never before approached. We see these Councils endowed with an authority, with opportunities for making the opinions of its members known and operative, to a degree far transcending any that existed in the past, associating us indeed with the daily administration of the country. The future lies more largely than ever with ourselves. By the measure in which we rise to these responsibilities shall we be judged, will the fortunes of the land to which we are passionately attached rise—or fall. Fully conscious of these opportunities, let me once again earnestly appeal to all to support law and order, remembering the immense blessings British rule has conferred upon this land. Never was the condition of Indians more happy than it is to-day. Never was peace of the country so serene and secure as under the Crown. Fifty years of British rule in India, since it passed to the direct control of the Crown from the East India company, has changed the entire character and political aspect of the country. We have been secured against strife and disorder. The elevation of the people in the scale of civilization by means of Western training, the development of the country by encouraging foreign capital, the gradual disappearance of social and traditional barriers through the levelling influence of education, the security of life, property and peace, and the dispensation of justice with an even hand to rich and poor alike, the guarantee of freedom of thought and speech, and liberty of press, and above all religious toleration, have all brought about a silent but steady change in the thoughts, aspirations and manners and behaviour of the people. We are at the beginning of a period of renaissance and reform in the social, economic and political life of the people, and by ethical teachings we may inspire our youth and their descendants, with a

genuine love of their country and fellowmen. The moral and material and intellectual condition of the population presents a curious and on the whole a favourable contrast with the pre-British period; and in the words of the philosopher-statesman that rules India, the bureaucracy in India has proved to be "a great and splendid machine for performing the most difficult task that ever was committed to the charge of any nation". Indian public spirit is cultivated on Western lines, the intellectual expansion is quickened in a marvellous degree. New hopes and new ambitions have been created as a natural sequence of this instruction, and to meet them British statesmen have wisely resolved to give Indians a far larger share in the administration of the country. No human agency can be perfect in this world and that applies to British rule as to all others; but even if the British Government had no other claim on our affections, these great political concessions alone would entitle them to our deep and sincere gratitude. But they have, as you and I know full well, changed the destiny of the country, set afoot progressive agencies, the end of which is not yet in sight, and brought the country into line with the civilized countries of Europe, proving in the words of the great English poet:

Peace has her victories,
No less renowned than war.

All this is due to the beneficial influence of *Pax Britannica*. Now may I ask whether we have paid our debt to the Empire, to our country and to our community? The community that carried culture to the Pyrenees and to Central Asia, the community that can still recall with emotional pride the greatness of Cordova and Damascus cannot be dead to its sense of duty. I appeal to you with all the force in my power, I entreat you with all the earnestness at my command, to imitate the spirit of those who made Toledo and Baghdad, to dream day and night, to work day in day out, for the noble object of elevating Muslim life so as to hold forth the highest ideals before the younger generation. The task before us is of stupendous magnitude, the path of progress is endless; but if we have at heart the true interests of Islam, no obstacle and no sacrifice will be too great to speed our onward march on the path of progress.

I fervently pray that for ever we shall have the Imperial dynasty and the Union Jack as the abiding centre of our real national unity, that our immediate aim shall be to make young generations virtuous and efficient and our posterity robust and healthy, so that it may fulfil its legitimate part in the Empire with honour to the race. Let our pole-star be active and unimpeachable loyalty to the Sovereign and the glory of India and of Islam.

His Highness the Aga Khan then introduced to the audience the President of the Session, Sir Ghulam Mohammad Ali Khan Bahadur, K.C.I.E., the Prince of Arcot, whose splendid ancestry, he said, was well known throughout Asia. The President then took the Chair amidst vociferous

cheers and delivered his Presidential address, which was received with remarkable enthusiasm:

Your Highness and Gentlemen, I thank you for the great honour that you have conferred on me by selecting me to be your President at this Session of the All-India Muslim League. Believe me that though I yield to none in my earnest desire to help forward the cause of the community to which you and I belong, it was with great hesitation that I accepted the high responsibility to which I have been called. My diffidence is due to the consciousness that I am but an apprentice in the field of national service compared to the past masters before whom I am privileged to stand. This feeling is still heightened, when I remember that this place was to have been occupied by so trusted and eminent a leader of our community as the Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali. Though we are denied the privilege of meeting him face to face by the gracious call which has been made upon his services by our august Sovereign—an event, let me say in passing, at which we all rejoice as making an important extension in the privileges of the Indian subjects of His Majesty—, it is a source of satisfaction to us that we are not left altogether without his valuable guidance. He has sent a message to the League, which you will presently have the pleasure to listen to, and I have no doubt that you will appreciate the words of wisdom and counsel which that patriot has felt it necessary to send, in his solicitude for the welfare of the community to whose interests he has devoted his life-long energies and resources. Inspired by the spirit of this message and stimulated by the magnetic personality of our respected President, H.H. the Aga Khan, you will, I trust, extend to me that friendly co-operation and kindly indulgence which is so essential to the proper discharge of the duties of my office.

Many events of importance have occurred since we met last at Amritsar —events both of a pleasurable as well as painful nature. But by far the greatest of these is the introduction in this country of the great Scheme of Reforms initiated by Lords Minto and Morley, and the awakening in the community which it has been instrumental in causing. The varying vicissitudes through which this Scheme passed at various times, though often of a nature to damp our ardour and spirits, fortunately served as a powerful incentive to further efforts, and resulted in an unprecedented outburst of political activity which has wiped out the stigma of utter inertness so long attaching to our name. Hundreds of meetings were held all over the country under the auspicies of the numerous leagues and associations, and respectful representations were made to Government, praying for the protection of Musalman interests in the spirit of the famous pledge of H.E. Lord Minto to the All-India Muslim Deputation in October 1906. A generous minister and a fair-minded administration have recognized the justice of our demands, and we are met here to-day, full of heartfelt gratitude, to consider how best we might show ourselves worthy of the high trust that has been reposed in us.

It is true that the Indian Musalmans have not got all they prayed for and that was legitimately their due. In the scheme of representation adopted for the Imperial Council, our brethren in the North-Western Frontier Province, Baluchistan and the Central Provinces have not been conceded the privilege of sending up their representatives, nor have our brethren in the Punjab been invested with the right of electing their representatives on the Imperial Council, nor has separate representation been conceded to them on the Provincial Council. Our Burman co-religionists remain utterly unrepresented on the expanded Councils. Nevertheless, we accept the Reforms in the spirit of loyalty and gratitude which has ever characterized our communal policy towards the benign Government. The enlightened leadership of H.H. the Agha Khan, and the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, has not only secured for us our rights at the hands of the Government, but has brought about a wonderful solidarity and uniformity of ideas in the community. And it is our fervent hope that with their continued advice and help, we shall in time be able to prove ourselves worthy of the great responsibilities that have been thrown upon us by the Reforms just introduced, and to falsify the misgivings that some of our countrymen have entertained without any justification as regards our attitude towards our sister communities.

Permit me, gentlemen, at this juncture to observe that to me it seems unreasonable to condemn the Reforms wholesale, as is being done in certain quarters. To all right-minded persons these Reforms are really the outcome of the generous instinct of far-sighted British statesmen, whose only desire is to satisfy, in as liberal a manner as is consistent with the safety of the Empire and its many-sided interests, the growing aspirations of the Indian peoples, even at a time when the inhuman and anarchical acts perpetrated by a mischievous and detested section of our countrymen might well have justified a different policy. I cannot understand with what logic, or reason, the separate electorates, introduced with a commendable desire to protect the special interests of important minorities, are characterized as designed to serve like iron walls for dividing one community from another. To me it appears that separate representation is the only provision calculated to prevent undesirable conflict between two unequally balanced communities, as is inevitable in a contest where candidates of different races and creeds compete for the same honour. The recent elections to the different Legislative Councils in the country furnish an excellent object-lesson in this re-pect. Though Musalmans have been returned by certain mixed electorates, it is, in spite of whatever our Hindu bretheren might choose to say to the contrary, clear from an impartial survey of facts that their success was due only to sheer chance, the Hindus generally voting only for the candidates of their own persuasion. And it is noteworthy that the return of these Musalmans, though entirely due to exceptional circumstances which from their very nature cannot be expected to recur, has been made use of by a class of Hindu publicists as a ground for

condemning the right of separate representation granted to our community. This attitude of our friends is certainly not calculated to promote that harmony and co-operation between the two communities which they profess to bring about. The attitude of the Parsis and the native Christians in asking for separate electorates show an appreciation of the benefits likely to result from communal representation. And it is my firm conviction that if ever Indian solidarity is to be attained, it will be not so much by the narrow-minded policy, which certain of our countrymen are following, of insisting on a uniformity of views in all respects, and of belittling the importance of opinions and sentiments which are different from their own, but by a liberal-minded recognition of the differences that exist amongst ourselves, and a general desire to give each one his due, so as to secure mutual goodwill and consideration for the sake of our common motherland. This has the more to be kept in mind, especially as the Reforms which have now been conceded, form but an earnest of the greater measures which are yet to follow. The institutions of local self-government are shortly to be remodelled and as the Musalmans have always held that if the Reforms are to be really effective, the principle of separate representation should be carried deep down to the lowermost rungs of the ladder; and it will be our duty to press for the formation of separate electorates in all municipal, *taluqa* and district boards.

Much has been said and still more may be said of the importance of the Reforms; but in my view, their greatest value consists in the political education which they are calculated to impart to the people at large. Already, the awakening which our leaders had brought about in the community with so much difficulty has been remarkably enhanced. Even people usually given to supreme apathy and indifference have been aroused to a sense of the necessity of bestirring themselves. Not the least evidence of this transformation in the community is found in the Southern Presidency where a Provincial League has been successfully formed and separate representation introduced under satisfactory conditions. It has been my privilege to be connected with this movement and watch its progress from its very commencement; and it is my firm conviction that the policy which we have hitherto pursued, the policy of loyalty to Government, of the protection of our interests and friendliness to our neighbours, is a sound and safe one and—not withstanding all the difficulties which His Highness the Aga Khan alluded to in one of his recent utterances—will lead to our ultimate success.

I do not think it necessary for me to discuss in any detail either our policy or the subjects that will engage your attention during the next three days. This has been dealt with by our President in his eloquent opening address, and the gentlemen who will address you after me will, no doubt, have a great deal to say in this connection. Let me, however, refer in brief to some of the chief means by which I think we may achieve the national regeneration which we all have in view.

Need to Develop Muslim Press

Foremost amongst these, is the question of the Muslim Press, which I observe with pain and regret, is not sufficiently strong. In these days when the press may be truly said to rule the world, it is impossible to take the fullest and the best advantage of the awakening in our community, without having powerful organs of public opinion. I appeal to the well-to-do leaders of the community to look upon the establishment of newspapers, especially of a strong English daily in every province, as a philanthropic concern and raise, by subscriptions amongst themselves, a sufficiently large fund to start and maintain them in a prosperous and efficient condition.

A Muslim University

Another powerful means of influencing the community to push on the propaganda we have set before ourselves has to do with the education of our younger generation. The question of raising the Aligarh College to the status of a university is as intimately connected with the fortunes of the political movement in the community as with its educational or social advancement. It is recognized on all hands that the safe and sound policy along which the Indian Musalmans are moving at the present time is due, in no small measure, to the healthy tone which the M.A.O. College imparts to its Alumni and, through them, to the community at large; and I feel sure that when, as a university, it becomes a central seat of learning and the chief fountainhead of thought for the Musalman world, this process of expansion will be quickened, and its healthy tone will communicate itself to the future leaders of the community and exercise a salutary influence on all the followers of Islam. In this view it is necessary that the question of a Muslim university should be taken up and handled on this platform as on the platform of the All-India Mohammedan Educational Conference.

Urdu as a Common Vernacular

A third way of bringing about the desired regeneration of the community is the extension of Urdu as the common vernacular of all the Musalmans in the country. Community of language is universally admitted to be a powerful factor in securing the unity of a people, and Urdu, which is already spoken by considerable numbers and which is generally understood in all parts of this vast continent, is pre-eminently fitted to serve this purpose.

Moreover, Urdu has preserved all the good features of an Oriental language and has not been contaminated by the disturbing influences which, though foreign to our soil, have unfortunately begun to make inroads into the other vernaculars. The loyal and respectful tone towards the Government which the Urdu press has maintained in the hands of the Musalmans, even during the most stirring period in recent times, illustrates clearly what I mean.

Assuredly, a language which possesses such inherent capacity and virtues deserves the solid support of the community. It is encouraging to remember that, day by day, the sphere of the influence of Urdu is extending. Even in such a distant part of the Empire as Madras, people whose mother tongue is Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam or Canarese, are increasingly adopting Urdu for all practical purposes and are founding schools in which Urdu forms the medium of instruction. I trust that all lovers of the country and all lovers of peace and progress will try their best to strengthen this tendency and strenuously strive to make Urdu the common language of all India.

Gentlemen, these are trite commonplaces, no doubt, but I have so long occupied you with them for the simple reason that, more often than not, we are in danger of forgetting even such commonplaces merely on account of their familiarity.

The renewed agitation of the Bangalis for the repeal of the Partition of Bengal has created some uneasiness in the minds of our co-religionists, especially in Eastern Bengal; but I am convinced that there is not the least ground for any such misgivings, inasmuch as the highest authorities have declared it to be a settled fact, and any tampering with that decision will be as dangerous to the prestige of the British rule in this country as it will, undoubtedly, be injurious to the vital interests of our community.

Before I sit down, let me remind you of a duty which we owe to ourselves and to our benign Government. It is admitted on all hands that peace and tranquility are sacred blessings, which have been secured to us by the British Raj, and without them no progress of any kind is possible. To the misfortune of our country, a nefarious brood of pseudo-patriots has sprung up in the land, with the unholy object of defying British authority and causing a state of confusion and anarchy. Only recently, the diabolical murder of a popular Collector at Nasik in the South, the attempt on the life of the Deputy Commissioner of Ambala in the North, and the dastardly shooting of a Mohammedan Inspector of the Criminal Investigation Department in the East, have sent a thrill of horror throughout the country. These revolting outrages have brought home with greater force the imperative necessity, on the part of all law-abiding citizens of this Empire, of devising concerted action to uproot the poisonous growth which has appeared amongst us. I appeal to you all, as the real lovers of the awakening and the advancement I have spoken of, to range yourselves on the side of the administration that has facilitated the regeneration of our community and to help to destroy the monster which threatens the peace of our country.

In conclusion, my earnest prayer is that it may be given to us to walk in the footsteps of our great forefathers, to remain true to our time-honoured traditions of active loyalty to the Government that affords us protection, and of goodwill towards the neighbours with whom our lot is cast, and withal render faithful service to Islam to which we are all so proud to belong.

At the request of His Highness the Aga Khan, the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali's speech was then read by Mian Mohammad Shafi:

Your Highness, Rajas, Nawabs and Gentlemen, in 1908 you did me the honour of inviting me to preside at the Session of the League at Amritsar, but as ill-luck would have it I was unable to do so. With unusual indulgence you repeated your invitation, and on the persuasion of our President, my esteemed and valued friend, His Highness the Aga Khan, I accepted the position; and in fact at his instance, and to suit His Highness' and my convenience, you fixed the Session of the League late in January, for which I am most recognizant to you. But circumstances have again arisen to prevent my personal attendance. Next year, perhaps, if you are still disposed to hear my words, I may be more fortunate. Meanwhile, acting on our President H.H. the Aga Khan's suggestion, I send you herewith my written greetings.

Since your last Session important constitutional changes have been inaugurated in the country, the full results of which can hardly be realized yet. Others are on the *tapis*, which, when formulated, will no doubt be carefully considered by you in all their bearings.

Throughout the controversy to which the Reform proposals gave rise, the Musalman attitude, I am glad to say, was singularly sober and moderate, not actuated by any ill-will or antagonism towards any other community. The Musalmans were animated with the single desire of safeguarding their rights and interests in such form as would give them an assured position in the political institutions of the country. Neither their claims nor their actions in urging them implied any encroachment on, or, disregard of the rights of any other body. The Musalman people owe a debt of gratitude to the League and its branches and to the cognate organizations for having, in the first place, grasped the situation that had suddenly risen in India, and in the second place, for having consistently followed the policy necessary in dealing with it. To understand the difficulty with which they were confronted, you have only to realize the disintegrated condition of Musalman society—due to causes partly of our own creation, the utter inability, in most cases, to understand the real method of work or the nature of the remedies needed under the circumstances. To these must be added the lack of political training, so essential in progressive communities to take full advantage of the extension of constitutional privileges. Until very recently, the preaching of those amongst you who had to some extent studied the signs and portents of the times and knew with some certainty what was coming, had been literally a cry in the wilderness. Whilst other communities had combined with purely literary education considerable political training, our people had sedulously refused to occupy themselves with the question of communal organization or the consideration of communal interests prosecuted with wisdom and advocated in unselfishness. We had remained content with purely academic training. Individualism, the curse of Musalman communi-

ties was encouraged; little or no attempt was made to show the unity of interests between the various classes comprising Musalman society. No considered effort was directed to stay its further disintegration, nay, decomposition; and when we awoke but the other day and realized what was impending, we naturally found the field occupied by more alert rivals. If I am laying bare the mistakes of the past, it is only with the object of drawing your attention, as earnest Muslims and true patriots, sincerely bent on the improvement of our people, as I believe you are, to the work which lies before us in the future.

In the great controversy which has just closed regarding the share of the Mohammedans in the new constitutional privileges the Crown has extended to the peoples of India, I have not been able to understand the rigidity displayed by so many high-placed officials towards the Musalman claims.

The subject, however, may be regarded for the present as *res judicata*, and I sincerely trust that the two great communities whom the Reforms mainly affect will decide to work together in harmony and concord for the good of their common country. They have both to live together, to progress together, and in evil days to suffer together. The Musalmans have established their right to be in the land by a longer domicile than the Normans in England; many of them have the same blood in their veins as their Hindu fellow-countrymen. There is no reason whatever why, in spite of difference of religion, customs, habits of life and ideals, they should not co-operate in the great task which lies before them both, of promoting the welfare of India under the aegis of the British Crown. National development, even the fulfilment of the dream of self-government, depends on the co-operation of both races in a spirit of amity and concord. I have used the word 'dream' in connection with self-government, not from any thought of disparagement, but because I feel that for many years to come British rule in India is a vital necessity. I firmly believe that if Great Britain were to lose her hold over this country before the divers races, creeds and nationalities have thoroughly learnt the value of a spirit of compromise and toleration in the management of public affairs—before they have clearly understood the responsiblities of citizenship, it will mean a relapse into the anarchy of 150 years ago, a fierce religious and racial struggle, and a collapse of the fabric so laboriously built up within the last half century. The idea that any one particular race can hold down the others without outside help must be dismissed as an idle dream. Musalman supremecy was laid to dust when Aurangzeb went to his grave; Hindu supremacy received its death-blow when the Musalman confederation shattered the Mahratta host on the banks of the Jamna; Panipat paved the way for the rise of British power in India. It was indeed a wise decree of Providence that enabled the British to take over the helm from the last *de jure* sovereign of India. And it would be rank ingratitude if Hindus and Mohammedans alike were not to recognize the greatness of the work

achieved by England with the legacy left to her by India's previous rulers.

To the Musalmans of India the permanence of British rule is a matter of the utmost importance; their sympathies and their interests extend far beyond the limits of the Indian continent, and the peaceful maintenance and development of all they value depends on England retaining her predominant place in the councils of the civilized world. It is therefore essential for us to associate ourselves whole-heartedly with the maintenance of law and order, to co-operate in all loyalty of spirit with the servants of the Crown to promote the country's welfare, and to put aside any wild and visionary dreams about India's sudden emergence to independence[1]. At the present stage of the country's development, it behoves us all to impress on our rising generation the duties of loyal citizenship and the necessity of realizing India's needs in a sober spirit.

At the same time, I do not wish to recommend that you should cease to urge your claims to your share in the benefits of British rule, or to raise your voice against the unfair treatment of your fellow-countrymen in any part of the Empire, or forego your right to question arbitrary acts of executive authority. You would fail in your duty both to yourselves and to your Sovereign if you did not object with all the strength in your command, but constitutionally, to any measure which you were convinced was to the detriment of your people or your country.

Gentlemen, so long as you work in this spirit, no man will have the right to complain of the loyalty and sincerity of your motives or the justice of your action. Rancour and spite you cannot control; but honest public opinion in England and India will never question the correctness of your attitude or the validity of your conduct.

With the very large extension of representative institutions, a new era has opened in India. How the privileges the Crown has granted to peoples of the country will be used, whether to its good or to its detriment, whether they will lead to concord and harmony or to discord and strife remains to be seen. One thing is certain, that unless the Hindus and Mohammedans accept the new machinery of administration in the spirit in which it has been granted and use it as a means for the economic as well as the political development of India, 'The Reform' will not prove a blessing.

Economic Development

For our own people the question of economic development overshadows all others. It has an importance for every class; the rich magnate, the wealthy landholder cannot dissociate himself from his humble brother of the lower ranks of the middle class without serious injury to the whole

1. Here two sentences that are repeated almost word for word in the following paragraph are omitted.

body, himself included. To no community is the old saying of the Persian poet more applicable than to the Musalman:

بنی آدم اعضائے یکدیگر اند

Human beings are the limbs of one body.

The interests of each class are bound up with those of the other; and therefore the material well-being and economic progress of the whole community is a matter of moment and concern to every Musalman.

Within the last 40 years, education, and especially English education, has made enormous strides among the Musalman people. Yet the material and economic condition of the general body of Mohammedans has not improved in proportion. In parts of the country there are distinct signs of retrogression. We have first to understand the causes of this deplorable feature in our national life, before attempting to seek remedies. The fact is that for many years past a steady process of disintegration and demoralization, partly induced by circumstances and forces beyond our control, has been going on in our midst: our men of wealth have not chosen to descend from their pedestals, until quite recently, to take part in the national life; since we awoke to the value of modern Western culture, our education has remained one-sided; we did not realize until yesterday—and I doubt it is thoroughly realized even now—the importance of political training.

Although thrift is part of the religion of Islam, we in India allow it little scope in practice. And what is the consequence: steady impoverishment of the community. State service and the profession of law monopolize the energies of a large number of the intelligent sections of the community. Many profitable fields of industry, commerce and trade lie uncultivated; while technical education and the study of practical science do not attract the attention they deserve. Nor has any method of co-operation been thought of with the object of checking the impoverishment of Musalman families.

These are questions which no Musalman who loves his people or his religion can think of without the deepest concern. Each defect singly would tend to undermine the prosperity of the best organized community; combined they are fatal where cohesiveness is wanting among the different sections.

As a consequence of the administrative conditions recently introduced in India, I fear political pursuits will, in the future, largely engross the activities of the Indian peoples. Much of the energy that might be devoted with advantage to the development of the country, in directions which lead to her intellectual and material progress, will be diverted to the generally barren fields of politics.

'*System of Moderation*' *in Politics*

I should like to warn my co-religionists against neglecting, in favour of political pursuits, those departments of industry or study which conduce

to national prosperity. Far be it from me to say one word to discourage or dissuade you from keeping consistently before you your political rights and privileges, from insisting on their recognition, and educating your people to understand their meaning and to realize that rights imply duties. What I do desire to impress on you is that it would be fatal for you ever to allow all your energies to be absorbed in politics, as you allowed them to be absorbed in purely academic education. I consider it a mischievous sign of political activity that when four seats are allotted to Musalmans on a provincial council, 14 notables of more or less equal worth should emerge from their solitudes to engage in a hot contest for election. As they cannot possibly occupy separate political platforms, as their policy on public questions must be identical, the contest must of necessity take a turn of personal rivalry, the effect of which cannot be very healthy on the community. I appeal to the good sense of my people to abandon that characteristic which so stubbornly stood in the path of their progress. I would suggest to the Central League and all the Musalman organizations throughout the country to join in establishing what may be called a 'system of moderation' for the election of Musalman members on councils, district boards, municipalities and local boards. An influential advisory committee in all important centres might be of considerable assistance in bringing about compromise in the public interests, between rival candidates. Such a course would add strength to the Musalman cause, would be patriotic, and in accord with the dictates of religion. Difficulties may suggest themselves to prevent our deriving full benefit from such committees. But I am confident their establishment would to a great extent ease the present tension in the Musalman community. The 'system of moderation' I venture to suggest will not interfere with the legitimate ambitions of any politician; but endeavouring to remove frictions and personal rivalries, assure to each candidate a successful issue and to the community some degree of credit—for the present condition in some parts of the country is little short of scandalous.

Solidarity and Development

Some effort should also be directed towards infusing a greater spirit of solidarity into Mohammedan society and removing the evil effects of the process of disintegration that has been going on amongst us for the last hundred years, and which has aggravated the feeling of egoistic individualism. I regard this failing as a deplorable evil among our people, which weakens our communal strength and deprives us of the advantages resulting from sustained loyalty to and co-operation with each other. A little while ago *The Times* in an article dealing with the centrifugal tendencies of the Spanish character remarked that if seven Spaniards were to form a political association, it would soon split into three with one independent. Unfortunately that criticism applies with equal appositeness to the Mohammedans in many parts of India.

I would strongly urge on Musalmans of light and leading, in general, and the Musalman organizations, in particular, some system of regular social reunions at each centre, where Muslims would meet on friendly terms and discuss subjects of communal interest in a broad spirit, with an honest desire to sink personal differences and to subordinate personal ambitions to the well-being of the community. We must recognize that it serves no useful purpose to fritter away our strength in petty dispute or in forming party combinations against each other.

There should be clubs, such as exist in England, and have come recently into being in Turkey, in connection with the provincial and district Leagues for lectures on subjects of political, economic or scientific interest, for discussions and reading of works on history, political economy and other cognate subjects, so as to engender a genuine and enlightened public spirit among our people.

We ought to be content no longer with merely passing resolutions. If the central and the provincial Leagues were to adopt the suggestion I am making and introduce it into their working programme, I would further suggest that leading and influential members should visit local centres and assist in the organization of these clubs. Periodical inspections would be necessary on their part to encourage and sustain the interest of local members which has always a tendency to flag, to smooth frictions which have a peculiar habit of springing up—and generally to induce a spirit of *camaraderie* and good-fellowship. The same system, I would humbly urge, should be adopted in the provincial centres with the necessary adaptation. One great idea should dominate all the steps we take to create a real, abiding, intelligent interest among our people, high and low, in the national welfare. For in this connection, we must not overlook our common failing, that when we have no great immediate purpose in view, our energies slacken, and, to use a colloquialism, we let our work slide. This should not be allowed under any circumstance. It should be our constant endeavour to keep our co-religionists alive to the crying needs of progress and national development under the aegis of the great Power which holds in its hands the destinies of India.

As I have already briefly indicated, there are many questions affecting the well-being of our people which will require your attention. I think you will agree with me that their economic and material condition is of the utmost importance, and you will have to consider, among other problems, how best to prevent the impoverishment of Musalmans and the passing of Musalman estates into other hands, how to foster industries among them to encourage trade and commerce, a better and more practical use of academic learning. I am merely indicating the directions to which, in our newly awakened desire to improve the general condition of our people, we will have to devote our energies.

Settlement of Family Disputes and Thrift

The impoverishment of Musalman families is a subject of stupendous magnitude. All progress, communal and individual, depends on stability of fortune. Superficially regarded, the Islamic system may seem socialistic; but while the great Founder of our Faith, in his endeavour to remedy the great injustice that prevailed in all the countries of the world when he made his appearance, ordained a division of property among the heirs of a deceased owner, he, at the same time, with his wonderful and divinely inspired genius, laid down a rule which provides a remedy against the consequences of infinite subdivisions among a succession of heirs. This is the institution designated in the Islamic system as *Wakf-ala'l-Aulad*. An endeavour should he made to place it on a satisfactory basis. The easiest solution would be to obtain from the Legislature a validating act that would give statutory recognition, with adequate safeguards against fraud, to a principle of supreme importance to the Musalman people.

But this alone, in my judgement, will not be sufficient to check the impoverishment and ultimate effacement of Musalman families. Musalmans must in the first place be taught thrift. Let us bear in mind what our Holy Book says:

> But let not thy hand be tied up to thy neck, nor yet open it with all openness lest thou sit down in rebuke in beggary.

Secondly, they must learn the value of co-operation and self-help, and thirdly, they must seek from the Legislature the re-establishment of courts of arbitration for the settlement of family disputes. Family litigation is the curse of Indian society. The moment a well-to-do Indian dies, be he Hindu or be he Mohammedan, his inheritance finds its way into the melting-pot; dishonest employees encourage domestic disputes with a view to reaping a rich harvest for themselves. The money-lender, sitting at the gate of every fairly prosperous family, is ready to finance the disputants, conscious of the fact that whether they lose or win, his is the ultimate gain. It is notorious that the cost of litigation has increased enormously within recent years. In England there are two grades in the profession, in India there are at least three; and they all receive their quota of the death-duties, which the *mahajans* help in extracting from the estate of the deceased. No country, however prosperous, certainly no community circumstanced as the Mohammedan, can make headway against this insidious and persistent system of destruction. Within my own experience, four families have risen and disappeared successively in one district. A Musalman family was displaced by an enterprising syndicate consisting of two *marwari* bankers, who in their turn were destroyed by another *marwari mahajan*, and this man, I now understand, is making room for another member of his class.

The disastrous consequences to the prosperity and progress of the

country from this eternal whirl of life and death, can hardly be overrated. We hear a great deal of the impoverishment, ruin and havoc caused among families who form so many centres of the country's prosperity, by the complex legal and economic conditions which have come into existence under British rule. Stable conditions are as necessary to the progress of the people as a stable propertied class is to the safety of the State, but the Government preoccupied in its work of political reforms has little time, still less the inclination, to grapple with the problem. Unwelcome suggestions from quarters not viewed with favour have either been received with impatience or pigeon-holed with official courtesy. As the questions I have indicted are of the utmost importance to the Musalman community, I venture to suggest that you should move the Government to re-establish the arbitration courts which existed in the early part of the nineteenth century for the settlement of family disputes, and to induce the ordinary courts of justice to discourage family litigation. This, I submit, will not conduce to the benefit of one community only, but to that of all, and ought to receive the support of every friend of the Indian people, irrespective of creed and race. I know that the Government derives a large income from court fees, which some people regard as a taxation on justice, and that you may probably by your proposal rouse the opposition of large and powerful interests. But do not allow yourselves to be discouraged by the failure of your first attempt; go on hammering at the gate until you have gained admittance.

As a corollary to the above proposition, I strongly urge the formation of co-operative associations for mutual help, whose first duty should be to save Mohammedan families, so far as possible, from disruption, and in the last resort to 'buy in', so to speak, Musalman estates. I believe it is perfectly feasible and practicable to devise a system of co-operative work of this kind on strict business lines; and I would commend its consideration to the Economic Section of the League, to which I shall presently refer.

Work, Education and Training

My remarks so far relate to the sections of our community who are fortunate in the immediate possession of means and property and to whom the conservation of such means is important. But there is a large body to whom its acquisition forms the spur to activity; they seek your assistance for finding outlets for their energies or for showing them the way for the employment of their talents and industry. The legal profession is overcrowded and many have taken to it who have little aptitude for its initial drudgery and constant assiduity. State service affords but a narrow field of occupation, and it is already held largely by representatives of other communities whom it would, in any circumstances, be difficult to dislodge. Why should you not look out for other avenues to means and prosperity? Your forefathers never condemned trade, commerce, or any form of industry. Kings applied themselves to learn handicrafts. Viziers were merchants. The

greatest scholars, scientists and poets had some vocation. The Prophet himself constantly preached the dignity of labour.

The training of your youths, especially in upper India, in Bengal and in the Punjab, has been mostly academic, either with a view to State service or to the pursuit of law. Your educational institutions, I trust, will now realize the necessity of giving an important place in the curriculum of their studies to technical education. The Karachi Islamia College, in the establishment of which I had some little part, has already set the example. Many fields of industry are lying mostly untouched by our people: to yield a return they all require training and technical knowledge which your educational institutions could easily impart; and many need a certain amount of capital. Here again, the co-operative associations, proceeding not on charitable, but on strictly business lines, can come to the assistance of enterprising youths really in earnest to fight the battle of life.

Many of our young Hindu fellow-countrymen come to England to study poultry-farming, agriculture, sericulture, horticulture, fruit-culture; to acquaint themselves with the secrets of leather and other industries; they go to Japan and the United States to learn practical engineering, chemistry and other departments of art and the applied sciences. This awakening among them to the demands of material progress is as admirable as their awakening to political conceptions is extraordinary.

I cannot help viewing with regret, not unmixed with shame, the apathy generally displayed in these directions by Musalman youths. Want of means is often urged as the chief reason that prevents them form engaging in these studies. But surely our rich men whose charitable instincts and interest in the welfare of their people are often roused by the visits to their districts of Lieutenant Governors and other high officials, might devote, *fi-sabil-illah*, a small part of their superfluity to found scholarships for promising Mohammedan youths to study, either in India or Europe, the subjects I have indicated, which later in life would be beneficial to them as well as to their country.

In the halcyon days of Islam, our men of wealth founded colleges and endowed scholarships to win the reward of God; in our times they do so to gain the approval of the Government official. Might we not with advantage go back to the old ideal?

But even without the charitable feeling coming into play to any very large extent, it is possible to devise a system for assisting deserving students by which they would become not only virtually self-supporting, but the means of helping others following in their footsteps. The consideration of this also, as an eminently practical method of solving a difficult problem, I would commend to the Economic Section.

Economic Council

To carry out the programme I have briefly outlined, I suggest you should divide the Committee—I trust you will soon alter its designation and call it a Council—into sections, each charged with special duties and special functions. This will facilitate the accomplishment of the great work you have taken in hand—the political, material and moral regeneration of our people. Otherwise, the task is so stupendous that it will tax the collective energies of the entire League, and even then end in failure.

The divisions or sections that I would suggest would be the following: (1) Economic, (2) Political, (3) Educational, and (4) Sociological.

(1) The Economic Section would be the most important, as certainly it should prove the most beneficent, if properly organized and carefully and consistently worked. I have already indicated its duties.

(2) The Political Section's activities are easy to define and can be usefully employed to the advantage of our people if it is conducted on the broad lines already laid down.

(3) The Educational Section should co-operate with the Economic Section in carrying into effect the improvements in Musalman education in directions which have hitherto been either neglected or considered of minor importance. It can hardly trench on the functions of the Educational Conference, which fulfils a special function, and does not concern itself with economic questions.

(4) The functions of the Sociological Section would possess as much importance as those of the Economic Section. It would concern itself with all questions of social and domestic legislation which affect the well-being of the people, especially the Musalmans, and social problems of moment and interest to our people. Many such subjects have arisen in Musalman society within recent years; but in the absence of a communal organization to deal with them more or less effectively, they have been, for the time being, put aside to the detriment of the community.

The preservation of Mohammedan institutions would naturally pertain to this Section.

In this connection, I would observe that so far as I can judge there can be no possible objection to persons holding offices under Government from serving on any of these Sections, save perhaps the Political, which after all is only political in name, as the great object of our organization is to co-operate with the administration, not merely in the maintenance of law and order, but also in the promotion of the general interests of the country. But whatever technical difficulty may be felt in paid officials of Government serving on the Political Section, there cannot, it seems to me, be any objection to their associating themselves with the other Sections, the main object of which is economic progress and development.

Working thus by sections or compartments, it would be possible to obtain far more satisfactory results and certainly a larger measure of success than would be the case if the carrying out of the programme were entrusted to the General Committee. In my experience, practical work is more effectively and expeditiously accomplished by small bodies of competent and earnest people; it is only when they have arrived at some definite conclusion that it should be submitted for the confirmation of the General Committee. I recommend the adoption of this system not only to the Central League, but also to the provincial branches and cognate organizations. After all, the actual application of the measures we decide to adopt for benefiting our people will rest with the provincial Leagues, and the amount of success we attain will depend on their energy and loyalty of purpose. They are, or at least should be, in touch with the people whom the work we undertake concerns; they are acquainted with their real needs and requirements, with the local conditions and circumstances. Where information is wanting, it would be their duty to obtain it. The provincial Leagues will, therefore, be the genuine and truly effective machinery for putting our programme into operation, and we must rely on them for consistent and continuous efforts in the directions indicated. In fact, without their help it would hardly be possible to do much for the progress of the Musalman community. So far they have given whole-hearted support to the Central League; and I trust the solidarity that has existed so long will always be maintained. It is essential, however, that there should be absolute loyalty on all sides and the subordination of individual interests to the commonweal. It is only thus that we can hope to regain for our people the position in the internal economy of India to which they are legitimately entitled by their numbers and the virility of their character.

Gentlemen, I fear I have trespassed too long on your indulgence. But the subject is of such incalculable importance that I have felt it my duty to lay my suggestions before you at some length.

May I venture to make one more remark? Pray do not think any task too great or any work too unworthy for your energies or activities.

Please remember the words of one of our own sages:

همت دراز دار که پیش خدا و خلق
باشد بقدر همت تو اعتبار تو

Keep your aims high, so that before God and his creatures
May your work be estimated according to your aims.

In conclusion, I invoke the Almighty's blessings on you and your endeavours.

Mian Mohammad Shafi then announced, amid cheers, that His Highness the Aga Khan had been pleased to make a permanent annual grant of Rs. 4,000

to the All-India Muslim League, besides Rs. 1,600 to the London Branch. This brought the morning's sitting of the League to a close.

Second Sitting

In the afternoon sitting, owing to the temporary absence of the President, Mr. Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy was called to the Chair. He moved the first resolution from the Chair which ran as follows:

RESOLUTION I

> The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of appreciation of the just and beneficial Scheme of Reform embodied in the India Councils Act and the regulations framed thereunder, and offers, on behalf of Indian Musalmans, its grateful thanks to the Government, and assures it of their cordial co-operation with the Government and other communities for the success of the scheme.

Mian Mohammad Shafi, Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhry, Mr. Yakub Hasan, Syed Wazeer Hasan and Mr. Masudul Hasan spoke in support of the propositions; and it was unanimously carried amidst great enthusiasm.

Mian Mohammad Shafi, in supporting the resolution, said that they were all united in thinking—and he was perfectly certain that non-Muslims would agree with him—that the best interests of the country would be served by raising the political condition of the Mohammedans to the level of that of the other communities. It was essential that the Mohammedans, who suffer owing to numerical disadvantages, should be accorded preferential treatment by means of separate representation, and this could not be obtained unless they had absolute and unqualified control of their elections. To his mind, without separate representation, the most perfect system of representative Government would be unworkable and injudicious in a country that suffered from the unhappy internal conditions that prevailed in India. He had not a shadow of doubt that participation in the mixed electorate was harmful to the best interests of our community.

He added: "I do not know how you feel, but when I contemplate the reality of the disappointment which has been felt by the Mohammedans of the Punjab at the denial to them of the right of separate representation on the Provincial Council, in spite of the fact that the need for it was more insistent here than elsewhere, I look upon such a policy as not only in the highest degree prejudicial to Punjabi Musalmans, but also as exceedingly impolitic. But keeping in view the definite recognition of the position of the Indian Musalmans by the Government, as an integral but distinct part of the Indian population, I must thank and cordially thank the Liberal Minister and the large-hearted Viceroy for redeeming, to a large extent, the pledges given to the Indian Musalmans."

Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri, supporting the resolution, said: "The

resolution just moved has my hearty support and sympathy. It is meet and proper that we should accord our heartfelt thanks to the Government and to the statesmen who helped to launch the Reform Scheme granting us enlarged Councils in India. I shall, however, with your permission, take the opportunity of laying before you the apparent defects in the Scheme as affecting the Provincial Councils of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Four seats by separate election have been allotted to Mohammedans out of 23 non-official seats. The chances are decidedly poor and quite uncertain for the Mohammedans to expect seats through mixed election. The reason is apparent. The voters to the local boards and municipalities are either tenants of Hindu zemindars or indebted to them for loans, and as such they cannot but vote for the Hindus. So there will be practically four Mohammedans to 11 Hindus, when four seats are given away to Europeans and four by nomination. This meagre distribution of seats is not in full accord with the pledges given by Lords Morley and Minto as far as our Province is concerned. The number allotted to us is by no means any approach to the numerical proportion, not to speak of the political importance of the community. The Mohammedans there are about two-thirds of the population, and yet only four seats have been allotted to them by separate election, as I do not count upon the chance seats through mixed electorates. We fail to get the numerical proportion of seats which ought to be at least 10 instead of four. Over and above this, our claim on seats for political importance and defence of the Empire has been ignored. In the last election, it may be argued, the Mohammedans obtained two seats through electorates; but that was due to apathy and indifference on the part of Hindus. Notwithstanding their securing two seats each by mixed electorates, two seats by nomination and four by separate electorates, the Mohammedans were in a minority of 8 to 10 with the Hindus. As soon as the agitation ceases, things will be very different, and it will be difficult for Mohammedans to obtain seats through mixed electorates. To satisfy our just claims, a due and adequate number of seats should have been allotted not only in porportion to numerical strength, but even in excess of that number, owing to the political importance of the community and its contribution to the defence of the Empire. Our leaders in India and England have done enough to bring these facts to the notice of the authorities, and we should now accept the Scheme and co-operate with the Government."

Mr. Yakub Hasan observed that the Government had always been exceedingly solicitous of Mohammedan interests and actuated by the best of motives. The Mohammedan community, on the other hand, had all along reposed immense trust in its justice and beneficence and would continue to do so. The grant of separate representation to the Mohammedans opened a new era in the political life of the country and safeguarded the interests and the rights of the Mohammedan minority. It was clear that if the Moham-

medans were a distinct community and had distinct interests, they should be placed in a position to safeguard their interests properly. He agreed with the President in heartily thanking the Government for redeeming the pledges given to the Mohammedans.

Syed Wazeer Hasan, in the course of his speech, remarked that Muslim loyalty was a bulwark for the British Power, and that their political importance was entirely independent of their religion.

Mr. Masoodul-Hasan, in supporting the resolution, said that the claim put forward by the Mohammedans was not a new one, and it had been made clear at every stage of the Reform Scheme that they would be satisfied with nothing less than full separate representation. He was glad to observe that the claims of the Mohammedans to special treatment on account of their political importance and numerical strength had been practically admitted by the just and benign Government, for which the community was deeply grateful to it. The only thing that made him unhappy was the disappointment felt by the Punjabi Musalmans at the denial to them of the right of separate representation on the Provincial Council. It was the earnest prayer of the Muslim community that the Government be pleased to bear this point in mind on the occasion of the next election, and that steps be taken to remove an obvious anomaly.

The way in which the proposition was discussed showed that the members were animated by a sense of deep loyalty in acknowleding their gratitude to the Government for the recognition of their rightful position in the Empire. They refuted the assertion, made in some quarters, that they had received special favours from the Government, arguing that once the principle of communal representation was accepted, their representation must be adequate and effective. As Syed Ameer Ali had said, any attempt, open or covert, to curtail or modify the concessions that had been made to the Mohammedans or to alter any settled fact would be deeply resented by the community.

RESOLUTION II

The second resolution was also moved by Mr. Fazulbhoy, and ran as fellows:

> The All-India Muslim League expresses on behalf of the Indian Musalmans its great abhorrence of the anarchist movement manifesting itself in some parts of India, emphatically condemns the dastardly outrages recently committed at Ahmedabad, Nasik and Calcutta, and appeals to all patriotic citizens to actively co-operate with the authorities in up-rooting the evil from the soil of India.

In support of the proposition, Mr. Fazulbhoy, made a thoughtful and forcible speech condemning anarchy and appealing to Hindus and Mohammedans to discover the root of the evil and to eradicate it for the safety and honour of the country. He emphatically asserted that the time had arrived

when they should adopt immediate and effective measures to correct the manners and morals of Indian youth. He said:

I am sure that the resolution which I have the pleasure of moving is in full accord with the duties, sentiments and interests of not only the members of the League and the Musalman community, but of the entire loyal population of India who look with horror and abhorrence on the dastardly deeds of a few anarchists, who have disgraced the whole of the Indian nation in the eyes of our rulers and the civilized world. It is impossible to speak with restraint about a criminal like Dhingra, especially when the ghastly picture of the foul and atrocious crime rises before our mental vision. I was an unhappy and painful spectator of the murder of my late lamented friend, Sir W. Curzon-Wyllie, who was in every sense of the word, a true friend of the Indians. His unfailing courtesy, his obliging nature, his genuine anxiety for the welfare of Indians, and the magnanimity of his heart were such as to make it impossible for us to believe that he could have even a single deadly enemy. Is it not a cruel irony of fate that he should have been murdered by a man whom he was trying to save from the path of ruin? As my memory goes back to the awful scene of the tragedy, I feel a thrill of pain and horror passing through my mind.

Until a few weeks back, the Bombay Presidency, which has given a lead in true *Swadeshi* enterprise to other provinces in India, was singularly free from any conspiracy, but the wicked plot to take the life of the Viceroy, whose only fault, if it can be termed a fault, lies in his instinctive liberality and innate kindness for Indians, revealed for the first time the unpleasant fact that the Presidency whose destiny is now being wisely shaped by one of the greatest and most sympathetic of pro-consuls that ever came out to India (Sir George Clarke) contained the poisonous germs of treason and anarchy. Through a divine and miraculous intercession, the plot miscarried and Lord and Lady Minto escaped unhurt. But within a few days of the shocking revelation of the attempted diabolic outrage, an officer who ought to have been respected and revered by Indians was treacherously murdered by a Brahman fanatic. I refer to the murder of the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, who was held in great esteem and popularity by all classes of the Indian communities on account of his deep sympathy with them. What is the moral that we learn from these senseless crimes? To those who give even superficial thought to the question, it must be obvious that the morals and manners of Indian youth require to be corrected, and to this end the attention of every patriot and well-wisher of the country ought to be directed. Instead of futile laments over the irrecoverable past, we should, while there is yet time, set to work to find out the root of the mischief, which, in my opinion, lies in dangling, before raw and immature youth, an unattainable, impracticable, undesirable and mischievous ideal, namely, the attainment of *Swaraj* by driving out Englishmen from India. We all know that even if it were possible

for Englishmen to retire from India to-day, it would mean terrible disaster to the country. The loss would be entirely ours. It would be a signal for the revival of bitter religious feud and racial strife and the consequent insecurity and plunder of life and property. It will undo the progress of years. Under the present circumstances, *Swaraj* for India is impossible, and if the guiding hand of the British were to be removed tomorrow, it would be absurd to think that without their aid, we could ever attain to that condition which is necessary for the attainment of *Swaraj*. For our intellectual and political progress and our economic and social salvation, British supremacy in India is a *sine qua non*. Our political enfranchisement must depend upon our fitness. If we are incapable of governing ourselves, and putting our own house in order, how can we expect to govern a country like India, with its teeming population, whose amazing diversity of religion, language, traditions and social custom are simply perplexing? Our duty is then clear. It demands that if we are to share, the administration of the country with the rulers, we must also share the responsibilities attached to good citizenship.

We ought to co-operate with Government in putting down lawlessness, sedition and anarchy; and to do so, we should go to the root of the evil. It is undeniable that the cause of mischief is the seditious press and the repulsive secret teachings of the new school of thought which has captured the imagination of unimaginative students. The minds of youth are poisoned by exhibitions of religious fanaticism; and under the cover of religion, doctrines of racial rancour and racial hatred are instilled into the minds of pliant tools. To counteract the evil influences of the mischief-makers, we must in the first place insist on sound discipline and moral and religious training for our boys, so as to make them God-fearing and law-abiding citizens. We must establish, in conjunction with our Hindu compatriots, societies to combat revolutionary forces. This is not a time when we can sit silent. Nor is this the time for talk—that has passed long since—this is pre-eminently the time for action. Our patriotism, which has hitherto taken the form of passive obedience to the Crown and respect for the laws and institutions of the country, should be turned to active account in counteracting the evil influence of subtle enemies of Government, and therefore, of the country and society. Our common enemies aim at the overthrow of the powerful and benevolent British rule which makes it possible for us to work out our own social and economic salvation without any interference, and which allows us to hold political meetings for asserting our rightful and legitimate share in the administration of the country, as is witnessed by to-day's proceedings in this imperial city, where the greatest of the great Mughal emperors, Akbar, ruled in truly Oriental magnificence with civilized notions four centuries ago; and where seven years ago, our beloved king Edward, who will be known in history as Edward the Peace-maker, was proclaimed Emperor with great pomp and splendour. Our patriotism should take the form of teaching the people to

take pride in being members of the mightiest Empire that the world has ever seen. Our dominating desire should be to strengthen British rule, and to inspire the people with feelings of affection for our rulers by deeds and words.

Our learned London President has suggested the formation of a political section or council of the League. May I suggest, in order usefully to employ the activities of the members of that section, that they should, in consultation with Government and such of the Hindu gentlemen as may be willing to co-operate with us, devise ways and means to combat the reactionary forces (*Sic*) and to promote loyalty among the masses. By loyalty I mean a desire, a longing on our part to co-operate with Government in promoting the orderd development of the country and thereby securing peace and prosperity for the people. As our trusted leader, His Highness the Aga Khan, has forcibly pointed out, our loyalty should not be the basis for favours to come; not a cold abstract sentiment like the love of beauty and arts, but a constant, fixed and passionate desire for serving the country and helping the authorities in putting down, with a strong hand, the forces that tend to submerge the Government lawfully established in the land. We must send out earnest, influential missionaries whose mission should be to spread the Divine Faith like calming oil on stormy seas. As regards the moral teaching which is necessary to develop the spiritual side, the parents of the pupils must help the teachers by seeing that the home atmosphere is untainted. There are people who say that they do not know in what way the Government want their help in putting down the anarchical cult. If, instead of laborious efforts in ransacking the Scriptures to prove—after foul murders have been perpetrated—that political crimes are not permitted, we adopt practical measures such as I have suggested, then I think, we will be very near to the solution of the complicated question. Teach our boys to stick to the ethical code of morality, teach them that loyalty is not only a passive virtue but an active force to help the Government in the promotion of beneficial measures for the good of the country. We should energetically strive to strengthen the hold of Indians on the affections of Englishmen, and we should persistently and effectively oppose the wild attacks of ultra-radicals, both English and Indian, and interpret to the masses the benevolent intentions of the Government. This is all the more necessary because to the average Englishman, the Indian Empire, with all its glories and perplexities, is a sealed book. We must remember that one of the objects with which the League was formed was that, in view of the orgies of disloyalty actively displayed in some quarters, the dignified policy of silent loyalty was no longer a paying game and that it was necessary to adopt some means of the most practical kind, which would act as an effective check on the sowing of wild seeds in this country.

In conclusion, I appeal to the sense of duty of both Hindus and Mohammedans to take effective action in co-operation with Government to stamp out anarchy by destroying the sources that induce evil thoughts and dangerous

acts; to co-operate with the Government in ameliorating the condition of the masses and promoting measures of general welfare by the dissemination of agricultural, scientific, technical, industrial, commercial and literary education, and other measures of public utility sketched by His Highness the Aga Khan in the eloquent peroration of his forceful and noble speech.

Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan seconded the resolution in an impassioned speech. He emphasized the necessity of explaining to misguided youths the suicidal folly of their position, so as to purge them of their dangerous ideas. At the same time he advised European officers in India to treat educated Indians with greater courtesy, as it was the educated section of the population that could best appreciate the blessings of British rule.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION III

The third resolution, proposed by Mian Mohammad Shafi and seconded and supported by Mr. Yakub Hasan and Moulvi Mahbub Alum, ran as follows:

> In view of the necessity and importance, under the existing circumstances of India, of each community being fully represented in the administration, the All-India Muslim League considers the number of Mohammedans employed in the various branches of the public service absolutely inadequate, and strongly urges the Government to give the Mohammedan community that share in the public service to which it is entitled by reason of its importance and numerical strength.

Mian Mohammad Shafi, in proposing the resolution, said that the number of Mohammedans employed in the various branches of the public service was absolutely inadequate. It was not the desire of the Mohammedans that undue favour should be shown to them or that the standard of qualification for public service be lowered in their favour to the prejudice of the efficiency of the administration; but it was essential for the proper adjustment of the political balance that, so long as qualified Mohammedans were available for the public service, they should be given their due proportion according to their importance and population.

Mr. Yakub Hasan, in seconding the resolution, said that it was not necessary for him to say much. It was an open secret that the Mohammedan share in the public service was far from satisfactory. Their interests had suffered partly by their silence and partly by the machinations of their neighbours, who were always harping upon the incompetence of the Mohammedan community. The Mohammedans should therefore unanimously demand that their share in the public service should be adequate, and should try to remove wrong notions about them.

Moulvi Mahbub Alum remarked that the number of Mohammedans in the judicial service of the Province of Agra was very inadequate, and that unless prompt and effective measures were taken to make up the defficiency,

the Mohammedans would just about disappear from the higher grades of this most important branch of Government service. The allegation that the Mohammedans were not fit for public service was highly prejudicial to their best interests. A community which has a glorious past and which kept alive the flame of civilization for many centuries could not be said to be wanting in administrative ability.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The meeting was then adjourned to Sunday morning.

Third Sitting

Deliberations were continued on Sunday, January 30, with unabated interest. It was a busy day and much useful work was done, the sittings continuing till late in the evening, and the intense enthusiasm evinced on the previous day was maintained throughout.

In response to the eloquent appeal of the President, the Prince of Arcot, and His Highness the Aga Khan, handsome donations were promised to the League. Annual subscriptions amounting to Rs. 1,600 were promised, and a lump sum of Rs. 8,600 was also subscribed.

The discussion embraced a wide range of practical subjects, which were presented in such an able, clear and temperate manner as to disarm criticism. Throughout the proceedings, a hopeful note of self-reliance and progress was sounded, and though the avowed object of the League is political, questions were discussed on non-sectarian lines, and the subject of education was brought to the forefront as a means of promoting our political and civic aspirations. Great stress was laid on the moral and religious training of Muslim youth, so as to make them ideal and law-abiding citizens of the Empire, imbued with sentiments of loyalty to the British Crown. The inadvisability of confining the activities of the League to the political sphere alone was recognized by different speakers, who also urged the League to work out the social, industrial and economic emancipation of the Musalmans by appointing an influential standing committee or separate sections of the League. It was suggested that the League could be divided into four sections: economic, political, educational and sociological. The functions of each section were defined and means suggested to obtain satisfactory results from each. Continued stress was laid on the necessity of cordial and harmonious relations with the Hindu and other communities to promote the welfare of the country as a whole. These lofty ideals, however, did not prevent the meeting from, emphatically but respectfully, pointing out minor defects in the Reforms or demanding an effective and adequate representation of the Muslim community on municipalities and district boards.

Adoption of New Rules and Regulations

At the outset, the meeting adopted the revised rules and regulations

of the League and appointed Office-bearers. At the annual session of the All-India Muslim League held at Amritsar, a Sub-Committee was appointed to revise the rules of the League, but for various reasons no meeting could be held. This Sub-Committee met at Delhi under the Presidency of His Highness the Aga Khan on January 27 and 28, and after due deliberation proposed certain amendments in the rules, the changes proposed generally being verbal alterations. However, some of the amendments were of great importance, affecting as they did the Constitution of the League and its procedure. The number of Vice-Presidents was raised from six to 20, and of the members from 400 to 800. The amendments were read out in the meeting and unanimously adopted.

Election of Office-Bearers

The resolution electing His Highness the Aga Khan as President of the League for the next two years was passed by acclamation, and His Highness, in thanking the community for the honour done to him, promised to work for Muslim interests with singleness of purpose and whole-hearted devotion. On the motion of His Highness the Aga Khan, 16 Vice-Presidents, one Honorary Secretary, and two Joint Secretaries were unanimously elected.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

1.	Nawab Mushtaq Husain Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur	United Provinces
2.	Raja Sir Mohammad Tasadduk Rasul Khan, K.C.S.I.	,, ,,
3.	Nawab Muhammad Abdul Majeed	,, ,,
4.	Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Kazilbash, C.I.E.	Punjab
5.	Nawab Zulfikar Ali Khan of Maler Kotla	,,
6.	Khan Bahadur Mian Mohammad Shafi, Bar-at-Law	,,
7.	Prince Jehandar Mirza of Murshedabad	Bengal
8.	Syed Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law	,,
9.	Nawab Khwaja Sir Salimullah Khan Bahadur, K.C.S.I., of Dacca	Eastern Bengal
10.	Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri	,, ,,
11.	Sir Ghulam Mohammad Ali, Khan Bahadur, K.C.I.E., Prince of Arcot	Madras
12.	Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Kt. Bart.	Bombay
13.	Mr. Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim	,,
14.	Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak	Central Provinces and Berar
15.	Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law	N. W. Frontier Province
16.	Mr. Abdul Karim Abdus Shakoor Jamal	Burma

HONORARY SECRETARY

Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, late Judicial, Police and General Secretary, Hyderabad, Daccan

JOINT SECRETARIES

Haji Mohammad Musa Khan	Aligarh
Moulvi Syed Wazeer Hasan, B.A., LL.B.	Lucknow

The Honorary Secretary, Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, in thanking the community for the honour done to him, said:

I do not know how to thank you sufficiently for the honour you have done me by electing me Honorary Secretary to the All-India Muslim League. This is a mark of confidence which I highly value, but I can assure you that after a strenuous life spent in the service of my august master, His Highness the Nizam, I had settled down permanently at Aligarh to spend the evening (cries of 'No', 'No' and 'Say noon')—all right, I shall say the afternoon of my life—in the peaceful atmosphere of educational activity; but you have thought fit to throw me again into the troubled waters of politics with a mandate that I am once again to leave my hearth and home and make Lucknow my headquarters for the next two years. Whatever my personal feelings in the matter may be, and however diffident I may be of my humble capabilities, when I am assured of your goodwill, it will be my earnest endeavour to prove myself worthy of your confidence and try to do my duties without fear or favour and to the best of my abilities. With the beneficent help of a kind providence and the never failing assistance of my revered chief, His Highness the Aga Khan, and the cordial and loyal co-operation of my friends and colleagues, both on the Central and Provincial Councils, I hope, if not to achieve, at least to deserve success.

Haji Mohammad Musa Khan, the Joint Secretary, in thanking the community for the honour done to him, briefly remarked that there was nothing that he prized so dearly as the service of the community.

The other Joint Secretary, Syed Wazeer Hasan, warmly thanked the community for the honour done to him, and said that he delighted to do anything for the good of the community, and that he never allowed himself to lose sight of the fact that the mission of the League was one of goodwill and amity. On the removal of the headquarters of the League to Lucknow, he said, he would loyally co-operate with his chief, the Honorary Secretary, for the well-being of the community.

RESOLUTION IV

Moulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmed then moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the principle of communal representation should be extended to all self-governing

> bodies, as promised by H.E. the Viceroy, in his reply to the All-India Mohammedan Deputation, and respectfully points out to Government that the adequate and effective representation of the Mohammedans is a necessary corollary of its application in the Imperial and Provincial Councils, and essential to the successful working of the Reform Scheme.

In a few well-chosen but emphatic words, Moulvi Rafi-ud-din spoke of the urgent necessity of introducing the principle of communal representation in municipalities local, and district boards on an effective and adequate scale. The proposition was seconded by Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri who said:

I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution so ably moved just now. Our request all along had been for separate Mohammedan representation by Mohammedan electorates from the lowest rungs of the ladder, but this concession has only been allowed in the elections to the Imperial and Provincial Councils. The application of this principle of communal representation follows as a natural sequence to be applied to the municipal, local and district boards after the concession made to us in connection with the Reform Scheme.

The Royal Commission on Decentralization, in dealing with election to rural boards, makes the following recommendation: "As regards the methods of election, we are in entire accord with the Resolution of 1882, as to the impossibility of laying down any general system and the desirability of trying different schemes in different localities, including methods of proportional representation and election by castes, occupations etc. Having regard to the very different circumstances of different areas, we think it essential that the system adopted in each should be such as to provide for the due representation of different communities, creeds and interests. It has always been recognized that it is the duty of the British administration to protect the interests of the various communities in India, and to secure impartial treatment to all." In the matter of municipal councils, they say: "As regards methods of election, we need only repeat what we have said in the case of sub-district boards, that members should be chosen in ways best suited to local conditions, as laid down in the Government of India Resolution of May 1882. The main object should be to secure an effective representation of the various classes in each town, and the selection of fit representatives." It adds that "There have been complaints that electorates are small, and that the elections do not excite interest or bring forward good men. A class system of representation, which exists in Rangoon and in some of the Punjab municipalities, seems to have worked fairly satisfactorily."

The municipalities and local boards are initial steps in the ladder of self-government; and if separate Mohammedan representation is extended to these, there is not the least doubt that the principle of Mohammedan representation shall be greatly strengthened in elections to the Legislative Councils in

India. To advance the plea that this is not feasible for want of qualified men in the community, is, to say the least, an error of judgement. The necessary conditions of membership for municipal and rural boards being found in Mohammedans, why should they not have their own representatives on these boards? If the principle of denominational representation has been found to work successfully in the Punjab, there is no reason why the same principle applied to other places in India should not work equally well. Let there be a test, and we shall see how it works. A community which is making rapid strides in education and is growing in number and influence, and which is reckoned as constituting about one-fifth of the entire population of India, deserves adequate representation on municipal and rural boards. What functions, pray, do these boards discharge? Do they not deal with such important matters as the construction and maintenance of municipal buildings, roads and communications, preservation of health, educational needs and, at times, the religious concerns of the localities? And why should not therefore the Mohammedan ratepayers have adequate representation on these boards and participate in local self-government? Reason and our requirements demand that they ought to.

In most municipal areas, however, the Mohammedans may not stand a good comparison with the other classes in point of number and taxes, but the political importance of the community and their local needs should be taken into consideration ... in the rural areas of these boards the Mohammedans in our Province (Eastern Bengal) are in an overwhelming majority, but they are represented by small minorities in comparison with the other classes. You may ask why? The voters are very much influenced by Hindu zemindars *mahajans* and pleaders, to whom the Mohammedans are greatly indebted and who accordingly exercise control over the elections to these boards. The voters in some cases are also influenced by Mohammedan zemindars who are themselves under the influence of money-lenders. To simplify matters and to remove all such stumbling-blocks, the number of Mohammedans entitled to seats on these boards, to be filled by separate Mohammedan electorates, ought to be fixed.

His Excellency Lord Minto has already indicated his approval on this point in his reply to the Deputation that waited on him at Simla in 1906. I quote the portion of his reply for information: "The pith of your address, as I understand it, is a claim that, in any system of representation, whether it affect a municipality, a district board or a Legislative Council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organization, the Mohammedan community should be represented as a community. I agree with you, gentlemen, that the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government ought to be found in the municipal and district boards, and that it is in that direction that we must look for the gradual political education of the people."

The provincial governments should therefore in every case fix the

number of Mohammedans entitled to seats on municipal and rural boards not only in proportion to their numerical strength, but in relation to their political importance, status in society, local influence and special requirements, and elect them by separate Mohammedan electorates.

The resolution was supported by Sheikh Abdul Qadir, who remarked that it was high time for the benign Government to protect the interests of the Indian Musalmans and to secure impartial treatment for them. They were until recently a negligible quantity in the administration of the country, but modifying circumstances showed that they deserved more than what was done for them as law-abiding citizens. Their interests could never be safeguarded unless the principle of separate representation were introduced in municipal and district boards.

Syed Raza Ali, supported by Mr. Mohammad Yakub, proposed an amendment to the effect that for the words "speedy extension of the principle", the words "adequate and efficient representation of the Mohammedans" should be substituted.

The amendment was accepted, and the resolution, as amended, was unanimously passed.

RESOLUTION V

The League then passed the following resolution on Urdu as a vernacular of India:

> The All-India Muslim League deplores the attempts made in certain quarters to damage the importance of Urdu as the principal vernacular of India and regards the preservation and advancement of the Urdu language and literature as essential for the general progress of the country.

Sheikh Abdul Qadir, in proposing the resolution, said that no single factor had contributed more largely to the formation of national sentiments and ideas than the Urdu language. It is, he said, the only language which is understood by the educated classes all over India. The search after another common language looks like the digging of a well for drinking water when the Ganges flows by and laves your feet. The need for Urdu has been felt on a wide scale by travellers and merchants in every part of India. Any practical step to be taken in the direction of supplying the need must depend upon the number of persons who feel the need. No one would think of learning a language if he could make no use of it except once in a pilgrimage, twice or thrice in a life-time, or to write a few letters in a year to a merchant in a neighbouring province. Urdu is in evidence not only in Government offices, in markets where articles of foreign manufacture are sold, but is also depended upon for inter-provincial business transactions. Even foreign languages are daily borrowing the names of commercial stuffs from Urdu. In a way Urdu is widening the circle of its operation and enriching foreign literature.

Even in pure and faultless Hindi, Urdu words are largely adopted because no other vernacular can take the place of Urdu as the common language of India. Very often words used in newspapers and books written in pure Hindi are so out of the way that they are intelligible only to those who know Sanskrit. Urdu is the only language which is read and spoken both by Hindus and Musalmans. Any attempt to damage its importance, he said in conclusion, would be suicidal to the best interests of the progress of India.

Kazi Kabiruddin, in seconding the resolution, said that the study of Urdu should be encouraged and all attempts to damage its utility should be boldly faced. It was highly desirable, on both patriotic and sentimental grounds, to encourage Urdu, the common medium of communication, by holding periodical conferences and creating competent bodies to look after its progress.

The resolution was also supported by Moulvi Mahbub Alum, who remarked that Urdu was the lingua franca of India, a fact which its most determined opponents could not deny. He observed that the development of the Muslim community was synonymous with the preservation of the Urdu language.

The resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously. The meeting was then adjourned to the afternoon.

Fourth Sitting

This sitting was taken up with the consideration of the remaining resolutions, most of the speeches being delivered in Urdu.

RESOLUTION VI

Mr. Mohammad Ali moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League expresses its admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice of the Indians in the Transvaal, who are heroically suffering persecution in the interests of our country, and appeals to all Indian Musalmans to help the cause of Indians in the Colonies with funds and in other ways. The League most respectfully but earnestly urges upon Government the necessity of prohibiting the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for the South African Union as a measure of retaliation, so long as any South African Colony adheres to the present selfish policy and denies to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire. The League considers it its bounden duty to draw the attention of the Imperial and Indian Governments towards the grave consequences of Colonial legislation based on racial distinctions humiliating to His Majesty's Indian subjects, and earnestly appeals to the Imperial Government to assert its undoubted supremacy in matters of Imperial importance to obliterate racial distinctions in political life within the Empire.

Mr. Mohammad Ali, in moving the resolution, forcefully pleaded

the cause of Indians in South Africa and strongly condemned the policy of the Colonial Government based on racial distinction which was humiliating to His Majesty's Indian subjects. In a fluent and eloquent speech, he pointed out that as anarchy could not be wiped out by resolutions, so the grievances of Indians in the Transvaal could not be removed by pious wishes. Government must take active measures to help the loyal Indian community and persuade the Colonial Government to put an end to the insulting treatment to which Indians were being subjected by the Boers. If all other means failed, he urged upon the Government the necessity of prohibiting indentured Indian labour for South African Colonies as a mild measure of retaliation.

In feeling and pathetic terms, Mr. Zahur Ahmed seconded the proposition, expressing the admiration of the League for the patriotism and self-sacrifice of the Indians in Transvaal and appealing to Musalmans to help their compatriots in the Colony.

Mr. Henry S.S. Polak, delegate of the South African Indians, also delivered a stirring and illuminating address. He stated that originally a deputation of four, including a Mohammedan, a Hindu and a Parsi, was arranged for India, but three of them were arrested and imprisoned to preclude the possibility of their coming out to India. In condemning the Anti-Asiatic legislation on racial and religious lines, he explained how it was directed against the Mohammedan but not the Christian or other subjects of Turkey. He also referred to the prohibition of the entry of highly cultured Indians, including barristers, doctors, graduates and priests. Three thousand imprisonments with hard labour had taken place in three years, and the lot of these prisoners was exceedingly hard. They had submitted to all sufferings and indignities rather than take upon themselves the humiliation of being treated as coolies. There were two ways to help them practically: first by stopping indentured labour, and secondly by contributing funds.

The resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

A donation of Rs. 1,000 to the Transvaal Indians was announced from the League Funds. A further sum of nearly Rs. 2,000 was promised by members of the League for the same purpose, Khan Bahadur Sheikh Ghulam Sadiq and Khan Bahadur Adamjee Mamoonji each contributing Rs. 500/-.

RESOLUTION VII

Mr. Mohammad Yakub moved the following resolution:

> The All-India Muslim League respectfully urges on the Government the necessity of instituting a thorough enquiry into and the preparation and the publication of the statement of the number, general purposes and manner of administration of Mohammedan endowments designed mainly for the public benefit.

Khan Bahadur Ghulam Sadiq seconded the resolution, which was put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

RESOLUTION VIII

The next resolution recognizing the necessity of immediate efforts for raising the Aligarh College to the status of a teaching university was moved by Mr. Aftab Ahmed Khan. The resolution ran as follows:

> The All-India Muslim League strongly reiterates the necessity of a separate Mohammedan university of their own for the Indian Musalmans and emphasizes the desirability and advantages of raising the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, to the status of such a university.

In moving the resolution, Mr. Aftab Ahmed Khan remarked that in spite of the occasional ups and downs to which every individual in every society is subject, he was happy to be able to say that we had every reason to congratulate ourselves on the increasing interest that is being shown in the foundation of a Mohammedan university, which we all have at heart, and for which we have been labouring strenuously for so many years. We had special reason for congratulating ourselves on this occasion, for there had been, through God's blessings, a national awakening in all directions, such as we never had the good fortune of experiencing before. The whole of the Muslim community is now swayed by a new spirit, he said, and it seems as if it has pleased the Great Dispenser of all events to bring the community at last out of the gloom in which it has remained plunged for centuries. It is a hopeful sign of the times that even our political organization has taken up the question of raising the Aligarh College to the status of a Mohammedan university. From all that is happening around us, we may well take heart and count on a great future awaiting our community. He added that it rests with us, individually and as a body, to lead our cause to a glorious victory. As we will, so shall we win. We are advancing a step further every year. We find our movement gaining fresh vitality and breaking down, one after another, the barriers in its way. He felt convinced that our work of nation-building had commenced in right earnest, and he had no doubt that the scheme of raising the Aligarh College to the status of a Mohammedan university would soon become an accomplished fact, if every individual of the community tried his level best to achieve the desired end by raising funds for it.

Kazi Kabiruddin, in seconding the resolution, remarked that as an increased interest was being taken in the question of a suitable Mohammedan university by aristocrats, lawyers, merchants and other influencial men of the community, there should not be the shadow of a doubt that in the near future the necessary funds would be raised. Our destinies, he said, lie in our own hands. It is when we are able to rouse ourselves to the sublime consciousness of our privileges as a race that contributed to the progress and civilization of the world that we shall know how to work out our destinies as a nation. What must be common to us all is a vigorous and well-sustained action by every member of each section, not simply by preaching what ought to be done,

but also by his individual example in carrying out the great object which we all have in view.

The resolution was carried amid prolonged cheers.

RESOLUTION IX

Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza then took up the next resolution, which ran as follows:

> In view of the disintegration of Mohammedan families consequent on the misinterpretation of the Mohammedan Law of family *Wakf* and the disastrous effects resulting therefrom to the well-being of the community, it is necessary for the Legislature to enact some measure to allow the Musalman Law of *Wakf* to take its course in favour of the land-owner's family and his descendants, with any safeguards that may be considered expedient against the perpetration of fraud.

In moving the resolution he spoke as follows:

In an assembly of learned Mohammedans which includes so many legal luminaries, I think it is hardly necessary for me to say anything to commend this resolution to you. It is a fact patent to you all that owing to various causes, while other communities have been, under the aegis of the British rule, making progress in material prosperity, the Mohammedans have been going from bad to worse; and great and well-to-do families, which at one time commanded the respect of the community, have fallen on evil days and their patrimony has passed out of their hands. No doubt this is to some extent due to the general demoralization of our community and the degeneration of its individual members; but whatever may be the causes, it has been helped on by the singular misinterpretation of our laws by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. While the Mohammedan law of inheritance secures the equal distribution of wealth, our divine law-giver, with wonderful prescience, by providing for the making of endowments in favour of one's own family and descendants, secured us from the dangers of infinite sub-divisions. If I were to dwell upon the legal sanction of this enactment in favour of family endowments and quote to you the sayings and the practice of our divine law-giver and the dicta of our jurisconsults, perhaps I should take days to discuss the whole subject before you, but I shall only refer you to the writings of the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, Khan Bahadur Moulvi Mohammad Yusuf and Shamsul-Ulema Moulvi Shibli Nomani, who is fortunately present here and will address you presently.

With regard to the decision of their Lordships of the Privy Council, I need only remark that it is based on a misapprehension due to the misinterpretation of the word 'charity' which according to English notions must entail some spirit of self-sacrifice. But according to the provisions of Mohammedan Law, the word 'charity' is used in a much wider sense, and it also includes benefactions in favour of one's own descendants. Our Prophet, by his pre-

cept and example, laid down that it was as much a meritorious act to make provisions for one's own family as it was to help the poor and needy; and so long as this is the Mohammedan Law, nobody has the right to say that our Prophet could not have meant what his words signify. The materialistic West may not be able to appreciate the merit of *Sawab* consequent upon making provision for one's own family, but we of the East prefer spiritual merit to all materialistic considerations. It has been acknowledged by the highest authorities that family endowments are perfectly legal under Mohammedan Law, and that lands are held under it in the purely Mohammedan countries of Egypt, Turkey, Persia and Arabia; but in face of the decision of the Privy Council, it is necessary that an enactment should be passed allowing the Mohammedan Law to take its course.

This question was taken up in a modified form by the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan when he was appointed a member of the Viceroy's Council and brought forward a bill on the subject; but owing to lack of support from official quarters it fell through. It was afterwards submitted to Government by the Mohammedan Association of Calcutta, but the Government replied that the passing of such a law would be full of mischievous consequences. But this, gentlemen, is a reply which shows that the real question at issue has not been seriously taken into consideration. We never asked the Government to enact a law which did not form part of our personal law; what we felt was that when the application of our own law in personal matters has been secured to us and it has been proved by our law-books and the practice of purely Mohammedan countries that the doctrine of *Wakf-alal-Aulad* is a part and parcel of our law, there is no reason why it should not be allowed to take its course simply because the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—a body commanding our highest respect but, like everything human, liable to commit mistakes—has laid down that the doctrine of family *Wakf* forms no part of Mohammedan law. We do not ask Government for anything that does not form part of our law; our only request is to remove the hinderances that have been, so arbitrarily, placed in its way and to allow it to take its proper and unimpeded course. We have no objection to Government devising such checks as may be deemed necessary to prevent the perpetration of fraud, but there is no reason why a decision which sets such an important provision of our law at naught should be allowed to stand in the face of our undoubted statutary right.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Zahur Ahmed and carried *nem con*.

RESOLUTION X

The President then moved the following resolution from the Chair which was unanimously adopted:

The All-India Muslim League places on record its appreciation

of the great services rendered to the Mohammedan cause by His Highness the Aga Khan, G.C.I.E., and assures him of its continued confidence and trust in his statesmanship and in his leadership of the Musalmans of India.

RESOLUTION XI

Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza proposed the following resolution, which was seconded by Mian Mohammad Shafi and adopted with enthusiasm:

The All-India Muslim League, representing the Indian Musalmans, offers its grateful thanks to the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., for his valuable services rendered in defence of Mohammedan rights in connection with the Reform Scheme, expresses its continued confidence in his leadership and congratulates him on his elevation to His Majesty's Privy Council.

Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, in moving the resolution, briefly referred to the distinguished services so unselfishly rendered to the Muslim cause by Syed Ameer Ali, specially in connection with the new Reforms. Had he not come to their help at the critical moment, the Muslim community would have been nowhere. He also gave expression to the universal satisfaction which the elevation of Syed Ameer Ali to the Privy Council had given rise to, not only in India but also in almost all the other Mohammedan countries.

Moulvi Rafi-ud-din Ahmed thanked the President of the Reception Committee, Hazikulmulk Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan, for the excellent arrangements which he made for the Session ,which passed off very smoothly and reflected great credit on, amongst others, Mr. Abdul Aziz, Secretary of the Reception Committee, and his assistants, who with a band of volunteers left nothing undone to make the meeting a success.

His Highness the Aga Khan, in thanking the Reception Committee, said that the present Session constituted an important meeting of the League, for which Imperial Delhi was the fittest place, and the Reception Committee had treated them in a right imperial way.

This was followed by concluding remarks from the Chair.

The President of the Session, the Prince of Arcot, remarked that never were the highest qualities of Muslim manhood more needed than now: courage, patience and endurance, unflinching allegiance to law and order coupled with an undying faith in the destinies of the Indian Musalmans and their country. The Delhi Session of the League, he observed, unmistakably infused a new life into Muslims and guided their energies into useful and patriotic channels. Let them take advantage of the situation and reap an abundant harvest. He warmly thanked the audience, members of the Reception Committee and of the League, and the delegates for the trouble they took, and prayed to the Most High that many more years of healthy,

vigorous and happy life be vouchsafed to the founders of the League, so as to enable them to continue the noble work of national regeneration.

The Honorary Secretary then announced that the headquarters of the All-India Muslim League would be transferred from Aligarh to Lucknow.

Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak invited the next session of the League to the Central Provinces, and the proceedings came to a successful termination with a hearty vote of thanks to the Chair and three cheers for His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor.

Fifth Sitting

Though the deliberations of the Muslim League officially came to a close on January 30, another meeting of the League was held on Monday at the Sangam Theatre, when Mr. Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Vice-President of the League, presided.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur informed the audience that originally their meeting was fixed for three days; but to suit the convenence of His Highness the Aga Khan, the whole business was rushed through in two days. However, as some business had been left undone, it was found necessary to hold another meeting.

The President then called upon Haji Mohammad Musa Khan, the Joint Secretary of the League, to present last year's report, which was a review of the work of the various branches of the League that had been mainly responsible for stimulating political activity in the Muslim community.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, the father of the Muslim League, and Mr. Aftab Ahmed Khan delivered speeches on educational problems of the day, and exhorted Musalmans even in their own interests to be loyal to British rule. They appealed to the wealthy members of the community to do their best to raise the Aligarh College to the status of a university.

In closing the procedings, Mr. Fazulbhoy recounted the blessings of British rule, and eloquently pleaded for active measures to check the subversive tendencies visible in some parts of India and to wipe out the roots of evil and mischief which were created to cause confusion and disorder in the country and to embarass Government. The salvation of India, he said, lay not in political franchise alone, but in the development of industries by the promotion of scientific and technical education. The proceedings of the League testified to the awakening of Musalmans and a desire for progress and enlightenment on their part. It was a period of transition and the alertness they had shown during the past year was a happy augury for the future.

He wished every success and prosperity to the League; and declared the meeting closed.[1]

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1. *Proceedings of the Third Annual Sessions of the All-India Muslim League held at Delhi.* **Published by the office of the All-India Muslim League, July 9, 1910.**

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

FOURTH SESSION

NAGPUR, DECEMBER 28 and 30, 1910

First Sitting

The Fourth Session of the All-India Muslim League began on December 28, 1910. According to the original programme, the League Session was to be held immediately after the meetings of the Educational Conference were over, i.e., on December 30 and 31, 1910; but unforeseen circumstances necessitated a change in the dates, and so it was decided to hold the first sitting of the League on December 28, at 9 o'clock, in the Macdonnel Town Hall, instead of the *Pandal*, as originally intended. The Town Hall, in spite of the short time at the disposal of the Reception Committee, was gaily decorated and afforded accommodation for more than a thousand persons; but local enthusiasm ran so high that the Reception Committee were unable to provide seats for all. The Hall was entirely packed and many people had to be content with standing room in the verandahs. One of the galleries was occupied by Muslim ladies and the other by members of the family of Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak and other gentlemen of his sect. On the dais, there were only three gentlemen: H.H. the Aga Khan, Syed Nabiullah, the President-elect, and Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak, Chairman of the Reception Committee. The earnestness and enthusiasm which characterized the deliberations of the League were indeed remarkable. The members of the League mustered strong, although Nagpur is an out-of-the way place and is not in direct railway connection with the great centres of Muslim population. The leaders of the Central Provinces and the Berars and specially the veteran President of the

Reception Committee, who had invited the League to hold its Session at Nagpur, will have the satisfaction that the Committee's unstinted and sustained efforts coupled with the enthusiastic co-operation of their co-religionists elsewhere have culminated in unqualified success.

The Muslims of the C.P. have demonstrated beyond doubt that although backward in education, they have in them great potentialities of progress and advancement and would one day take their proper place in the administration of their Province. The magnetic personality of H.H. the Aga Khan was another factor which contributed to the success of the Session. The practical and thorough manner in which the various subjects were discussed in the successive sittings of the League held out hope that Musalmans have once for all thrown away their lethargy, and will henceforward be in the vanguard of Indian progress.

On December 27, 1910, His Highness the Aga Khan, the President of the All-India Muslim League, reached Nagpur and received a cordial welcome both on the station-platform and in the city. He was garlanded and received with shouts of *marhaba*, and taken through the city in a motor-car, followed by a procession of motors and carriages, a band playing all the time. The route through the city, covering about two miles, was decorated with flowers, foliage, triumphal arches and flags, and he received magnificent ovations at each turn. Even Mohammedan ladies threw flowers from windows and terraces. Among those who received him on the platform were Prince Ghulam Mohammad of the former royal family of Mysore; Syed Shamsul Huda and Nawab Nasirul-Momalik Khan Bahadur Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg (Persian Consul-General) from Calcutta; Nawab Syed Mohammad, Mr. Yakub Hasan and Nawab Ghulam Ahmed Khan from Madras; Mr. Fazulbhoy, Mr. Ibrahim Rahmutollah, Moulvi Rafiuddin and Kazi Kabiruddin from Bombay; Raja Naushad Ali Khan, Syed Wazir Hasan, and Syed Zahur Ahmed from the United Provinces; Mr. Abdul Aziz from Peshawar; Khan Saheb Mohammad Azam from Eastern Bengal; Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and the representatives of all the 22 District Muslim Leagues from the Central Provinces and the Berars.

The next day saw the arrival of Syed Nabiullah, the President-designate of the Nagpur Session of the Muslim League. He was also accorded a cordial reception and was garlanded on the platform by representatives of the community and members of the Reception Committee.

When members of the League and visitors had taken their seats, Mr. Nabiullah entered the Town Hall and was received with cheers and conducted to the dais. His Highness the Aga Khan then came after half an hour and was received with loud cheers, every one present in the Hall standing up till he had taken his seat.

The proceedings commenced with the recitation of appropriate verses from the Holy Quran, which were listened to with rapt attention

by all present. Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak, the President of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the members of the League on behalf of his Committee, delivered an impressive and instructive address, in which he discussed in detail all the burning questions of the day. He said:

As Chairman of the Reception Committee, it is my proud privilege to welcome you, our esteemed guests, to Nagpur, a city which in many ways presents a strong contrast to Delhi, where you assembled last. This city is not, I admit, classic ground. It does not draw our pulses as Delhi does, so rich in historic associations and so lovely in her desolation; and yet Nagpur is by no means an unfit place for the meeting of the All-India Muslim League; for the life and motion and the many-sided activity, the signs of which are all around you, are typical of the new order of Eastern and Western ideas which, without killing our deep spiritual life—that precious heritage of every Musalman—have inspired us with a sense of social duty incompatible with a life of cloistered seclusion and pale asceticism, and it is the sense of social duty that has brought together from all parts of India a band of self-denying gentlemen representing the intelligence, the culture, the wealth and the public spirit of the country and of the community, fired with the noblest and purest purposes, resolved to do their duty by their country and their community and confident in their destiny. For good or for ill we stand face to face with a new world and must adapt ourselves to the environment. The problems which now meet us cannot be solved by piety and philosophy alone, and under the new conditions which have arisen, political and social action is essential to our progress as loyal and law-abiding citizens of the British Empire. Nagpur, therefore, is, I repeat, not an unfit place for the discussion of the new problems which have arisen. Indeed, in some ways, this city, being situated in the centre of India and within easy reach of all the provinces, for which reason it ought to have been the capital of the British Empire in India, is a fitter place than Delhi.

The Committee of which I have the honour to be the Chairman consists of representatives of all sections of the community and of the Province. With short notice at our disposal, and amidst many difficulties not unknown to you, the Reception Committee have spared no pains to make arrangements which we hope will prove satisfactory to you. But we regret we have not been able to accord you a more fitting reception. We, however, feel certain that you will kindly take our will for the deed and overlook any shortcomings in the arrangements made for your comfort and convenience.

The highest dictates of patriotism require that our sympathy should go forth to the help of the backward and destitute, and that by sharing what has been given to us with our co-religionists in distress was should conclusively establish our claim to speak for them and to demand their co-operation with us in the struggle for the regeneration of our community. Our claim to their regard and love should be based upon substantial services and not merely on

lip-sympathy expressed in paper-resolutions. Our illustrious and distinguished leaders, keeping these points in view, decided to hold the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League at Nagpur, for which the Musalmans of the Central Provinces and Berars are deeply grateful.

It is, however, impossible to say anything new upon current topics without repeating what has often been better said before. But as the call has to be complied with, without further preface, I shall take you through some important events of the year. Though not first in the order of time, the demise of one of the wisest Sovereigns of the world deserves first mention. The death of His Most Gracious Majesty the King Emperor Edward VII, the world's peacemaker, saddened the hearts of the high and the low and darkened the horizon of the Empire. His Majesty successfully continued the policy of his august mother, who gave the Indians the splendid charter of their rights and liberties in 1858. It has been truly remarked by non-Muslim observers that the British Crown has no more loyal and devoted subjects than the Musalmans of India; to them the British Sovereign is not a foreign ruler but like their own Emperor, the continuance of whose beneficial sway is essential to the peace and prosperity of India. Their loyal attachment to the new King and his gracious Consort is no less profound than that entertained towards the late Monarch and Queen Alexandra. The sentiments of the League in respect to the Imperial bereavement and to the accession of King George V will be formulated by this Nagpur Session of the League. Therefore I need not dwell at length on this topic.

His Excellency Lord Minto, who has been our Viceroy for the last five years, has now left us. But His Lordship's place is among the great Viceroys whose names are remembered with gratitude and affection as benefactors and friends of the communities of India. We may say without the least exaggeratation that the situation in India, after the regime of Lord Curzon, called for a statesmen of great gifts of character and sagacity, and that Lord Minto has fully proved himself to be such a statesman. His services to India and the Empire can be fully estimated if we could imagine what would have happened if, in his place, we had had a Viceroy less endowed with the virtues of insight, sympathy and self-effacement. Such a contingency makes one's flesh creep even in the mere contemplation.

His Excellency touched the deepest chords of the hearts of the 70 millions of the most loyal and grateful Musalmans and brightened their vision of the future. We beg to assure him of our sincere gratitude for all that he has done, and our heartfelt prayer is that he may enjoy his rest with that happiness which work well-attempted and conscientiously done brings to such personalities. We desire to offer our sincere and dutiful welcome to His Excellency Lord Hardinge, and beg permission to express the hope that his rule may fulfil the expectations which are given expression.

By associating Indians with the actual governing body of the Empire

the Government of India has given proof of its loyal adherence to the Magna Charta of India, and restored, as by a touch, their confidence in the intentions and in the integrity of British rule. The legislative Councils of India had undergone expansions before, but there are certain features of their present enlargement which mark a distinct stage in Indian political evolution. The direct recognition of the communal interests of the important Muslim community, the right to move resolutions, to discuss the budget and to put supplementary questions, and the chief of these, the appointment of Indians to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of Provincial Governments, has touched the imagination of the people as a signal vindication of the great Charter Act of 1833 and the gracious proclamation of Queen Victoria of 1858, showing clearly that the promise of equal treatment given by the Sovereign and Parliament to the subjects of the Crown in this country is no mere empty phrase of idle boast. It is a solemn obligation undertaken by the rulers with a full sense of responsibility, and meant to be realized in actual practice in the fulness of time.

The Reforms and Separate Representation

The Reforms have thus laid the foundation of constitutional progress for this country and Lords Minto and Morley, whose names will be inseparably associated, have by their inauguration earned our undying gratitude. Lord Minto had the satisfaction of presiding over the new Council which his sympathy and earnestness enabled him to bring into existence. His Excellency for the first time in the annals of our administrators, had an Indian as his colleague in the Executive Council. The appointment of the Hon'ble Syed Ali Imam, a sound lawyer and a statesman, after the resignation of Mr. Sinha, has created a precedence for representing the communal interests on the Viceroy's Executive Council, which Lord Minto's successors will find it inexpedient to ignore. It is hoped that this precedent will find a permanent place in the Statute-Book. I here take the opportunity of warmly and sincerely congratulating the Hon'ble Syed Ali Imam. The appointment of a Mohammedan member in the Council of the Secretary of State for India, after the resignation of Syed Husain Bilgrami, C.S.I., has confirmed our conviction of the representation of the Mohammedan element on the Secretary of State's Council. I heartily congratulate the Hon'ble Mirza Abas Ali Beg on his appointment to the India Council.

It may not be deemed presumptuous on the part of the Mohammedans to think that some amongst them might also be found eligible for holding a seat on the Executive Council of the Lientenant-Governor. I am sure the community which has supplied a member for the Privy Council, Viceroy's Executive Council and Secretary of State's Council, can well afford to supply on demand a member for the Executive Council of the Lieutenant-Governor.

It will not be out of place to bring to the notice of the benign Govern-

ment the reality of the disappointment which has been felt by the Musalmans of the Punjab at the denial to them of the right of separate representation on the Imperial Council. The Central Provinces and the Berars have an even more serious grievance—that they have no Legislative Council at all. And the legislation of Berar is all by order in Council. The teeming millions of these Provinces deserve the sympathy of those more fortunately situated; and we have no doubt that the Muslim League will adopt a resolution in favour of the establishment of a Legislative Council at Nagpur, and that it will also pass a resolution praying the Government to represent the Mohammedans of the Central Provinces and the Berars on the Imperial Councils. Our Chief Commissioner, the Hon'ble Mr. Craddock, has done much to ameliorate the condition of the fallen Musalmans of these Provinces, for which the community in general and the Musalmans of the Provinces in particular are deeply grateful to him and offer their most respectful thanks. But Government, however well-meaning, cannot undertake any comprehensive scheme of national regeneration. This we must be prepared to do ourselves and for ourselves, not by isolated efforts, but by an earnest and effective combination of all the forces of the entire community.

Pre-conditions of National Unity

Now I touch a question which has attracted the attention of the leaders of the two great communities, Hindus and Musalmans. Is it possible to strengthen the solidarity of political unity among these two great communities? There is no doubt that the general tendency of evolution is in the direction of unity, and it is at the same time in the direction of gradually increasing specialization and differentiation. The two processes run side by side and may be observed not only in the wider evolution of communities and nations, but also in the smaller sphere of individual development. The question arises, therefore—how are we to synthesize and reconcile two such apparent oppositions? In what sense can unification and specialization form part of one homogeneous process? There is in undeveloped nations a kind of dull, inert unity, proportionate to their lack of development; as soon as a nation begins to grow, the tendency is towards specialization through education and other formative influences on the units which compose it. This at first leads to difference, but final unity can only emerge through through continuance along this line. Out of increasing differentiation must grow that final unification which comes from perfecting, not from negating, national development. It must be a unity which grows out of a forward movement, not the unity of passive juxtaposition. Only as the individuals of a nation become more highly organized, does the consciousness of an underlying oneness, annulling the bounds of caste, creed and community, begin to emerge. Applying these remarks to India, we observe that they suggest this important truth—that the cause of unity must be differently served, according to the

existing state of development of the race or community concerned. In some cases unity may be directly striven for through the transcending of differences. But this is only the case when the community in question has already developed the required amount of specialization—in other words, has risen sufficiently high in the scale of civilization and culture. In others the differentiating process has yet to be gone through, and no unity can be hoped for until this has been completed. It is obvious from a superficial glance at India, as it is to-day, that the class which is calling most earnestly for unity is simply that class which has itself become most highly specialized, the educated class, which has reached a position in which the transcending of accidental differences can suggest itself as a matter of practical politics. But it must not be forgotten that the enormous majority of the inhabitants of India are still at the stage where the whole process of differentiation still remains to be begun. They have not yet commenced to climb the scale which can alone lead to that widening consciousness from which the idea of unity can be begotten. The true idea of unity springs from within; that which comes from opposition to a common antagonist is merely artificial and contains no element of permanent life—with the removal of the antagonistic factor it slips back again into disunion and mutual strife. The unity that possesses the genuine nation-building quality is of an altogether different order. It is an intellectual necessity, and only comes into consciousness when men have reached a point where their every excess of individualism begins to render the manifold problems of their common life insoluble except by a further advance, which can only be in the direction of a negation of differences. This point is being reached rapidly in the West where individualization has reached almost the highest pitch. But to the impartial observer, India—even the greater part of educated India—is still at some distance from it. The process of separation, of specialization of the individual has still to be gone through by the great majority of the people, before we can hope to have a genuinely unified Indian nation.

What we see around us to-day—the division of caste from caste, of race from race, of creed from creed—is, for the present, the natural expression of the evolutionary process. It denotes the struggle for self-expression by the units of the race and has to be continued until at least a large proportion of the Indian people has passed through the process of separate and individual development. This, which alone can render them organic parts of a common and unified nation, is the work of education, of individual initiative and enterprise. Without these necessary preliminaries the true and inner unity cannot be actualized. There is, however, no harm in sinking petty differences of the two great communities for the progress of the country and the cause of good government, and it is the look-out of our distinguished and illustrious leaders to draw a line of demarcation, if possible, between the two great communities of India. We identify ourselves with all that aims at the general

advancement of the true interests of the country. We have a rooted conviction that the true interests of the country lie in the maintenance of cordial relations among the Indian communities, and that the true political ideal is one that aims at peaceful progress of such a national character as subserves the protection and development of the interests of all denominations. At the same time, it is our firm conviction that, on our genuine co-operation with the British Government, depends our future progress and the development of a further social and political life. We are convinced that the plant of the political rights of a subject race thrives best in the soil of loyalty. In our relations with Government, therefore, we cannot afford to permit malice to cross our path, warp our judgment and create disaffection. We have given practical proof of our loyalty, and it is our bounden duty, before we ask for recognition of any of our rights, as honest citizens, to realize the responsibility and to give a solemn account of our utterances to ourselves. We should never let ourselves be tempted to express frivolous opinions on serious matters or make ourselves ridiculous by allowing mere love of notoriety usurp the solemn functions of patriotism and loyalty.

Separate Representation in Local Self-Government

Now referring to the question of the separate representation of the Musalmans on municipal and district boards, I have only to say that short of it, our doom will be more or less sealed and all the privileges of the extension of local self-government will be a sealed book to the Musalmans. The question of our proper representation on municipal and district boards has assumed grave importance, and the adoption of the recommendations of the Decentraliation Commission will further enhance the value and status of all local bodies. I am strongly in favour of provision being made for the separate representation of Musalmans to an extent which will enable them to be adequately represented on these bodies, regard being had to their numerical proportion, their influence and their position in each district, province, and in the country at large.

Urdu—The Lingua Franca of India

The other point which engages the serious attention of the Muslim community is the question of Urdu versus Hindi and Punjabi. There cannot be a shadow of doubt that Urdu is the lingua franca of India. Often a Hindi rendering of an Urdu word is so transparently outlandish that it is intelligible only to those who know the original Urdu. When the Mohammedans were the rulers of India, Urdu came to stay in India permanently and became the mother-tongue of the Indians. Even in the language of business and of culture, Urdu words are adopted because no Hindi equivalents have been supplied and made ready to hand. Community of language is universally admitted to be a powerful factor in securing the unity of a people, and Urdu, which is

already spoken by the Indians and understood in all parts of this vast continent, is pre-eminently fitted to serve this purpose. Urdu has done incalculable good to Government. The tone of the Urdu Press, in the recent storm and stress, has been most loyal and respectful. The sphere of the influence of Urdu is extending gradually, in spite of the efforts, in certain quarters, to check the advance. Even in such distant parts of the Empire as Madras, Nepal, and the dark corners of Assam, people whose mother tongue is Tamil, Telugu, and Bengali are increasingly adopting Urdu for all practical purposes, and are founding schoools in which Urdu forms the medium of instruction. A language which possesses such inherent capacity and virtues deserves the solid support of the community and the country.

Indians in Transvaal

I now pass on to the urgent question of the Indians in Transvaal. No one would have forgotten the speech of Mr. Polak and the other stirring speeches at the Delhi Session of the All-India Muslim League, and the ready response evoked from delegates and visitors alike since the resolutions were adopted in the Viceroy's Council and the Government of India passed a Bill taking power to prohibit Indian emigration to the colonies should necessity arise therefor. A wave of feeling has passed over the country in connection with this matter, such men as His Lordship the Bishop of Madras, their Highnesses the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Maharaja of Mysore contributing to the fund in aid of the Indians deported from the Transvaal. There now seems to be some hope of a settlement of the issues between the Colonial Government and the Indian settlers; but no one can be sure of the ultimate end of the struggle, and the Muslim League has to give attention to it.

'Unrest' in India

I will now make a few general observations on the 'unrest' in India. It cannot be denied that there is discontent throughout the country, in varying degrees. This is mainly due to turbulent spirits, especially among the younger generation, who sick with disappointment and with shattered faith, have spurned the co-operation of their leaders and openly advocate the establishment of an absolutely free and independent form of national government in India. A few adults have also been carried away by the grandeur of the ideal of absolute autonomy without consideration of the long, weary and essential steps that will have to be taken. As free and full a local self-government as can be had, is, I hold, as noble and inspiring an ideal as can be thought of, in the conditions of the country, to stimulate political activity and weld the inhabitants of India into a nation worthy of the traditions of the past and fitted to play their part in the economy of the world.

I can conceive of nothing more certain to retard, nay, to stay progress of the country altogether than what is being done by some who place absolute

autonomy as the ideal to be striven for before young and undeveloped minds, whose capacity for mature judgment is not so sound as their imagination is powerful, and work upon their sentiments and lead them to form habits of thought and action subversive of the best interests of the country.

The Government of India has been compelled, owing to the growing discontent, to enact repressive laws to restore lawfulness and peace in the country. Now, as all experience shows, secret crime invariably dogs the footsteps of coercion; that which has happened in every other country happened in India. I rejoice to find that the year under review has less ghastly assassinations to account for than the previous years. The voices of the leaders of the two communities of India have been practically unanimous in condemning the anarchical crimes which have been committed in some parts of India. We deplore these crimes as being against the instincts and traditions of the Indians. We execrate the misguided youth who indulge in them, as they have brought on a gentle, law-abiding and humane people the reproach of being violent, wicked and cowardly. We sympathize with the efforts that are being made to root out the evil, and we rejoice to find that the evil tendencies are gradually and imperceptibly receiving a wholesome check. We condemn from the bottom of our hearts all seditious movements, and we condemn anarchism most, because it is opposed to the laws of God as well as of man. I am convinced that with the reforms in the administration the sedition will wear itself out. We must also remember that though the Government has been armed with some new weapons, they have been rarely used. In fairness to Government we should, however, remember that in the present state of the country a measure of this kind is necessary.

Turning from this sad picture, I am most happy to say that the general feeling of all classes of His Majesty's subjects throughout India towards the British Government is one of deep gratitude for the many blessings conferred on India, the most important of which are security of life and property, liberal education, medical and famine relief, sanitation and facilities of communication. The movement of human progress is hard to follow. Often we seem to lose sight of it altogether. It is not like the march of a regiment along the highway, it is like the advance of a crowd, making for some point which only a few know how to find. Look at them from a height and you see that each individual in the crowd has a path of his own. One keeps straight on, another is describing a circle, which brings him back to his starting point in due time; another has turned into the wrong road and is calling the rest to follow him. Even those who hold the steadiest course are often turned back or aside by unexpected obstacles. It is difficult, therefore, to map out the path of progress either retrospectively or prospectively with perfect certainty. We should, however, remember with gratitude the debt we owe to Government. Our just Government in general and the Government of this Province in particular are ever ready to look into our grievances and to help us in all our

legitimate aspirations. We have given unmistakeable proof of our loyalty. We disdain all spurious loyalty. We do not wear our loyalty on our sleeves, for our loyalty is above all suspicion. To doubt our loyalty is to doubt our sanity.

Advice for Students

I have also a word of warning and counsel for the students, whom I hope my voice will reach. The best hopes for the future of the community are based on them. Their earnestness is an asset for us, which if turned to account, will materially add to the progress of the community. It is from their midst that the Province, in time to come, hopes to supply her share of zealous workers in the cause of good government. Our students, it has to be said to their credit, with a foresight and precision which are not the usual accomplishments of youth, have pointed out the path of duty to us and have kept themselves, during the recent storm and stress, within reasonable bounds. The principles of fair play and mutual accommodation and of respect for the rights of others have been their guide in their present career. Let each one of them carry into his fuller life the lessons that he has striven to learn now. The students must engrave it on the tablet of their heart that they are loyal first and anything else afterwards. They must not allow themselves to be weaned from that loyalty which is due from them all to the Crown. The maintenance of its dignity should be their first and primal consideration. The time is not far distant when their present cares will be exchanged for those of the sterner realities of life. They will then be face to face with social problems and political difficulties. My advice to them now is this that they must keep away from politics, and they must be guided by the sober guidance of their teachers and superiors of sound judgment.

Lessons of the History of Nations

I now desire, with your kind indulgence, to add a word on the lessons that seem to me to arise from the experience of different nations—lessons which are pertinent to our community at this juncture.

Turning to ancient Egypt, once the centre of the most advanced civilization of the time, we discover that vast resources, agricultural and mineral, are not alone sufficient to produce a cultured and permanent civilization.

Egypt in ancient times had abundant resources, but failing to note the value of human life, failing to conserve the interests of the millions of the working masses, she sank from the pinnacle of power and culture into political servitude and academic decay. The nation that despises its humblest and most backward class, that provides for them no opportunity to rise in the social scale and in self-esteem, is building its house upon the sands of time. The wealth of the nation is the quality of its manhood.

Greece fell from her eminence, not from any failure of philosophical

or aesthetic or political insight; in these directions she has been the chief source of inspiration for the whole Western world. Pericles, Plato and Aristotle are still household names in the West. Athens faded away like a fragrant memory because she failed to look to the economic bases of her prosperity. Had she taken pains to utilize her splendid maritime location for the development of commerce and industry, had she confided her commercial affairs to her freemen instead of her slaves, had she applied the sagacity of her statesmen to the formation of a sound fiscal policy, the story of Athens might have had a different *denouement*. But she wasted her mineral resources, and expended large sums in the erection of great temples of art and learning. Far be it from me to suggest any criticism against a civilization which has been the fountainhead of all subsequent growth in the culture of the West. I would simply point out that without a permanent and stable economic policy, no civilization, however enlightened, can long endure. This is the message of ancient Greece to our community and country.

Paramount Importance of Socio-Economic Development

Be careful of large expenditures, either individually or collectively, which are unproductive. Forget your caste prejudices in the common effort to uplift the fortunes of India. Be free men, economically, socially and intellectually, and no power under Heaven can keep you in the position in which you are now. No permanently sound and stable development can occur unless we take pains to educate the masses of our people to a sense of their paramount importance and dignity in the social structure. I conceive it to be the prime duty of the enlightened and well-to-do amongst us to rouse, to stimulate and to educate the backward members of the community. Let our people, as rapidly as possible, be educated in the principles of economics, and let special pains be taken for the development of an honest and intelligent class who will be content to organize and manage our industries without sapping their life by demanding exorbitant profits.

The genius for craftsmanship is among our people, as is evidenced by the ingenuity and skill of our artisan class; let the sons of Syeds, Moulvies and Alims learn to use tools in their boyhood; let every graduate who feels a call towards mechanical work, turn to that pursuit in life instead of hankering after salaried posts, and I am convinced the national genius will prove and assert itself in industries and inventions as well as in literature and thought. I need not dwell before such an audience as this upon the advantages of the capitalistic organization of industries, with its economy of production and its facility of distribution. In the scientific application of capital we must learn every thing from the nations of the West. I am firmly convinced that we need to devote large sums to the founding of chairs of economics in our national colleges, like Aligarh, and to the training of our young men in the subtle problems of finance.

Educational Needs and Development

Educational needs and educational methods have gone on changing with the passage of time. Once a man who could string together a few clever rhymes thereby found favour at Indian courts or with Indian noblemen. Persian and Arabic penmanship was another passport to emolument, and hundreds, sometimes thousands of rupees were paid for superior samples of the art. When the Mughals ruled India, both Hindus and Musalmans took great pains to acquire an elegant Persian style, and some even went so far as to learn Turkish. Those who sought to be reckoned learned went to the centres of Arabic learning and spent years in the acquisition of theology, grammar, logics, physics and metaphysics at our schools. Now, however, a complete change has come over the spirit of the dream. The art of the rhymster and the caligraphist has ceased to be remunerative. The physics of Aristotle and Avicenna is antiquated, the *Al-Magest* of Tusi is useless, the algebra of Khayyam has lost its value, the chemistry of Jabir is mere jugglery. The metaphysics of Averroes has ceased to be studied and the Platonism of Farabi is of little account. If any scholar harks back to these studies, he does so out of mere learned curiosity or with reference to the study of the evolution of human thought. The truth of the matter is that we the Musalmans of this Province, in particular, have been asleep for centuries while others have been making increasing progress. We have been stationary while the earth has been moving beneath our feet. The seed of decay and degeneration was sown the day we made up our minds to rest, as it were, on our oars. Content with our achievements in the past, we ceased to thirst for fresh knowledge or engage in fresh research. It seems, however, that, rather late in the day, the Musalmans of this Province have commenced to realize what is wrong with them, and the meeting here to-day may be accepted as a living sign or symbol of this awakening. They have begun to see that it is perhaps a good thing for them not only to revive their own old learning and virtues, but even largely to share in the progress which their co-religionists of advanced provinces have been making during their long slumber. The position of the Musalmans of the Central Provinces and the Berars in the public service and in the local bodies, such as municipal and district boards is most humiliating. It is time for them to shake off their lethargic mood, to smooth all artificial angularities and to elevate themselves. They must appraise action more than talk and ever be ready to translate their words into deeds.

I cannot believe that the intellectual power of the Musalmans of this province is exhausted, nor can I believe that they are no longer capable of adding to the sum of human knowledge. If they lay hold of their work with both hands, and do it with all their might, shall they not succeed? Are they the one exception to the general law, and is failure alone engraved on the tablets of their destiny? Are they of all people in the world foredoomed

to strive in vain? I do not believe it. I believe in the efficacy of earnest single-hearted endeavour, and I believe in the efficacy of endeavour without reference to fruition. Only courage, capacity and manhood are wanted to carry on the struggle; and provided they bring these with them, they never need despair.

We, the Musalmans, have an intense and justifiable pride in the contribution of our sages of bygone days to the philosophic, the literary and the artistic wealth of the world. It should be our chief pride, our supreme duty, our highest glory to regain the virtues and the intellectual supremacy of our ancient days.

I should have also liked to say something on the separation of judicial and executive functions, *Wakf*, *Wakf-alal-Aulad*, primary education, the Mohammedan University, but I feel I cannot detain you much longer.

I cannot conclude without offering our most sincere and grateful thanks to our illustrious and distinguished leader His Highness the Aga Khan, G.C.I.E. Towards your Highness our hearts are too full of gratitude to enable us to give vent to our sentiments. Your Highness has infused a new life into the people and guided their energies into useful and patriotic channels. Firm in conviction and patient in action, your Highness has held aloft the banner of Muslim progress, amidst thickening clouds and overwhelming storm. We are justly proud of your Highness' highest statesmanship and pray to the Most High that many more years of healthy, vigorous and happy life be vouchsafed to you, so as to enable your Highness to continue the noble work of our national regeneration.

I shall be guilty of dereliction of duty if I omitted to proclaim what I believe is at this moment uppermost in the minds of the Musalmans of the Central Provinces and Berar. The Musalmans of the whole Province are deeply grateful to Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League, for organizing a Provincial Muslim League in this Province. His profound knowledge of English and of our classics, his mature views, his enlightened patriotism—his character being a compromise between the old and the new—mark him out as a leader supremely capable of guiding the destiny of the Central League. His talk on Muslim politics, written both in English and Urdu, proves to what an extent he has grasped the political situation of the country.

We are still more grateful to him for lending the services of his very able and trustworthy assistant, Mr. Mohammad Yusuf Khan, who by working under the immediate guidance and instructions of Moulvi Aziz Mirza and by his own tact and experience, born of his long connection with the Muslim League and political movements, succeeded in establishing District Muslim Leagues in all the 22 districts of the Central Provinces and Berar. He proceeded from centre to centre, interviewed the leading men in the districts, ventilated the grievances, called meetings, popularized the views of the

Muslim League, and left not a single district as an exception. Through his efforts this Province has a complete organization. During his stay of five months in this Province, he wrote many articles concerning the condition of the Musalmans and suggested many ways for ameliorating their fallen condition. In recognition of his valuable services, the members of the District Leagues presented him, as a memento, a complete silver tea-set and a gold ring. On behalf of the members of the Provincial and District Muslim Leagues, I take this opportunity to tender their sincere thanks to Moulvi Sahib and Mr. Mohammad Yusuf Khan once more.

Under the Constitution, the power of electing the President of the Session of the League is, you know, vested in the Council of the Central League, which has unanimously elected Syed Nabiullah, Bar-at-Law, as President of the Nagpur Session. His high literary and legal attainments, connection with a patriotic family, and independence of character are all well known to you. I need hardly remind you that his efficiency as President depends more upon your unstinted and cordial support than upon his attainments and virtues.

It remains for me now only to thank you once more for the honour which is conferred upon me. Believe me, I am not using merely an idle phrase when I say that I am proud, very proud, of the distinction. I am proud also of my good fortune in being privileged to welcome you to Nagpur. This year will be a memorable year in the history of the Province.

The members of the Reception Committee and my humble self most cordially thank you, our esteemed guests, for the trouble and inconvenience which you have had to undergo.

Nawab Ghulam Ahmed Khan then rose to propose the election of Syed Nabiullah as President of the Session:

The privilege has been assigned to me of proposing for your acceptance, a President for this, the Fourth Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League.

The Council of the League has nominated a gentleman to this honour who has not only received, from a long line of distinguished ancestors, the cumulative heritage of Eastern culture, but has also acquired from a European university the distinction of being a scholar and a gentleman. Indeed, as in the case of the Hon'ble Syed Ali Imam, the able President of the Amritsar Session, the Right Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, our revered leader in England, and His Highness the Aga Khan, the fountainhead of all our inspiration and activity, it may be said that the East and the West have blended in Syed Nabiullah to the best advantage.

In his learned profession, there are but few in our community who are his seniors; whilst in point of national service, he has had the unique good fortune, from the very beginning of his life, of being under associations which are quite ample to secure the confidence of the community. Though born amidst conservative traditions, Syed Nabiullah had the inestimable privilege

of being one of the first students of the Aligarh College, where he received his training at the hands of no less a person than Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, and had opportunities of being profoundly influenced by his aims and ideals. To this, perhaps, should be traced the enthusiasm and interest with which he threw himself into our educational and political activities. In the Urdu-Nagari agitation and in the conception of the All-India Muslim League, Mr. Nabiullah, as is well known, bore a leading part; and since its formation, has worked on its behalf actively though silently. Your Highness and gentlemen, you will agree with me that it is but right and proper that a gentleman of Mr. Nabiullah's attainments should be given the honour that is his due. I have great pleasure in proposing him for the presidentship of this Session.

Mr. Asghar Husain seconded the motion, saying that no better and more estimable man could have been found to guide the deliberations of the League.

Syed Nabiullah then took the Chair amidst cheers and opened the Fourth Sessions of the Muslim League with the following address.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF SYED NABIULLAH

Your Highness and gentlemen, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the great honour you have conferred upon me by electing me as your President, and for the warmth and cordiality of your splendid reception of my humble self. When my name was, unexpectedly, first proposed for the high office a few weeks ago by some gentlemen, I tried my best to dissuade them; because, keenly alive to my own deficiencies, I felt that someone far more capable than I can pretend to be should be chosen to guide our deliberations in the initial stages of our political awakening and increasing activity. But the Council of the Muslim League would not hear of any arguments, excuses, objections or entreaties; and so it has come to pass that I am here to-day in obedience to its nomination, which you have now been pleased formally to confirm by your choice. It is indeed a transcendent honour to be called by the united voice of the representatives of a great nation to preside over their deliberations. I beg to express the hope that in this onerous and responsible office I shall be favoured with your kind indulgence and support.

And now let us inwardly address a short, humble prayer to Almighty God to banish all thoughts of self from our hearts; to endow us with grace, wisdom and moderation; to guide us to the right path which leads to the greatest good; and to bless our labours.

Before proceeding further, it is our melancholy duty to express our profound grief at the demise of King Emperor Edward VII, who, since we last met, suddenly and quite unexpectedly passed away after a brief illness. His death was so sudden that it produced something like consternation throughout the Empire, especially in view of the unsatisfactory state of European politics, the ambitious designs of Germany, and the long-threatened constitutional struggle between the House of Lords and the House of Commons

which had just come to a head. It evoked an outburst of genuine sorrow throughout the civilized world, in which, owing to his conspicuously beneficent personality, he had come to be regarded as a sort of international institution. By his unique tact, foresight, judgment, skill in managing men, and considerate regard for the interests of others, he had won notable, though unofficial, triumphs on the stricken fields of European diplomacy, where he was an easy first. His pacific tendencies and the friendly agreements and conventions which he inspired and helped to promote with various Powers contributed in no small degree to the maintenance of peace throughout the world. As the son of our beloved Queen Empress Victoria, his dear memory will always be cherished in India—as the gracious Sovereign during whose all-too-brief reign a beneficent scheme of constitutional reforms was initiated and promulgated.

We are very happy to think that the generous policy towards India first initiated by Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, publicly announced to the Princes and People of India by her famous Proclamation of November 1858 and confirmed and acted on by her son, King Emperor Edward VII, is to be continued by her grandson, our Sovereign, King George V. We all have a vivid recollection of His Majesty's famous speech at the Guildhall after his return from India five years ago, in which he expressed the opinion that a little more sympathy should be infused into the administration of this country by England—thus putting his finger, with the unerring instinct of a born statesman, on the weak spot of British Indian administration. Within the last few weeks, we have heard with feelings of the liveliest delight, that His Imperial Majesty hopes to be able to come out to India with his Consort in about a year's time, to hold a Coronation Durbar at the Imperial City of Delhi. This happy and unique event would indeed be a red-letter day in the annals of the British connection with India; and it would go a long way in strengthening and cementing the bonds which unite this country to His Majesty's Throne and person. We may be permitted to indulge the hope that His Imperial Majesty may be pleased to signalize his visit by some momentous mark of Imperial favour that shall vividly impress the imagination of the teeming, toiling millions of India with the beneficence of British rule; and enshrine his illustrious memory in the grateful recollections of a devoted people; and evoke and keep alive such an enthusiastic outburst of heartfelt and abiding loyalty as to extinguish for ever all prospective manifestations of sedition and disloyalty; while we on our part, in order to commemorate His Imperial Majesty's Coronation on Indian soil, should initiate and carry through some beneficent project of far-reaching public utility. In the meantime, we all sincerely wish His Majesty and his gracious Consort a long, prosperous and glorious reign, attended with all happiness in the world.

Now that Lord Minto has laid down the reins of office after five years of most arduous and trying work, we desire to pay him our tribute of warm

admiration and gratitude for all that he has done for our country and community. You are all aware that he did not succeed to a bed of roses and that very soon after assuming office he found himself confronted with stupendous difficulties of unexampled complexity. You all know with what unflinching courage, patience, judgment and imperturable temper he faced the situation. Owing to circumstances over which he had no control, His Excellency was obliged to curtail dearly cherished popular rights, to wit, the liberty of the press, the right of free speech, of combination, of public trial and the right of public meeting; but the sober sense of all right-thinking men, recognizing the urgency and danger of the situation, was scarcely, if at all, offended. The country remained practically unmoved. Had any inferior man attempted to undertake or enact a quarter of the reactionary and harsh measures which Lord Minto had the misfortune—under the stress of stern necessity—to adopt, the country would probably have been stirred to its depths and, perhaps, set ablaze. The moral of it, of course, is that it is not an evil thing by itself which so much offends as the manner of doing it. Lord Minto's genial urbanity and charm of manner, his soldierly straightforwardness and transparent honesty and sincerity of purpose were important factors in the successful governance of an Eastern people.

The Reform Scheme

Whatever the genesis of the recent Reform Scheme—whether it was inspired from England by Lord Morely (as assumed by *The Times* of London) or first suggested by Lord Minto himself, as he has repeatedly emphasized—there can be no doubt that on looking round him soon after his arrival in the country, Lord Minto found the prevailing Indian atmosphere to be surcharged with electricity; and, reading aright the signs of the times, he set about devising suitable means to meet the situation, which in the meantime had grown from bad to worse. But nothing daunted and undeterred by bombs, assassinations, conspiracies and outrages (which would have given pause to a less strong man), Lord Minto, while combating and repressing sedition and violent crime with a strong hand, did not deviate a hair's breadth from his appointed goal and pursued the even tenor of his way. We know the result. The Reforms have introduced salutary constitutional changes in the administration of India. By giving the representatives —both elected and nominated—of important interests, and especially of influential minorities, an effective voice in the administration of the country, they have powefrully contributed to the appeasement of legitimate aspirations engendered and fostered by English education. Coupled with the appointment of Indian members to the Imperial and Provincial Executive Councils, and increased facilities for debate, they have also gone a long way towards redeeming the pledges of the late Queen Empress Victoria contained in her gracious Proclamation of 1858, which has been rightly described as the great charter of

our rights and privileges.

Lord Minto's generous, statesmanlike and sympathetic attitude towards the great Mohammedan community probably averted a crisis; for signs were not wanting to show that the young bloods of the community were growing restive and straining at the leash. Had they succeeded in getting out of hand, it would have brought great discredit upon the Mohammedans. We Mohammedans, therefore, have special reason to be extremely grateful to him for his practical recognition of our hardships and claims, and for his well-meant efforts to afford us equal opportunities with others, to equalize conditions as far as in him lay, and to make life more tolerable to us Mohammedans. No proconsul since the stirring days of Lord Ripon of imperishable memory has deserved better of this country and of its people than Lord Minto; and it is extremely gratifying and refreshing to think that his honoured name excites equal enthusiasm among all classes of His Majesty's subjects in India.

Lord Minto's chief, Lord Morley, has also recently resigned office after five years of most anxious and strenuous work. His strength of character, clearness and breadth of vision, disciplined intellect, wide knowledge and grasp of principles, combined with human sympathy, enabled him successuflly to grapple with a crisis, at once dangerous and imminent, and to tide over a time of storm and stress. Being face to face with a serious situation of unusual obscurity and unknown dimensions, Lord Morley assiduously set himself to the task of gathering information at first hand. In order to understand the elements and bearings of the various problems arising out of the situation with which he had to deal, he had the wisdom to appoint two Indians to his Council and to interview and question all sorts of men with Indian experience, in every grade of life, mostly non-officials, whom he could get hold of. For this he has been criticized in some quarters. But there can be little doubt that had Lord Morley relied chiefly on official sources of information, and looked at Indian affairs through official glasses only, we should in all probability have been landed in a terrible mess, if not actual disaster. Men who silently control large masses of public opinion in this country seldom approach officials, because they are seldom welcome. Such men, I may add, are not to be found as a rule in the ranks of title-hunters or prosperous landlords.

The New Viceroy, Lord Hardinge

On your behalf I beg respectfully to welcome His Excellency Lord Hardinge of Ponshurst, the august representative of our Gracious Sovereign, who has quietly and without any fuss assumed his high and honourable office within the last few weeks, and to offer our united homage to him. He does not come to us with a flourish of trumpets, pompously announcing his intentions and breathlessly anxious to prescribe the pill of 'efficiency' for every Indian ailment. If 'efficiency' does not aim primarily at securing, as far

as possible, the ultimate happiness and contentment of the people, we do not want it. His nomination for the exalted office of Viceroy was hailed with a chorus of approbation from all sides, and as far as I am aware, not a single discordant note was struck. This is a most happy augury for the success of his rule, and for the welfare and continued progress of our country, just emerging from the throes of a violent convulsion. We have heard with immense satisfaction, from his own lips, that he is going to follow and consolidate the wise and liberal policy inaugurated by Lord Minto and Lord Morley. His Excellency, as you are aware, was the trusted companion of our late King Emperor on his European tours, and is a trained diplomat of first-rate ability and a proficient scholar of Persian, Turkish and Russian.

To maintain order and to uphold the law, to watch over the developments of what has been happily styled 'loyal unrest', and to divert it into channels not antagonistic to British rule; to enlarge the functions and responsibilities of local self-government, with special reference to adequate Mohammedan representation on municipal and district boards, and to liberate it, as far as possible, from the trammels of official dictation and unnecessary interference; to inaugurate and extend a well-considered scheme of technical, agricultural, scientific, commercial and primary education; to extend and foster indigenous industries; to develop the agricultural and economic resources of the country; to see whether the time has not arrived to extend, in the interests of agricultural improvements and consequent prosperity, the duration of the periodical settlements of land-revenue; to devise suitable measures to lighten the heavy load of agricultural indebtedness which is crushing the life out of the vast bulk of our population; to consider the advisability of spending more money upon the extension of irrigation; to examine the expediency and feasibility of establishing a system of short service for the native Indian army; to retrench public expenditure without sacrificing efficiency—are some of the questions which may well engage Lord Hardinge's attention during his term of office. In the meantime, we sincerely hope and pray that no internal disorder or foreign complication may cast its shadow on His Excellency's regime. I may as well venture to say, on your behalf, that he can always count on our loyal support and co-operation in all measures calculated to advance the material, moral and intellectual well-being of the country.

Mohammedans and Politics

We have often been reproached for keeping aloof from politics till so late in the day as the latter end of 1906. Even if to-day we are politicians it is not so much from choice, I am afraid, as by force of circumstance. I myself think, however, that this long abstention from the active pursuit of politics has debarred us, if from nothing else, at least from the advantages of political training and education so much needed in the changed conditions

of the India of to-day. Various causes have contributed to preventing us from joining hands with the Hindus in their political activities, or starting political activities on our own account; as for instance, the great influence of our late revered leader, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, of blessed memory, who enjoined us to avoid, as far as possible, the thorny paths of politics; a disinclination on our part to embarrass the Government by engaging in political agitation; an instinctive feeling that owing to our widespread deficiency in English education and capacity, we, as a community, should have to play second fiddle in the game of politics; a haunting fear that by descending into the dusty arena of politics and helping to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for others, we should be at once insidiously undermining the authority of Government and unduly promoting the political ascendency—already overpowering—of the great Hindu community; the conviction that the unimpaired supremacy of the British Government is conducive to the welfare, continued progress, peace of mind and happiness of the Mohammedans; the dearth of influential leaders of commanding ability, endowed with the indispensable gift of eloquence, as well as with imagination, energy and enthusiasm; a certain lofty disdain—born of the spiritual teachings of Islam, of fatalism, and the grand traditions of our glorious past, mingled, perhaps, with a fleeting sense of despair that we have been irretrievably outstripped in the race of life—to enter the lists in competition with men over whom we once held sway for the temporal prizes that the fickle goddess of politics has to offer to her votaries; and last, not least (be it confessed to our shame), our invincible apathy and listlessness, an aversion to work and to take trouble, a reluctance to sacrifice our ease and comfort.

The Ferment in the East

But since Sir Syed's advice to us to leave politics alone much water has passed under the bridges, and the slumbering East has been violently stirred by momentous events of deep significance. Japan's political revolution and adoption of Western representative institutions, her marvellous progress in all branches of national life within the last twenty years or so, followed by her astounding victories over Russia—whose imposing power in the Far East was crumpled like match-wood—set all Eastern nations athinking, and gave a tremendous fillip to the demand for representative institutions in countries so widely different in their polities as India, China, Egypt, Persia and Turkey. In our own country many other influences have been silently at work—notably, the elevating effects of Western culture. But the quickening impulse, I believe, came from Japan's overthrow of a great Western Power, which was thought by the world at large to be absolutely invincible. A galvanic shock of unrest went through the entire East.

Therefore, the wave of unrest which first swept over Bengal after its partition and then, with diminishing force, over the rest of India, followed

by the ebullitions of frenzy which broke out in different parts of the country, opened men's eyes to the significant signs of the times, to the serious gravity of the situation, and the militant forces at work. It is not necessary to describe in detail the startling events which followed each other in bewildering succession. Suffice it to say that by great good fortune we had at this critical juncture a soldier-statesman at the head of affairs in this country, and a philosopher-statesman at the helm in England, between whom there was perfect unanimity of sentiment, and who correctly diagnosed the situation. When it became apparent that an enlargement of the Legislative Councils and of their functions, together with other constitutional organic changes, was contemplated by Government, it was felt by some of the leading men in our community that the time had arrived for the Mohammedans to come out into the open, and to claim what was rightfully their due in view of their importance and historical traditions; that they could no longer afford to sulk in their tents, waiting on providence with folded hands and brooding over their departed greatness—unless they wanted to be left out in the cold. This, in brief, led to the formation of the All-India Muslim League in the closing days of 1906; though before that there had been several spasmodic attempts at forming a political association of the Mohammedans to safeguard their interests. We have now, for better or worse, taken the plunge; and whether we swim, float, or sink: it all depends upon ourselves. I can only express the hope that the new-born enthusiasm of my co-religionists will not evaporate, as of yore, with the lapse of time, and that our young men will devote themselves more and more to the study of financial, industrial and economic questions rather than to politics, pure and simple.

Objects of the Muslim League

Besides looking after the interests of our fellow-believers and promoting loyal feelings towards the British Government, one of the chief objects of our League is to cultivate harmonious relations with other Indian communities, especially with the great sister community of the Hindus. As far as I am aware, no responsible Mohammedan leader has ever entertained any but the most friendly feelings towards the Hindus, especially towards the progressive, enterprising, patriotic, intellectual Bengalis—the despair of Aberigh-Mackay, of Stevens, and, aye, of unimaginative Anglo-India. I sometimes think in my dreams that if our rulers could only understand the Bengalis, they would be able to understand not only most of the Asiatic races, but the Irish, the Americans and the Junkers of Germany as well! In spite of recent lamentable incidents, and the infatuation and aberration of certain misguided sections of the population, I believe that the vast majority of the Bengalis are sound at heart and loyal to the core. Like the Mohammedans (though for different reasons), they have everything to lose and nothing to gain, if the English retire from India. And yet the Bengali is often obstreperous, and

now and again truculent! What is the reason?

Our great leader, the late lamented Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, in speaking of Hindus and Mohammedans, of the Bengalis, and of the 'Indian nation' has made the following observations, with which, I need scarcely say, we are in cordial agreement:

"Mohammedans and Hindus are the two eyes of India. Injure the one and you injure the other. We should try to become one in heart and soul and act in unison; if united, we can support each other, if not, the effect of one against the other will tend to the destruction and downfall of both.

"I assure you that the Bengalis are the only people in our country whom we can properly be proud of; and it is only due to them that knowledge, liberty and patriotism have progressed in our country. I can truly say that they are really the head and crown of all the communities of Hindustan.

"In the word 'nation' I include both Hindus and Mohammedans, because that is the only meaning which I can attach to it."

Again, His Highness the Aga Khan, our highly honoured leader and President, in the course of his inaugural address at the last session of our League, was very emphatic, in view of the larger interests of our common Motherland, on the necessity, the supreme necessity, of a cordial understanding between the two great communities of India. Let me quote from his most admirable and statesmanlike speech:

"Now that we have secured it (i.e., a separate electorate) I hope it will result in a permanent political sympathy and a genuine *entente cordiale* between the members of the two great sister communities.

"Our first and foremost duty is to prove our active loyalty towards our Sovereign. . . . by our endeavours to strengthen the foundation of British rule in India. . . . by uniting the great sister communities through the bonds of sympathy, affection, and a community of interests.

"In the first place, they (i.e., the Muslims) must co-operate, as representative Indian citizens, with other Indians in advancing the well-being of the country. . . .

"I have no hesitation in asserting that unless Hindus and Mohammedans co-operate with each other in the general development of the country as a whole, and in all matters affecting their mutual interests, neither will develop to the full its legitmate aspirations, or give full scope to its possibilities. In order to develop their common economic and other interests, both should remember that one is the elder sister of the other, and that India is their common parent; religious differences should be naturally reduced to the minor position . . . .

"Our loyalty to the Throne must be absolute, and relations with the Hindus and all other Indian communities who share that loyalty must frankly be most cordial. Otherwise our political activities will tend to the undoing of both, and ultimately prove detrimental even to the British Power. The

true interests of the Empire can never lie in a policy of divide and rule. . . ."

Our other great leader, the Rt. Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali, in the encouraging message, replete with sage observations, he was pleased to send us at our last session, is equally emphatic:

". . . .I sincerely trust that the two great communities whom the Reforms mainly affect will decide to work together in harmony and concord for the good of their common country. They have both to live together, to progress together and in evil days to suffer together. National development, even the fulfilment of the dream of self-government, depends on the co-operation of both races in a spirit of amity and concord."

Hindu-Mohammedan Relations

It will thus be seen that the best sense of our community is agreed on the point that, in the vital interests of our country, in other words, of the Government—because I am firmly persuaded that the best interests of the Government are, in the long run, indissolubly bound up, with the best interests of the country—Hindus and Mohammedans should live at peace and cultivate the most friendly relations with one another. They should be prepared for that mutual compromise, the give-and-take, which is the essence of our modern existence and the secret of its success. But I very much regret to say that the good feeling and happy relations which formerly subsisted between the two communities have been, in some parts of the country, considerably attenuated in recent years; and a strain has been put on their friendly intercourse on the old footing. As we all desire to bring about a *rapprochement* between the two communities I shall be perfectly frank with my Hindu brethren. I am grieved to say that certain events and incidents have happened within recent years which have given offence to the Mohammedans, and caused many searchings of heart among them. At present I will deal with only one such event, namely, the 'worship' of Sivaji. Let it be granted that the world judges men like Sivaji, Robin Hood, Clive, Dalhousie, Napoleon, Bismarck, etc., not by the usual standard of morality applicable to ordinary mortals. But what is the inner meaning of these Sivaji celebrations? Do they not convey a serious warning to all concerned? Do they not suggest the revolt of Hinduism against Islam and, by implication, against foreign domination? The apotheosis of Sivaji gives us a foretaste, as it were, of what the poor Mohammedans have to expect under Hindu hegemony. If, then, our feelings are irritated, is it to be wondered at? I am, however, glad to note that since a certain firebrand has been removed from the scene of his labours, the cult of Sivaji appears to be dying out.

These suggestively aggressive celebrations, however, to which I have just referred, went a long way in steeling our hearts against yielding on the question of separate electorates for Mohammedans which is another painful subject to which I want to refer just for a moment. But even apart from the

sinister significance of the deification of Sivaji, Mohammedans would at all events have insisted on a separate electorate for themselves, to ensure their fair representation on the Legislative Councils. Their dominant feeling, I believe, was that if the Hindus chose to sink their differences, and to close up their ranks, they could, with their formidable majority, defeat every Mohammedan candidate in the field. Even if by chance or good fortune, Mohammedans were returned by what are called 'mixed electorates', it would be at the sacrifice of their independence and freedom of action and judgment. The thought was galling to us that we should be for ever tied to the chariot wheels of Sivaji 'worshippers', and dragged at their heels (*sic*), always dependent on their goodwill and favour. The prospect of this novel thraldom alarmed us; and we naturally desired emancipation from it. We felt that considering the present backward condition of our community and our former predominant position in the country we should be adequately represented on the Legislative Councils—if for nothing else, at least for the benefit of the training and experience they were likely to afford us. Well, the scheme of separate electorates has happily put us in a position effectively to look after our interests; has saved our countenance; preserved our *amour propre;* averted the danger of increasing bitterness and estrangement of feelings between the two communities, which would have inevitably resulted from the freaks and haphazard chances of 'mixed elections'; and, above all, put us in the proper frame of mind to co-operate cordially with our Hindu brethern for the advancement and glory of our common country. I venture to think that if any educated man of strong common sense, any experienced man with the faculty of correctly applied imagination, were to reflect for a moment, he would be convinced that if mixed electorates alone had the exclusive power of returning members, the consequences would have been disastrous to the best interests of the country. How? By causing an ever-widening breach between the two communities, and a permanent and incurable alienation of feeling. Need I point to our recent election experiences? Is it not a fact that in very many instances secret ill-will has been created between Hindu and Hindu, and, for the matter of that, between Mohammedan and Mohammedan? Let us take account of human nature as we find it. Our Hindu friends by their vehement opposition to separate electorates, I am afraid, have unwittingly narrowly escaped from putting the knife to the throat of our poor, dear Motherland for which they profess, in all sincerity, so much solicitude. The cry of 'unity' being in danger is a spurious cry. We don't want a paper unity, but a genuine union of hearts in the interests of our common country. Let us, therefore, hear no more of the foolish twaddle about the Mohammedans erecting an iron wall of disunion between the Hindus and Mohammedans. And are our Hindu friends not satisfied? Have they not a permanant, standing majority? What more do they want? Why do they grudge us separate, adequate representation? Being secure in

their overwhelming majority, it looks as if under the plausible plea of unity they want to lord it over us, to have it all their own way, and to stifle our feeble voice. Is it fair? Can it conduce to peace? Yes, peace, which is our greatest interest. I appeal to the good sense and patriotism of the Hindu leaders, and I have no misgivings as to what their response would be. I honestly and sincerely believe that adequate and independent Mohammedan representation on our Legislative Councils and municipal, local and district boards is absolutely necessary in the present condition of India and of Muslim public feeling, for peace' sake, for the uninterrupted progress of our dear country, and in the sacred interests of good-fellowship, if for nothing else.

Barring the question of employment in the public services of the State and the Urdu-Hindi question, there is hardly any question of public importance, as far as I can see, on which the Mohammedans are not in substantial agreement with their Hindu brethren. That being so, I venture to suggest that Hindu and Mohammedan leaders, and especially our Hindu and Mohammedan legislators, should from time to time meet each other in formal conferences, for the purpose of exchanging notes and holding friendly discussions on all questions affecting the general well-being of the country. In this way they can be of very great assistance to each other, and also to Government. They can render great service to their country by removing misunderstandings, composing differences, and by promoting and diffusing an atmosphere of mutual forbearance, tolerance and goodwill. Altogether, I venture to anticipate the happiest results if this course is followed.

Proposed Conference of Leaders

In this connection, I heartily welcome Sir William Wedderburn's wise proposal, cordially endorsed by our leaders (His Highness the Aga Khan and the Rt. Hon'ble Syed Ameer Ali), to hold a friendly conference, in the course of the next few days, of some of the influential leaders of all communities. I sincerely hope that a satisfactory settlement of all outstanding differences will be reached at the proposed Conference, and a *modus vivendi* arranged for future co-operation. The most serious feature of the situation, however, is that there appears to be a tendency in some quarters to accentuate these differences. All I can say is—as you must all feel—that so long as these differences remain, our country's cause, which is already suffering, may be irretrievably damaged and all progress arrested. But I have every confidence that the leaders on both sides with a single eye to the country's good, will rise superior to every petty consideration.

Government Attitude to Hindu-Mohammedan Relations

It is sometimes hinted in some quarters that the Government in its heart of hearts does not desire that the Hindus and Mohammedans should ever come together; that it is always trying, though with extreme caution

and cunning, to play off one community against the other; and that, finally, it is to the advantage of Government that the two communities should always be at loggerheads. Of course all this is utter nonsense. I do not, however, know whether I am perpetrating a 'blazing indiscretion' in referring to such fanciful matters. But it is no use disguising the fact that such matters are being discussed daily in almost every important city and town of India. Though I yield to no one—not even to Lord Curzon—in my admiration of the splendid Civil Service of India, I am, however, bound to confess that the conduct of some of its members, here and there, has sometimes lent some colour to such baseless conjectures and insinuations as those just alluded to. As soon as a new Collector or Deputy Commissioner arrives in a district people are keen to find out whether he is pro-native, pro-Hindu or pro-Mohammedan. Any public servant who does not hold the scales even, who is swayed by personal predilections, or who is openly unsympathetic, is a traitor to his country. I do not think, however, that any mother's son outside of Bedlam believes for a moment that Government wants to sow discord between the two great communities of India. But if this sordid game were ever tried, it would—while gratuitously increasing a hundredfold the anxieties, cares and difficulties of Government—inevitably end in disaster. The true interests of the people and of the Government lie in the peaceful and ordered development of the country, which can only be secured by mutual co-operation between the officers of the Government and the leaders of the people, without distinction of race or creed. That is the secret of successful rule in this country.

Employment in the Public Services

The question of employment in the public service to which I have just referred has, unfortunately, very often formed a bone of contention between the Hindus and the Mohammedans. This subject, which affects only the educated classes, who form but an infinitesimal part of the population, has from time to time excited keen interest in our community. We ought not, I think, to forego our right to claim a fair share of the loaves and fishes of State; besides, it is a great advantage to be trained in our public offices and, especially, to be associated with the practical work of administration, particularly in the higher branches of State service. But I beg to ask you, if, say, all the Judgeships and Commissionerships in the country were filled exclusively by Mohammedans, in what way would that help to uplift the great mass of our people? We ought not, in our selfish interest, to think only of ourselves; but we ought rather to think more and more of the lower orders of our people, how to ameliorate their lot, and to raise their standard of comfort. This can only be done by reforming our social customs, by helping to extend primary and technical education, by developing trade and agriculture, our native industries and the economic resources of our country. How to do these things are precisely the questions which ought to engage

the earnest thought, attention and study of our educated young men and of their elders. Here is a profitable field of development for those who have plenty of leisure on their hands and do not stand in need of service. The first thing to do is to read up the whole literature available on the subject you are studying, and then to form your own opinion.

Developing Agriculture

Our greatest industry is agriculture, in which about 80 per cent of our population is engaged; and on its prosperity depends the prosperity of the whole country. If our crops are good: trade expands, the railway receipts mount up, the consumption of salt goes up, stamps and excise receipts increase; in fact, the effects are immediately reflected in every branch of the revenue. But the conditions under which land is held in this country do not favour its development. In the first place, the State revenue demand on land varies from province to province; and in some provinces is excessive, to say the least—as for instance, in the Central Provinces, in the capital of which we are assembled to-day. From the accumulated experience of ages it has been found that from one-fifth to one-sixth of the total gross produce of land is a fair rent in India, which enables our poor, afflicted peasantry—who are, perhaps, the most frugal and thrifty, and withal (except in Bengal) the most wretched in the world—to lay by something in fat years to serve them as a stand-by against rainy days; for, owing to the vagaries of rainfall, no industry is more subject to the vicissitudes of fortune than agriculture. You are very probably aware that between 50 and 60 million of our countrymen, Hindus and Mohammedans—about the total strength of Islam in India—continually hover on the borderline which divides destitution from starvation. The unutterable pathos, gloom and tragedy of their lives, their ceaseless toil and struggle for bare existence, can only be realized by those who have come into personal contact with them. Is there no remedy for this state of things?

Another potent factor which hampers the development of land is the periodical settlements of land-revenue in most of the provinces of India after every 15,20 or 30 years. Landlords, peasant-proprietors, farmers and tenants are all unwilling, in view of the short duration of settlements, to lay out sufficient capital on improvements for fear of increased assessments at the next periodic revision of revenue. If the period of settlements were extended to 60 years (the normal span of human life in India) in all major provinces, subject to a minimum term of 40 years in less economically developed tracts (where an extension of irrigational facilities or the occupation of waste lands may reasonably be expected), a great impetus would be imparted to the rapid development of land. Any temporary loss of revenue would be more than recouped by the tide of prosperity which would flow from the productive development of the resources of land, and which would, in numerous indirect ways, amply replenish the Exchequer.

Another incubus which weighs down agriculture is the heavy load of indebtedness which hangs like a millstone round the necks of our cultivating classes. Great credit is due to the Government for organizing Co-operative Credit Societies, for the supply of capital to cultivators on easy terms for productive purposes, and to encourage habits of thrift. Judging from the results already achieved, the co-operative credit movement under the fostering care of Government has, I believe, taken permanent root in the country; and the organization and multiplication of Credit Societies and of the Central Banks which finance them, opens up the vista of a bright future for our sorely troubled cultivators, enabling them to depend more and more on co-operative effort to better their lot, and to depend less and less on the wily money-lender. Here is a field of activity in which Hindus and Mohammedans can patriotically co-operate with the Government for the welfare of our poor, hard-working cultivators, who stand so much in need of our practical sympathy.

Technical Education

There is another important subject to which I want to draw your attention. Much of the prevalent unrest, I am afraid, is due to the unemployment of large numbers of the educated classes. How to find a profitable outlet for the energies of these men is one of the most difficult problems of the day. For almost every post in the country I believe there are more than four dozen competent candidates; in other words, the supply exceeds the demand by about fiftyfold; and with the rapid strides that education is making, the supply will go on increasing at an accelerating ratio. In only too many cases the effect of English education on an empty stomach is to breed discontent, disaffection, fierce denunciations of Government and all its ways, anarchist conspiracies, outbreaks of savagery and violent crime. Is it not, then, time to check the breeding of a race of malcontents and disappointed place-hunters all over the country by reforming our educational policy, without detriment, however, to the interests of secondary and higher education, and at the same time widely extending technical, industrial and scientific education throughout India? At all events, I trust the Government will be pleased to evolve, at an early date, a satisfactory scheme of technical education, which in course of time, I hope, will provide useful careers for our youths, and go a long way towards checking the growing discontent in the land, which is very often the result of a purely literary education and subsequent unemployment.

Royal Boons for Agriculture and Industry

I have already referred to His Majesty's projected visit to India. We may take it for granted that in celebration of the Coronation a plentiful shower of honours will descend on the country, and a large number of prisoners will be released. Speaking of honours, however, reminds me that in 1819, the then

Nawab Vazeer of Oudh, Ghazi-ud-din Hyder, was induced by Lord Hastings to assume the title of 'Shah'. In every province of India, I believe, there are Chiefs who are entitled to a salute of guns, except in Oudh; though I am told that some 30 years or so ago there was a nobleman in Oudh, and after his death, his widow, who were thus honoured. But neither the shower of honours nor the release of prisoners will appeal to the imagination of the masses. I believe there are hardly any greater boons than the extension of the period of settlements to 60 years (to which I have just referred), and some measure of protection for our nascent industries. If, with the consent of the Indian and Home authorities, His Gracious Majesty were to announce the confirment of these boons at the Coronation Durbar at Delhi; it would send a thrill of joy and thankfulness throughout the length and breadth of India, perpetuate his blessed memory for generations to come, and draw closer the ties which bind the Princes and people of India to His Majesty's Throne and Person. While we, on our part, Hindus and Mohammedans alike, should also do our humble duty by raising to his illustrious memory, in every province, a first grade model technical college—just as we in the United Provinces have founded in his memory at Lucknow, by public subscription, a splendid medical college when he came out to India five years ago as Prince of Wales.

Aligarh College and University.

May I be permitted, further, to submit on behalf of His Imperial Majesty's Mohammedan subjects in India that, should His Majesty be graciously pleased to visit our poor College at Aligarh (in which all our hopes of future advancement are centred), no greater honour could be conferred on the entire Mohammedan community, and no greater encouragement could be extended to the cause of Mohammedan education? And should King Emperor George V be pleased to grace our College with a visit, is it too much to expect that, in honour and memory of His Imperial Majesty's visit, His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, His Highness the Nawab of Rampur and other benevolent Mohammedan Chiefs will not refuse to lend us a helping hand in establishing a Mohammedan University at Aligarh, to be named after His Majesty?

Reduction of Military and Civil Expenditure To Finance Development

One of the questions which may be expected to claim Lord Hardinge's attention is the growth of our military expenditure, which in the course of the last nine or 10 years has increased, I believe, by about 8 or 9 crores. After the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Convention of September 1907, which settled many outstanding difficulties affecting the interests of the two Powers in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet, it might have been expected that our military expenditure would be gradually reduced, consistently with the safety of India; but that if this was found to be impossible, then a portion at least of our military expenditure would be borne by the British Exchequer,

in consideration of the fact that we are maintaining our present forces in excess of our requirements, and therefore not solely for our own defence, but also partly for Imperial purposes. The Anglo-Russian Convention "has been observed by both parties to it", said Lord Hardinge just before he left England to assume the Governor-Generalship of India, "with the utmost loyalty, and has happily resulted in the mutual co-operation of the two Powers for the maintenance of peace in Asia. The advantage to India of this peaceful development is incalculable, since the Russian menace has been dispelled and the bogey of a Russian invasion has been laid, thus giving greater opportunity and freedom to those entrusted with administration in India to consider many social problems affecting the welfare and development of the Indian people." I am afraid, however, that the immediate prospect before us is by no means bright; because, for the progress and development of the country, for the extension of primary and technical education, we require more money than can be looked for from the normal growth of our revenue. Where the money is to come from I know not—unless we make retrenchments in our civil and military expenditure, and curtail our railway grant. Lord Hardinge will have to take his courage in both hands to do these things.

Foreign Affairs

If I may be permitted to cast a glance at foreign affairs, I should like to say that we in India noted with deep concern and alarm that, in consequence of the recent British note to Persia, on the subject of policing the trade routes in Southern Persia (in which, by the way, as far as I can judge, there was nothing incompatible with the integrity and independence of Persia), some Persians and Turks appealed to the German Emperor for some sort of intervention. It would seem, I am afraid, as if there is something amiss in latter-day British diplomacy that our foreign co-religionists should begin to look more and more to the War-Lord of Germany for assistance and advice, rather than to England, which is the greatest 'Musalman' Power in the world, and the renowned protector and friend of nationalities struggling to be free. It would increase England's hold on the Islamic world if Turkish and Persian loans could be successfully placed on the London market, instead of in Paris or Berlin. Will our English financiers rise to the occasion?

Mohammedan Appointments to the Executive Council

I think I have already briefly touched on some of the pressing questions of the day. It is to be regretted that no Mohammedan has been made a member of the Executive Councils of either Bombay, Madras or Bengal. I trust that on a vacancy occurring a competent Mohammedan will be appointed, and that Lord Hardinge will be pleased to take steps in due course for the establishment of Executive Councils in the United Provinces and in the Punjab.

English-Indian Relations

I am afraid I have detained you much too long. There is, however, one point on which I wish to dwell for a moment, namely, the relations between the rulers and the ruled. On the cordiality of their social relations depends, to a large extent, the smooth working of the machinery of Government. Whilst most Englishmen, as a rule, are first-rate gentlemen, frank, courteous, considerate, honest and upright, there are, however, some, I regret to say, who are inclined to be rude and arrogant, and who habitually act on the pleasing theory of those heartless fishermen who hold that fish cannot feel. I want to assure these men that we, Indians, are not fish; why, even the fish-eating Bengali is not fish, as we all know from painfully startling experience. Few Englishmen have any idea what a sore point this is with educated Indians. We, Indians, are naturally quickly and warmly responsive to courtesy and kindness; but we deeply resent incivility and insolence. As a loyal subject of the Crown, I desire to impress upon all those Englishmen who are pleased to think that Indians are fish that cannot feel, that an affront offered to an educated or refined Indian is like—what shall I say?—converting a friend into a bitter foe. And the enmity of an educated man is not to be lightly despised; for it works incalculable harm in diverse ways undreamt of by unimaginative Englishmen. The feeling that the affronted belongs to a subject race, and that for various reasons he cannot retaliate, accentuates the mischief all the more. "The eradication of insolence, on one hand, and feeling of inferiority and mortification, on the other, between the rulers and the ruled" is, according to the Hon'ble Syed Ali Imam, "one of the many grave questions in practical politics in India that equally affect all classes of our countrymen." In the interests of peace and goodwill neither the rulers nor the ruled can afford to be rude to one another. Most of the evils which afflict us in this world are generally the result of ignorance. All honour, therefore, to those amiable, well-intentioned men who are trying to bring about a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled, by bringing them together on all possible occasions. The more they come to know of each other, the better they will like each other and respect each other. But without mutual forbearance and respect no good understanding can be lasting.

Working the Reformed Administration

In inaugurating the Reforms Scheme, the Government has broken new ground; and a fresh chapter has opened in the administrative methods of this country. In calling representative Indian opinion to its aid, and giving it an effective voice in the affairs of the country, the Government has proved once more that it is both enlightened and progressive, and that it is animated by a sincere desire to rule the country in the interests of the people. A solemn duty rests upon our countrymen of all races and creeds to co-operate

whole-heartedly with the Government in its endeavours to promote the common weal. On the success of the present enterprise depends, in great measure, the further extension of what, in the language of hyperbole, may be called the 'sovereignty' of the people controlled by the Government; for, if we prove ourselves worthy of the trust generously reposed in us, it is inconceivable that the Government can stand still, or refuse to associate us more and more in the governance of the country. In the fulness of time we may confidently hope for a further enlargement of popular liberties. If I might take the liberty of addressing a word or two to our Mohammedan Councillors, I would venture to say that the honour of our community in a manner rests in their hands; and every Mohammedan, therefore, sincerely hopes and trusts that by their knowledge, application, moderation and capacity for intelligent speech and clear thinking, they will bring credit on the great community to which they belong, and also show themselves able to take a worthy part in the deliberations on affairs of State.

Self-Reliance

We have been often taunted by unfriendly critics that on every conceivable occasions we desire to be put under a special course of treatment and to be spoon-fed. Even our best friends who appreciate our difficulties, drawbacks and disabilities, and who sincerely sympathize with our legitimate claims, hopes and aspirations, have sometimes regretfully noted a certain tendency on our part showing that we rather prefer being treated on most occasions with special favour. If there is really any tendency in this direction, it must be discouraged; for it can only end in demoralizing our community, which would be a great calamity. We must stand on our own legs and walk by ourselves; for, if we get accustomed to crutches, we shall be crippled for life; and above all, we must remember that competition is the breath of modern life.

Appeal for Support to Muslim Education

The Raja of Bhinga, an enlightened nobleman of Oudh, has within the last year or two given about 10 or 12 lakhs towards founding a School and Boarding House in Benares for the education of Kshatriyas, one of the noblest races of men that ever trod the earth, but, educationally, as backward as we. You might be tempted to think that the Raja Saheb Bahadur must be an immensely rich man. Not at all; for he pays Government revenue of only about a lakh and a quarter. It is interesting to recall that the Raja Saheb Bahadur of Bhinga has thoughtfully named his school after the sagacious and strenuous ruler of the United Provinces, Sir John Hewett, who, with the prescience of a statesman, has rightly percieved that the true and vital interests of the country lie in the direction of a steady extension of education—chiefly primary, female, scientific and industrial—and a progressive development

of the economic resources of the country. Only a few years ago another Rajput nobleman, the late Raja Saheb Bahadur of Awa in the Etah district of the United Provinces, donated, I believe, a like sum towards establishing a similar institution at Agra. Of all the sons of Islam in India is there no one who can pluck up courage to emulate the noble example of these munificent Indian benefactors of their race? We are all very properly proud of our dear Aligarh College. But are there any voluntary and honorary workers there as they have at the Central Hindu College of Benares? Speaking of Benares reminds me of the ruling powers which have lately been granted to His Highness the Maharaja Saheb Bahadur of Benares. I desire to congratulate him on the accession of dignity which has come to him, and which, I doubt not, he has richly deserved. I feel sure that His Highness will follow the noble example of the British Government and make no distinctions between the various races and creeds of his subjects.

And now I have done. I am afraid I have exhausted your patience. I have a firm faith in the virility and destiny of my nation; and I am convinced that if we only know our minds and are unwavering in our loyalty to Government, we cannot fail to exercise a most wholesome influence on the conduct of public affairs. Already a bright future is unfolding itself before our eyes, in which we are destined, if we are only true to ourselves and to our country, to play an ever-increasing and prominent part. We must never forget that we are the scions of a famous race which once made history, and that India is our Motherland, the glorious heritage handed down to us by our illustrious forbears, to share with our Hindu brethren and to transmit it unimpaired to our posterity, marching hand in hand with our Hindu compatriots, under the guidance and protecting shield of our English rulers, along the path of moral, intellectual and material progress.

Some resolutions relating to important questions of the day will now be laid before you, which I hope you will unanimously pass after due consideration.

RESOLUTION I

The first resolution which was moved by the President referred to the death of His Majesty King Edward. It was carried as befitting the occasion in solemn silence, and ran as follows:

> "The All-India Muslim League, voicing the feelings of the 60 million loyal Musalmans of India expresses its profound sorrow at the lamented demise of His Majesty King Edward VII, who during his short but illustrious reign not only succeeded in winning the esteem and affection of all the members of his world-wide Empire, but was justly regarded as a friend and promoter of peace throughout the civilized world.

RESOLUTION II

The next resolution moved from the Chair related to the accession of the present King and was received with acclamation and loud applause by the audience, and ran as follows:

> The All-India Muslim League on behalf of the Musalmans of India, tenders its loyal and respectful homage to His Majesty King George V on his accession to the Imperial Throne, prays for him a long and happy life and a prosperous and glorious reign, and looks forward with joy and gratitude to the opportunity which His Majesty is graciously affording to the people of this country, of according to him the most cordial welcome that has ever been offered to any Sovereign by loyal and devoted subjects.

The President referred to the great joy His Majesty's intended visit to India had given them, and he hoped the Muslims would suitably commemorate it as proposed by His Highness the Aga Khan. The allusion of the President to the coming visit of His Majesty evoked great enthusiasm and the resolution was carried by acclamation.

RESOLUTION III

The Chairman next proposed:

> The All-India Muslim League tenders its sincere thanks to His Majesty the King-Emperor, the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy for the liberal confirmation of the principle of having an Indian on the Imperial Executive Council, and further begs to express its cordial sense of obligation for the recognition of the communal interests of the Musalmans by elevating the Hon'ble Syed Ali Imam to the legal membership, who, the All-India Muslim League feels sure, will prove a source of strength to the Government of India.

In moving the resolution, he said they were rejoicing that one of their ex-Presidents had been called upon to fill the most important place in the Viceroy's Executive Council that could be given to an Indian under Lord Morley's Reforms. The proposition was put to the vote from the Chair and carried unanimously.

The first sitting then came to a close.

Second Sitting

The second sitting commenced after lunch at 2-30 p.m. In this sitting many important resolutions were adopted, and the speeches delivered were practical and to the point. His Highness the Aga Khan entered the Hall after an hour and was enthusiastically received.

RESOLUTION IV

The afternoon's first resolution was moved by Nawab Nasirul-Mumalik Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg, and ran as follows:

> The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep appreciation of the sterling services rendered by Lord Minto, during a period of stress and storm, to the cause of Indian progress during his tenure of office, by his far-reaching Scheme of Reforms, the association of Indians in the real government of the country, and statesmanlike recognition of the just claims of the Musalman community for its proper share in the administration of the country.

In moving the resolution, he said:

I have been privileged, and feel it a great honour, to move the resolution which has been put down in my name. This resolution is the outcome of the fulness of grateful hearts for the boon which has been conferred by the sterling services rendered to India by Lord Minto. After the able references to those services by the President of this Session of the Muslim League and the President of the Reception Committee I can hardly add to them. You are well aware that when Lord Minto succeeded to the Viceroyalty of India, he did not, as the President remarked, succeed to a bed of roses and that on assuming office he was confronted with political problems of great complexity. Since the Proclamation of Queen Victoria of blessed memory, in 1858, India has been preparing itself to assimilate Western culture and thought and with the progress of education, there has been a growth of political ideas and new aspirations in the country. Lord Ripon's sympathetic administration gave an impetus to these ideas; but of late years the transition has been rapid, which generally follows when scattered forces of a country are being collected for a change in the social and political regeneration of a nation. Such was the time of stress and storm in which Lord Minto was sent out to India and tendered signal services to the cause of Indian progress by his far-reaching Scheme of Reform. He realized the situation in India and so did Lord Morley in England. It was evident to them that the policy enunciated from time to time showed that England considered it to be her duty to study the interest, the happiness and the welfare of the people of India; that the people of India should be associated and assisted in the administration of the country; that all disabilities in regard to public employment should be removed, and that the policy of the British rule should be a policy of justice and righteousness and of the advancement of the people. The Indian administration should be brought into closer contact with the Indian peoples; and it is by an honest, courageous and statesmanlike policy that England would be able to discharge its momentous trust, the most momentous trust that was ever committed to a great State. This brings one to the broad and statesmanlike policy of Lord Minto. The enlargement of the Councils, the further discussion of the Budget, the appoint-

ment of Indian executive members of the Imperial and Provincial Councils, the nomination of Indians to the Secretary of State's Council are the principal reforms which have won Lord Minto the admiration and gratitude of our country and community. With these few words I move the resolution.

Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Munshi seconded the resolution, and it was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION V

The next resolution was moved by Syed Shamsul Huda, and ran as follows:

> The All-India Muslim League respectfully places on record its deep appreciation of the masterly and statesmanlike manner in which the Right Hon'ble Viscount Morley of Blackburn has guided the destinies of His Majesty's Indian Empire in a period of storm and stress, never departing in spirit from the best liberal traditions, and expresses its deep sense of gratitude to him for associating Indians in the real government of the country, and courageously inaugurating a system of reform whilst the country was seething with discontent, and in that connection doing justice to the claims of His Majesty's Musalman subjects.

In proposing the above resolution, Syed Shamsul Huda observed that Lord Morley was a commanding figure in the public life of modern England and India. In the muster-roll of distinguished Englishmen who have plunged into Indian affairs with an abounding love and have served her with passionate devotion, Lord Morley, he said, will be one of the most distinguished. How many of us, children of the soil, whose bones will rest here, whose interests, sympathies and reminiscences are centred in this ancient land, can claim to have exhibited, in the record of their lifework, the selfless devotion, the unflinching self-secrifice and the supreme love for India and her peoples which have always been dominating features in the public career of Lord Morley?

If it is true that the unrest, of which we hear so much, and much of which is due to the impact of British influence and of Western civilization, it is true, in an equal sense, that the public spirit which glows in the bosoms of so many of us has derived its impulse and its living inspiration from the examples of great and good Englishmen like Lord Morley who remained unmoved during a period of storm and stress. The Musalmans of India, at any rate, are deeply grateful to Lord Morley as he has given them an opportunity to take part in the public life of the country. He added that he was glad to say that so far as the Muslim members of the Imperial Council were concerned they were able to hold their own with the best representatives of the other communities.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Fazalbhoy Carrimbhoy Ebrahim, and carried *nem con*.

RESOLUTION VI

The sixth resolution was moved by Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed, and ran as follows:

> The All-India Muslim League once again records its deliberate opinion that in the interests of the Musalman community, it is absolutely necessary that the principal of communal representation be extended to all self-governing public bodies, and respectfully urges that a provision for the adequate and effective representation of the Musalmans on municipal and district boards is a necessary corollary of the application of the principle to the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils and, at the same time, essential to the successful working not only of the Reform Scheme, but also of those public bodies themselves.

Moulvi Rafiuddin, in proposing the resolution, made a characteristic speech, vigorously criticizing the principle which led to the exclusion of the Muslims from municipalities and local boards, and pointing out the need for communal representation on these bodies. When the Local Self-Government Act was introduced 27 years ago, the Mohammedans of the Bombay Presidency presented a petition to the Government protesting against municipal elections by means of wards instead of by means of sections. They were informed that they were too premature in anticipating the results of the Local Self-Government Act and that a fair trial should be given to it. If the Act failed in its operation to do justice to the Mohammedans, steps would be taken to amend it from time to time. The Mohammedans repeatedly sent in complaints of their interests in municipal matters being inadequately represented in municipalities and local boards. Twenty-seven years had gone by and the Act had been given a fair trial with what might be called disastrous consequences for the Mohammedan community. The result was that they had not had sufficient opportunity of being trained in the primary duties of citizenship for which municipal and local boards furnish training grounds. The question derived its importance from the enlargement of privileges likely to be vested in the local boards as a result of the recommendations of the Decentralization Commission. If they were carried out, subdistrict boards would be universally established and be given charge of primary education, vaccination, sanitation etc. The services referred to were of vital importance to the everyday life of the people, and it was quite conceivable that unless arrangements were made for ensuring its due representation, the Muslim minority would labour under a great hardship and be practically debarred from the enjoyment of its civic rights. It was therefore essential that, while according fresh privileges to local bodies, Government should take steps to secure the protection of Mohammedan interests by the medium of electoral regulations for their separate adequate representation. If they sent a representation to Government on the subject through their distinguished leader and revered President, he was sure that their representation would be considered favourably.

Syed Tufail Ahmed of Fatehpore, in supporting the resolution, threw considerable light on the inadequacy of Muslim representation in his own district, which had a large Muslim population. In a few touching words, he stressed the hardships to which Musalmans would be subjected if separate representation were not given to them in the muncipal and the district boards.

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION VII

The seventh resolution, which related to *Wakf-alal-Aulad*, was moved by Kazi Kabiruddin, and ran as follows:

> The All-India Muslim League reiterates its firm conviction that their Lordships of the Privy Council have fallen into an error in deciding that under Mohammedan law, it is not valid to create a *Wakf* or Endowment the immediate object of which is to benefit and secure from want the relations or descendants of the endower; and in view of the disintegration of Musalman families consequent on this misinterpretation of the law and the disastrous consequences resulting therefrom to the well-being of the Muslim community, the League again strongly urges upon the Government the desirability and urgency of a legislative enactment declaring the validity of such endowments, and thus restoring to the Musalmans of India the full benefit of their own law to regulate their religious institutions of *Wakf*, which is now conceded to them in this particular merely in name.

In proposing the resolution, Kazi Kabiruddin dealt with the question historically and then adduced many quotations from approved law-books regarding the validity of this kind of *Wakf*. He said:

There is not a more interesting question to the Mohammedans of India at the present juncture than that of *Wakf-alal-Aulad*. The law in question relates to the most ancient and cherished institution of preserving the family property upon which depended the prosperity of the principal Mohammedan families which had rendered important services to the State in times of danger. The Privy Council, by its last decision, has completely upset this branch of Mohammedan law. The judgment affects *Wakfs* of that nature that have been made in this country since the foundation of Mohammedan rule in India, as also those that might be made in future. It will conduce to the breaking up of an institution which rests on the highest religious and social sanction and which in the past has saved a large number of Mohammedan families from destitution, while it has at the same time enabled pious Mohammedans to practise what they look upon as an act of great religious merit. The advantages of this system were mostly taken by the landed gentry who largely belonged to the middle classes. The decision encouraged mischievous people to go to court to set aside long established *Wakfs*. They have succeeded and thus brought about disruption in numberless families. The best families

are ruined and reduced to poverty. The properties that were so far saved have been split up into small fractions and thus destroyed.

The decision of the Privy Council has created a most curious and at the same time most unreasonable position for the Mohammedans. English law gives a certain latitude for the family settlement; but that also is denied to the Mohammedans as they are subject to and are governed by Mohammedan law. The Privy Council has curtailed the rights of Mohammedans according to English notions, without giving them corresponding advantages which are enjoyed under English law. The judgment may be due to a misconception of the real spirit of Mohammedan law, or to a misunderstanding of the texts upon which that law is based, or to the inability to find out the original texts bearing on the point. Whatever the cause, the fact remains that their Lordships' judgment is completely inconsistent with the true principles of the law.

The important question that is troubling the Mohammedan mind throughout India at the present moment is how to remedy this state of affairs. Before making any suggestions, it would be desirable to deal with the question, 'what is *Wakf-alal-Aulad* and what was the intention of the original law-giver?', and at the same time, point out by example how it was acted upon during the lifetime of the Prophet, how the jurists or the expounders of Mohammedan law understand it and explain it, and how the Mohammedans in different parts of the world during the last 1,300 years have understood it and acted upon it.

The laws of all countries are partly of universal application and partly operative on particular communities only. Among most of the civilized nations of the world, the former class occupies a pre-eminent position while the latter generally relate to a few concerns of small minorities. But in British India the situation is quite the reverse. While the laws applicable to all sections of the people alike are not quite so few and unimportant, the laws dealing with the concerns of particular communities are by far the more important part of the two, and occupy—partly by intrinsic merit, partly by historical worth and partly because they influence and govern at every step the everyday life of the followers of two of the greatest religions of the world—a pre-eminent position not only among the laws of British India, but also among the laws of the world. These are the Hindu and the Mohammedan laws, the former governing all questions of the succession and inheritance of 207 millions of His Majesty's Hindu subjects, and the latter governing all such questions as marriages, gifts, etc., among the 65 million Mohammedan subjects of His Majesty in India, and the everyday life of 140 million Mohammedans outside India in Turkey, Persia, Arabia, Africa, etc. Mohammedan law, as contrasted with other systems of law, at once presents one strong distinguishing mark: it bears the impress of the personality of the great Arabian Prophet in all its branches. After the death of the Prophet; the

Quran was the sole guide of the faithful. In addition to that, every act of the Prophet's life, his utterances, etc., were considered authoritative, and were resorted to for the purpose of furnishing solutions to some of the difficulties of the day. In fact the whole of Mohammedan law, and the entire system of Mohammedan theology, ritual and ethics is based upon the Quran and the *Sunnat*, *Hadis*, *Ijmaa* and *Kiyas*. Later on, Mohammedan law was divided into four schools. The principal school in British India, and for the matter of that, in the whole Muslim world, is the celebrated *Hanafite* school. Abu Yousuf and Imam Mohammad, disciples of Abu Hanifa, expounded the Mohammedan law very accurately, and all jurists of more or less renown have followed them. These are the only authoritative sources of Mohammedan law, and it is in them that we are to find a solution to our difficulties.

The technical expression for a charitable and religious endowment is *Wakf*. According to the two disciples of Abu Hanifa, *Wakf* signifies "the appropriation of a particular article in such a manner as subjects it to the rules of divine property, whence the appropriator's right in it is extinguished and it becomes the property of God, by the advantage of it resulting to His creatures."

The doctrine of *Wakf-alal-Aulad* practically starts from the date of the founding of the religion of Islam. A Mohammedan was taught to believe that the motive which induces a man to make a *Wakf* was that God should be pleased with him and show him favour. This motive is entirely religious, because Islam teaches him that God's favour and pleasure are worth having and worth striving for. As a Mohammedan is specially charged with the ideas of his religion, his views are in accordance with the ideas inculcated by his religion and his motives are perfectly in consonance with his special training under that law. His religion furnishes him with the principles of the best mode of realizing his hopes and his desires. Thus when a Mohammedan is seeking religious reward, he is guided by his own laws and not merely by the laws of universal morality. Muslim jurists have pointed out that *Wakfs* have the sanction of the Great Prophet himself, *Ghaitul-Bayana*, a book of great repute, states: Khalifa Omar once consulted the Prophet as to the most pious use he could make of his land, who declared "tie up the property (corpus) and devote the usufruct to human beings, and it is not to be sold and made the subject of gift or inheritance, devote its produce to your children and your kindred and the poor in the way of God." *Fathul-Kadir*, another work of high authority, says the Prophet always maintained that all human actions ended with the life of the individual, except such benefactions as were perpetual in character. There are many instances of this kind in other books.

Endowments or *Wakfs* are to be found in all communities. But the Mohammedan law provides that when a person dedicates his property to God, for some object of piety or charity—i.e., to benefit the poor and the indigent—

that property does not remain liable to be sold, gifted or inherited. Other religions confine the object of charities to strangers; whereas Islam, on account of its catholicity, makes its scope wider and provides that even a man's relations can partake of its benefits. Islam enjoins it as a duty on a person to support himself, his family and his descendants, and further provides that the performance of this duty will entitle him to reward from God. It must also be marked that the demerits of the English law of entail do not exist in this Muslim endowment. It does not make over all the property to a single heir. It proposes that all the heirs should be supported by the endowment. Such *Wakfs* have been in force for about 13 centuries, and have been cherished and valued by Musalmans in every country where Islam is recognized and practised . . .They are based upon those direct ordinances of the Founder of the Musalman religion which are regarded by Muslims as Divine Commandments, supplementary to those contained in the Quran. The Prophet not only declared such *Wakfs* valid and lawful, but encouraged their creation by dedicating his own property, the little he had, to his posterity. There is no difference among the sects in which Musalmans are divided, about the validity and lawfulness of such an institution. This form of Islamic law and custom was so well-recognized that innumerable *Wakfs* to descendants existed throughout the land, and they were recognized by English courts up to very recent times.

Ever since the connection of Britain with India, the East India Company and the Crown, alike, have by various Acts of Parliament and the Indian Legislature guaranteed to the people of India that they shall be governed by their personal laws. Since the year 1871, the Acts mentioned above have laid down an obligation on His Majesty's Courts in India to administer the Mohammedan law to the Muslims. One of the objects of the Act of Parliament, 21 George III, Cap. 71, was "that the inhabitants should be maintained and protected in the enjoyment to *(sic)* all their ancient laws, usages, rights and privileges." The provisions of the above Act have been repeatedly re-enunciated in later statutes in England and India and are now substantially embodied in the Bengal Civil Courts Act VI of 1871, and "constitute one of the most important guarantees given to the people of India by the British rule." The Indian courts successfully administered it till the time they were assisted by *muftees* or Mohammedan law officers, as through them they could ascertain the purport of the original texts. Since the abolition of the posts of *muftees*, an English judge who is unacquainted with the language in which the law is written finds considerable difficulty in understanding the spirit of that law. The judgments of the *muftee* period show unparalleled uniformity and adherence to the original principles, intentions, and the spirit. Subsequent judgments show departures from recognized texts owing to the aforesaid difficulties. Another unfortunate effect of the abolition of the posts of *muftees* was that educated Muslims gave up cultivating the knowledge of Muslim law as there was no opening for them. Mohammedan law being

clothed, for the most part, in the garb of an unfamiliar language, the Western lawyers and judges found it extremely difficult to ascertain and apply its principles. They, therefore, invoked the aid of English law either to cut down or explain away its meaning, and were thus induced to introduce Western thoughts and ideas into the principles of this law. Thus the former uniformity underwent a change. The decision of the Judicial Committee is the crowning point.

Recently certain cases of ancient *Wakfs* came up before the Calcutta High Court, and its decisions directly conflicted with the generally accepted view of the Mohammedan law, and with the prevailing customs and practices and sentiments of the people on the subject.

Till the year 1874, it was an undisputed and clearly laid down principle that the *Wakf* under which income of the property was reserved for the benefit of the founder's life, and after him for that of his descendants in perpetuity, was valid.[1] In that year Baboo Shamcharan Sircar embodied that principle in his Tagore law lectures. It was in 1887, in a Bombay case, that Mr. Justice Farran first suggested that such a *Wakf* was *not* valid. There were two conflicting decisions of the Calcutta High Court in 1891 and 1892. But the Full Bench of that Court held against the validity of such *Wakfs*.

The Judicial Committee had for the first time in 1889 expressed an opinion that to create a valid *Wakf*, there must be a substantial dedication, and not an illusory one, of property to charitable uses. At that time, they had declined to decide whether or not a gift to charitable uses which was only to take effect after the failure of all the grantor's descendants would be illusory. In 1894 in another case, they not only reaffirmed their former decision, but further laid down that a provision for the poor after the total extinction of the family would be illusory. The effect of the decision is that any *Wakf* under which the founder has reserved the income to himself for life and after his death to his descendants, cannot now be sustained in British India, and all rights and interests created under such *Wakfs* in former times are destroyed. The principle affirmed in this judgment is universally believed to be subversive of the Mohammedan law of *Wakfs*. The result was that ancient *Wakfs* were picked up and wrecked.

Mohammedan lawyers throughout India are unanimous in asserting that the view taken by the Privy Council is incorrect and contrary to the most cherished charter quoted above. The law as administered by Mohammedan judges in Mohammedan countries, such as Turkey, Egypt, Persia, etc. and that administered in Mohammedan states in India—viz., Hyderabad, Bhopal, Tonk, Rampur, etc.—is in accordance with Mohammedan law and against the interpretation of the Privy Council. This may be verified from the fact that a very large proportion of land in Turkey, Egypt, Persia and India was and is

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1. In the source document obviously misprinted as 'invalid'.

even now held under family settlements created by way of *Wakf*, constitutioned and conditioned in the way in which they were done here in this country.

Further, all the recognized books on the subject prove that *Wakfs* for descendants are allowed. It is well nigh impossible to give a complete list of all Mohammedan law-books, but I propose to mention a few leading and recognized ones.

The Hidaya is the most celebrated law-book according to the Hanafite school. It is a commentary on the *Badaia-al-Mubtada*, and most of the matter contained in it was from *Jamia-as-Saghir* and *Kuduri*. These three books are the most recognized law-books amongst Mohammedans. *The Hidaya* being a work of such eminent authority is illustrated by a large number of commentaries, the most conspicuous of them being (a) the *Nihaya*, (b) *Inayah*, (c) the *Kifaya*, (d) the *Fathul-Kadir*, (e) the *Fawaid*. There is a book *Multak-al-Abhar*, which is referred to as an authority in the Turkish dominions. Another book published in Alexandria in the year 1893 is called *Droit mussulman de Wakf* ('The Musalman Law of *Wakf*'—Hanafite). Another published in Constantinople in the year 1890 is called *Lois regissant les Proprietes dediees* ('Laws Regulating Property Endowments'), by Omar Hilmi Effendi. In addition to these, there are other books in which decisions are collected, so that they are really the law reports or the case-law of that period. Besides (1) the *Fatawa Kazi Khan*, (2) the *Tanwir-al-Absar*, and its commentaries, (a) *Manh-al-Ghaffar*, (b) *Durr-al-Mukhtar*, (c) *Rad-ul-Mukhtar*, and (3) the *Fatawa Alamgiri* are all considered as authorities.

The Mohammedans rely upon these books as their authorities and expect English judges to expound the law from these books.

As the law settled by the decisions of the highest courts in India and the Privy Council stands at present, the *Wakfs*, the sole or main object of which is the support of the settlers' descendants and relations, are entirely invalid, though a provision for descendants and relations in a *Wakf* making a substantial dedication to charity is not invalid.

The Privy Council have expressed their views in the case of Abul Fata vs. Rasamaya (I.L.R., 2, Cal. 631). Their Lordships apparently seem to hold that the same consideration which would make the creation of successive life estates invalid under a gift also apply to a settlement made in favour of descendants and relations, and further, that perpetuity is as vitiating a circumstance in the case of a family settlement as in that of a gift. Their Lordships maintain that certain precepts with reference to family settlements originating from the Prophet do not exactly apply in spite of their excellence, though their Lordships add that it would be unjust to the great law-giver to say that he was thereby commanding gifts for which the donor exercised no self-denial, in which he took back with one hand what he gave with the other, and which were to form the centre of accumulation of income and further accessions to family property, which protected the so-called managers from rendering

accounts, and which sought to give donors and their families the enjoyment of property free from all liability to creditors.

To sum up, to the best of my ability, the objections of the Privy Council come to this, and as far as possible I have quoted their Lordship's own words:

(1) "If examined broadly there appears no difference between a gift and a *Wakf*. Both are resignations in favour of another or others. The question therefore arises that if a Mohammedan cannot, under the Mohammedan law, create a single inalienable life interest by means of a gift, it does not stand to reason that he should be allowed to do so by merely saying that he creates a *Wakf* and does not make a gift. Not only this, but if the argument of the appellant is carried to its logical conclusion by a mere introduction of the name of God, he is allowed to create an inalienable life-interest. This position appears unsound in principle and hence unjust. It therefore must be declared to be illegal."

(2) "So many privileges, attached to *Wakf*, are mainly owing to its charitable purpose and religious sanctity. It is this feature more than anything else which makes it so favourably looked upon by the Mohammedan law-givers. Charity is the principle underlying *Wakfs*, and hence it is essentially necessary that it must be strictly adhered to. Therefore unless the bulk of the property is set apart and devoted to charitable uses, a mere mention of the word *Wakf* would make it valid in a court of law."

(3) "It is said that *Wakf* is a religious institution, a most cherished one too. Now a religious institution must be co-extensive with charitable uses. Without a charitable use there can be no religious trust. Self-preserving or self-aggrandizing institutions can in no sense be said to be religious. Perpetual family settlements, even though made as a *Wakf*, are merely clothed with an apparent religious sanctity, as long as they are mainly intended for the benefit of one's family. They cannot be made in the name of religious trusts unless they take the form (not merely outward) of a substantial dedication for the benefit of the poor. There must be a provision for the poor therein, coming into operation at once."

(4) "This provision for the poor must be substantial, and must not be put off indefinitely, or to take effect after a long time. It must come into operation at once or at least as soon as possible after the creator's demise."

(5) "Help to one's own family members can in no sense be called charity. Hence a dedication for the benefit of one's own descendants and relations in perpetuity can never be a charitable one. It is an act which may be highly commendable socially, but not being a charitable one, it cannot form a valid object for *Wakf*. To be a *Wakf*, dedicated for charitable objects, it must be mainly for the benefit of the poor as a class."

(6) "The original texts cited by Mr. Ameer Ali (Now Right Honourable) in his judgment, from various law-books of great antiquity, are merely abstract in character, and do not occur, in the various passages, as having a

mandatory character. Such passing sentences were not written by the authors in answer to, or in satisfaction of the difficulties."

(7) "The precedents cited are also of a very vague and abstract character. The instances show that certain persons made certain arrangements, and some of them were approved by the Prophet himself. But beyond these plain facts, we know nothing else. In order that they may serve as guiding precedents, we ought to know much more about them before we can rely upon them."

(8) "The authority of the *Hidaya*—the most authoritative law-book of Islam—is not in favour of the validity of such Wakfs, but is rather against recognizing such *Wakfs*."

Before putting forward the views of Mohammedan lawyers, let us consider the above-mentioned arguments.

(1) As regards the analogy between gifts and *Wakfs*, they are completely distinct from one another. The motive of a gift is purely secular while that of a *Wakf* is pre-eminently religious. A gift is dedication, without consideration, unless it is *Bilewaz*, in favour of a private individual, regardless of any religious merit. Restrictions are therefore imposed upon gifts to avoid the contingency of a person cheating his creditors. But a *Wakf* is in its very nature a religious act. In Eastern communities, law and religion are very much blended together; even everyday actions of a man are governed by religious forms. Islam is pre-eminently so. In it acts approved of by religion are clothed with legal sanction. The renunciation of one's own property in favour of God, which is the essence of *Wakf*, was thus warmly approved of by the Prophet. The religious merit, which was the consideration for such a dedication, was looked upon as more valuable than money or property. Such a dedication can be (a) immediate or (b) remote. Both were looked on with approval. It is the latter which forms the subject-matter of this paper. Thus no analogy can be drawn between these two forms of dedications, as they differ so widely in form and spirit. The law-givers naturally cherished the latter, because the consideration for a *Wakf* is the favour of God; whereas the consideration for a gift is the favour of man.

(2) The English Judges have used the word 'charity' in the sense of English law; whereas the interpretation put upon it by Mohammedan law is entirely different. This misinterpretation has given rise to all the errors. There is a vast difference between the word 'charity' and the word 'piety' in the English language. The one denotes a social virtue, while the other denotes a religious virtue. The one is an act which bases its claim to recognition as a virtuous act on the sanction of secularity, the other on the sanction of religion. A pious act and a religious act are the same. Anything which is pious is religious. The two ideas are so inseparably associated together. But a charitable act is not always a religious act. A particular action may be charitable and at the same time may be opposed to religion. In every society

(at least in every civilized society) the ideas of charity are almost the same. That which is charitable according to English ideas is also charitable according to Hindu or Mohammedan ideas. But an action approved by the Christian religion may be looked upon with indifference by the Islamic religion, and may also be strictly forbidden by the Hindu religion. It is a matter of common experience that human charity[1] is controlled and regulated by religious notions; and what would be charitable[2] in the eyes of a particular sect need not necessarily be charitable in the eyes of another (*sic*). Thus 'charitable' and 'pious' are not synonymous, but totally distinct ideas. *Wakf* is a pious act according to the tenets of Islam. The use of the word charity in connection with *Wakf* is unwarrantable and confusing. It is sanctioned by the law-giver of Islam, not because it is charitable but only because it is religious. Hence any decision adjudicating upon the question of *Wakf* which proceeds on a consideration purely of the meaning of charity is bound to be erroneous and opposed to the spirit of the institution of *Wakf*.

(3) The same fallacy underlies the argument, "a religious institution must be co-extensive with a charitable use". With due deference to their Lordships, I cannot subscribe to the above proposition. Similarly, the proposition, "without a charitable use there cannot be a religious trust", must be challenged as not always true. When Mohammedan law bases the validity of a *Wakf* on its religious nature, it is useless to judge it from the English notions of charity. The Law of Islam sanctions *Wakfs*, not because it is charitable, but because it is religious. The only condition laid down to make it a valid dedication for one's own descendants is that it should, at some time or other, result in favour of the poor, viz., the favourites of God. There is no idea of charity alone in the institution.

(4) & (5) "Help to one's own family members can in no sense be called charity. Hence a dedication for the benefit of one's own descendants and relations, in perpetuity, can never be a charitable one." 'Charitable' it may not be as the word is understood in the English language. But if such a dedication is sanctioned by the religion of Islam and commended as both religious and charitable (using the word charity, as it is understood in the Muslim world), it cannot be set aside, simply because it does not agree with the meaning of the word charity as it is understood in the English language. Not being a social institution, it is not correct to judge it according to the ideas received in society.

(6) The question is not whether the texts are abstract, but whether they serve the purpose for which they are cited. If it is found beyond all shadow of doubt that they support the institution of *Wakf*, nay, not only support

1. This probably should be read as 'piety'—see below.

2. These words should pehaps be read as 'pious', in view of the attempted distinction between 'charity' and 'piety', 'charitable' and 'pious'.

but commend them from a religious standpoint, then whether they are abstract or concrete does not matter much. But, as a matter of fact, the texts cited are neither abstract nor are they mandatory. They are the direct answers of the Prophet to various questions put to him by his disciples and bear directly on the point. However, if the question merely rests on this, then it will not be very difficult to solve it to the satisfaction of all; for it is very easy to multiply the quotations to any length. Mr. Ameer Ali, Judge of the Calcutta High Court, quotes a precept of the Prophet Mohammad, to the effect that "a pious offering to one's family to provide against their getting into want is more pious than giving alms to beggars." This is not an isolated saying of the Prophet on the subject, but there are a number of authentic traditions and examples of the same:

(a) Ibrahim Huzuly mentions in his book *Ghuriebul-Hadees* that Abu Bakar, son of Abu Shybuta, reported to me that Hufs, son of Hyas, has heard from Hesham, son of Oorwa, who heard from his father that Zubair, son of Awaim, made *Wakf* of his house on such of his daughters as may be divorced.

(b) Abdullah bin Omar made a *Wakf* of the share which he inherited from the Khalifa Omar to his needy descendants.

(c) Arkam made a *Sadka* of his house on his children, adding, "This is *Sadka* in the name of God Most High and Merciful, and it shall not be the subject of sale and inheritance."

(d) Baihuky mentions in his book *Khilafyat* that Abu Bakar Abdullah, son of Zaheer Hameedy, said that Khalifa Abu Bakar made *Sadka* of his house in Mecca on his sons, and this *Wakf* subsisted up to the present day.

(e) The Khalifa Omar made a *Wakf* of his property in Merwa, with appurtenances, on his sons and the *Wakf* still subsists.

(f) The Khalifa Ali made a *Wakf* of his house and lands in Egypt and his property in Medina for his daughters, and the *Wakf* still subsists.

(g) Saad, son of Wakkas, made a *Wakf* of his property near Merwa and his houses situated at Medina and in Egypt on his descendants, and this continues to subsist up to the present day.

(h) *Fathul-Kadir*, an authoritative commentary on *Hidaya*, mentions the following precedent: "Zubair bin Awaim made a *Wakf* of his house for his divorced daughter."

(i) The same book also mentions, on the authority of Hakim, that the house near Safa in which the Prophet resided in the early days of Islam, was made a *Wakf* by Arkam for the benefit of his sons with a condition, that neither shall it be sold nor shall it be a subject of inheritance.

(j) The same book quotes with approval, from another authoritative

book, *Kitab-al-Khilafat* of Baihaki, that "Amrbin-ul-As made a *Wakf* of his houses in Taif, Mecca, Medina for his children, and it still subsists."

(k) In *Kutube*, Sittah reports that Ibn-i-Omar says that Omar obtained a piece of land in the Khaiber and requested the Prophet to advise him how to deal with it. The Prophet asked him to make a *Wakf* of it in such a way that the corpus should remain preserved and not be liable to be sold or inherited, and the benefit should go to the poor, kinsmen, travellers, etc.

In addition to the above instances, a number of authoritative books report the Prophet to have said that if you spend anything on your family and relations, it is good *Sadka* and the best charity. One or two instances of this may be quoted here:

(a) Sahih Muslim reports from Jabir that on one occasion the Prophet replied to a questioner that "commence with thyself, i.e., maintain yourself first and so gain *Sadka* to yourself first, and if surplus remain give it to your *Ahl* (relations)."

(b) Tibrani has reported from Abu Imama, that he said about charity, "Whoever maintains himself, this is to him *Sadka* and whoever maintains his wife and his *Ahl* (relations) and his children, this to him is *Sadka*."

The last but the most important instance of *Wakf* is that made by the Prophet. The *Kifayat* at page 889, Vol. II, also refers to it. The *Wakf* was of a garden or *Hawaib* which exists up to the present day. It is also called *Abraham's Wakf*.

This is a formidable though by no means an exhaustive list of *Wakfs*. It shows that *Wakfs* were made by the Prophet, by his companions, Khalifas Abu Bakar, Omar, Osman, Ali; by other companions of the Prophet, Saad bin Abiwikas, Zubair, Mauz bin Jubl, Syed bin Sabit, Amr bin-ul-As, Abdullah bin Omar, Khalid bin Waleed, Jabier bin Abdullah, Akhal bin Amir, Abu Arwa Dawsaee, Abdullah bin Zubair. A number of prominent women have also made *Wakfs*, amongst them Ummi Sukma, wife of the Prophet, and Aisha, and her sister Asma, Ummi Habiba, Sufya Hai's daughter.

The men and women, whose names are mentioned above, are well-known persons in the history of Islam. The situation and full description of the properties endowed by them are given by the authors of the traditions after personal enquiries, at the time of writing of those books. These writers have further assured us that those *Wakfs* were existing at that date. I have no doubt that if these precedents of *Wakfs* for descendants, together with their authoritative sources and detailed discription had been brought to the notice of their Lordships of the Privy Council, their decision would have been of a different type.

It has been pointed out above that the dedication of property for the

benefit of one's own descendants is lawful according to the *Hadis* or traditions and *Fikah* or expounded law: and all the sects of Islam are agreed that, under Mohammedan law, *Sadka* or charity is not confined to strangers, and it is considered to be the greatest charity to give to one's own family and decendants.

It is essential to realize with precision what view the Mohammedan lawyers take of the nature of *Wakf*. *Wakf* is a kind of *Sadka*, and we ought therefore to know what *Sadka* is. *Sadka* is a particular kind of disposition, which has religious merit, or what we would call *Sawab*, as the consideration, and which includes both movable and imovable and might consist of the substance or of the profits, and might involve the element of perpetuity or not. *Fathul Kadir*, page 833, Vol. III, explains the theory of *Sawab* thus: "the *Sawab* or the cause of making the *Wakf*, is the intention of the *Wakif* to carry out his cherished desire, as regards this world, by giving benefit to the living, and as regards the world to come, by obtaining *Takarrub* or *Sawab* from God the Great. The consideration which the giver of the *Sadka* receives is the *Sawab* or religious merit. God promises *Sawab* in future and the Quran lays down that the promise of God is sure to be realized. Verily never does God break his promise. *Sadka* is thus based on the promise of God's favour in the world hereafter." The motive of *Sadka* is religious merit. Its recipients may be rich or poor. In *Hedaya*, line 3, page 199, it is stated, "there is no revocation of the *Sadka* made on the rich because the object being *Sawab* has been obtained by its grant." *Wakf* is a disposition of the nature of *Sadka*, but with this difference that it is restricted to immovable property, and it involves the element of perpetuity. Therefore *Wakf* involves the permanent *Sadka* of the profits.

The word 'object' is sometimes used to indicate the persons for whose benefit the *Sadka* or *Wakf* is made, and at other times it is used to indicate the motives which prompted the *Sadka* or *Wakf*. The motive is to obtain religious merit, but the religious merit is often transferred from the 'motive' to the 'object'; and then it is asserted that the object of the *Wakf* should be religious or charitable in the sense that it should be 'pious'.

The 'motive' which prompts a Mohammedan is that God should be pleased with him, and is thus a religious one. Therefore it is religion that enables us to find out what class of persons come within the object of *Wakf*. This principle is based on the theory that the members of one's own family are also members of the general body of mankind, and consequently to help the members of one's own family is to help humanity in general, and hence it is an act of virtue. Mohammedan law literally follows the English proverb 'charity begins at home'. Thus under Islamic law, the *Sadka* or charity is not confined to strangers, but may also be given to one's own family or descendants. This charity is thus enjoined by the Quran: "It is not righteousness that you turn your face to the east and the west, but righteousness is of him who believes in God, and the Last Day and the Angels, and the Scriptures and the

Prophet; who giveth money for God's sake unto his kindred and unto orphans, and the needy and the strangers, etc." In another place it is stated that "They will ask thee what shall we bestow in charity. Answer, The good which ye bestow, let it be given to parents, kindred, orphans, the poor and the stranger."

The following passages occur in the most authentic books *Sahih Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim*. In the former it is written: "The best of alms is that which is given after the wants of one's own family have been satisfied, and it should be begun from the family." In the latter book it is written: "The Prophet of God said 'in the moneys spent over Holy wars, ransoming captives, for the poor, and over one's own family, the most meritorious, in the sight of God, is the money spent over one's own family." In both the books it is stated: "When a Musalman spends money on his family and does so regarding it as an act of piety, it is charity." Then three other authoritative books, *Sahih Tirmizi*, *Ibn Maja*, and *Nisai*, contain the following passage: "To give alms to the poor is only charity, whereas to give alms to relatives is charity as well as discharging one's obligation due to one's kinsmen."

The following passage occurs both in *Sahih Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim*: "The mother of Salma says that she asked the Prophet of God whether God would reward her if she spent money on her sons. The Prophet replied, that she could do so and be assured of the reward." The following traditions are reported, the first in *Sahih Bukhari* and in *Sahih Muslim*, the second in the latter: (1) Zainab, wife of Abdullah bin Masaud, says, she heard the Prophet once addressing the women say, "that they should give alms from their jewellery, if they have nothing else, and told her husband to inquire from the Prophet, if she could give alms to him as he was poor. Abdullah asked his wife to make that inquiry herself, and so Zainab went to the house of the Prophet; at the door she met another lady who had come to put a similar question. Just then Belal came out of the Prophet's house, and Zainab requested him to put the question on their behalf to the Prophet, which he did. The Prophet asked the names of the women. Belal said one was Zainab, wife of Abdullah, and the other was an Ansari woman. The Prophet said that she will have double reward, one on account of helping a relative and another on account of giving to a poor man." (2) Anas says that when the following verse of the Quran, "ye will never attain unto true righteousness until ye give in alms that which ye love", was revealed to the Prophet, Abu Talha stood up and said, "if such was the ordinance of God and I prize my Berha estate most of all, I dedicate it to God, expecting a reward and a store hereafter from God." The Prophet expressed satisfaction at his remarks and said: "I think you should dedicate it for the benefit of your relations."

The Quranic texts and traditions that have been cited above show the Muslim law on the point. But the procedure to regulate it is also to be found in the books of *Fikah*, those that treat of practical jurisprudence in all its

branches. In such books there are special chapters devoted to *Wakfs* on descendants. If the Mohammedan law did not recognize *Wakf* on descendants, as is supposed by their Lordships of the Privy Council, there was no necessity of the subject appearing in the books, and a number of detailed rules being provided for the guidance of Mohammedan lawyers. They also prove the actual practice that prevailed in Muslim countries.

In *Fatawa Kazikhan*, which is a book of great authority, the following passage occurs in the chapter on *Wakfs* to descendants: 'If a man said this land of mine is in alms, and made *Wakf* of for my children, then the proceeds of the land would go to the children born of him—males and females, sharing equally—and such a *Wakf* being valid, no one gets the profits except the child born of him, as long as such child is alive, and if no one remains alive in the first generation, the profits will go to the poor.''

The *Fatawai Alamgiri*, a book on Mohammedan law prepared under the command of Emperor Aurangzeb, which is always recognized as a work of high authority, expressly enunciates and emphatically lays down the lawfulness of such *Wakfs*, giving minute details as to the manner in which they should be created. It contains the following: ''... and if he said for my children and my children's and their children's children, mentioning three generations, then the profits of the property shall remain in the family so long as any descendants remain and the poor shall get nothing, until a single member of the family is alive, he and his descendants will get the profit the nearer and more remote being equal in such case.'' All books on *Fikha* contain such detailed procedure. I shall mention one more from another authoritative book, *Durr-i-Mukhtar*, ''...and if the generation is also included, it becomes general for all descendants.''

The settled policy of the English law for centuries past has been against perpetuities of any kind. Taking their clue from the analogy based on the Muslim law of gift, the Privy Council have declared *Wakf* for descendants to be invalid only because it involves perpetuity, and thus infringes the English law. But it ought to be noted that it would be extremely unjust to invalidate an institution simlpy because it is against notions of public policy entertained by European nations.

Now it is a universally accepted principle that whenever there is—apparently or really—a conflict or an antagonism between the supposed policy of an enactment and its express provision, the duty of the judge is—whether he is in agreement with the supposed policy or not—to give effect to the express provision of the law. Considerations of policy must be confined to questions and points which are not expressly provided for by any rule of law. It is then that justice, equity, good conscience come in, and any consideration of policy can come in only along with them. It is certainly most inequitable that policy, or considerations based on that policy, should be allowed to interfere and even to override the express provisions of the law.

When the British Government assumed the Government of India, every community was promised and secured the enjoyment of their respective laws in matters of religion, inheritance, succession, marriage, and other social and religious institutions, and for these purposes especial acts and resolutions were passed. Amongst the institutions and laws secured to the Mohammedans by these acts and regulations is the law of *Wakf*. Hence it follows that if the rendering of the law, by the Privy Council, is incorrect and against the express provisions of Mohammedan law-books, then it means infringing the promises given by His Majesty's Government to the Mohammedan subjects. The responsibility of the Government of India is enhanced by the fact that if this erroneous interpretation of the law on *Wakf* was allowed to prevail as the *de facto* law of the land, then it would be taking away a right from the Mohammedans which has been promised and secured to them so long. Further, it will be equal to recognizing that the judgement law is authoritative enough to supersede actual provisions of an existing law.

This law is still correctly administered by Mohammedan judges in Musalman States, such as Hyderabad, Bhopal, Rampore, Bhawalpore, Khairpore, Jaora, and others. I hope the Government would not allow an impression to go abroad (*sic*) that this law of *Wakf* is correctly and in right spirit administered in those States because the judges there, though barristers, are Mohammedans. It is true that non-Mohammedans, and alien judges who are made to administer this law, have not got the complete machinery at their disposal to understand the intricacies of the law, and similarly the difficulties in their way of understanding books like the *Hidaya*, *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* and others are insuperable. It is therefore not surprising to read a passage in the judgment of the Privy Council that *Hidaya* is against the creation of *Wakfs* for descendants. If you throw aside all sentimental objections, and once grasp the fundamental principle that the Mohammedan law of *Wakf* is founded on religious injunction and that a Mohammedan can create a *Wakf* constituting his children and descendants and kindred the immediate recipients of the benefaction, the subject becomes as clear as daylight. It is highly unreasonable that this should be subjected to any test which is absolutely foreign to it.

It is a question worth serious consideration what a far-reaching effect this subversion of the system of the Mohammedan law must have upon the minds of Muslims who are subjects of British Rule, having regard to the patent fact that the other Mohammedan countries mentioned above, as well as the Native States in India, still administer Mohammedan law in its true spirit and in consonance with the sentiments of the people, and uphold the *Wakfs* that are considered totally invalid in British India.

The Mohammedans are just realizing the severity of this judgment. They feel it so keenly because these institutions of *Wakfs* have become interwoven with the entire social and religious fabric or the economy of the com-

munity and have become inseparable from their inner life. The last decision of the Privy Council has disturbed and, in some cases, ruined a large number of families. The blow of the judgment has been felt throughout India, because resolutions have been passed by all important associations about this subject. The Nadwat-ul-Ulema, a body composed of Moulvis and learned men, has actively interested itself in moving the Government on this subject.

The Mohammedans do not ask for any new rights or favours. They respectfully ask that this state of affairs should be remedied. Its redress can only take place through legislation. There is no other course left. There is no appeal against the judgment of the Privy Council. The past precedents and the settled practice of that body shows that a fresh Bench of the said Council does not review or attempt to alter the judgment once passed. Thus the only alternative is to resort to legislation. The Government of India ought to be a little more tolerant on a susceptible subject like this, and restore to the Mohammedans the right that is given to them by their law and religion, which they have enjoyed for so many years and which is still enjoyed not only in other countries but in Native States of India. There are precedents for doing so: the Hindu Wills Act, Native Converts Act, and Succession amongst Native Christians and Eurasians. When the Government has made special provisions for other communities as mentioned above, the Mohammedans have made out a stronger case for Government support.

I trust the Government will support the bill which is shortly going to be introduced in the Supreme Council.

Syed Zahur Ahmed briefly seconded the resolution in Urdu, and it was carried without a single dissent.

The Honorary Secretary to the All-India Muslim League then announced that the Third and Fourth Sittings of the League would be held in the *Pandal* on December 30, 1910.

This brought the proceedings of the day to a close.

Third Sitting

The third sitting of the League took place, as announced by the Honorary Secretary, in the *Pandal* on December 30, 1910.

The *Pandal* was tastefully decorated with flowers, while Chinese lanterns were hung about the portico amidst arches and festoons of flowers and foliage. The *Pandal* was densely crowded, and the dais was overfull. His Highness the Aga Khan arrived punctually and was warmly welcomed by the audience. The programme contained five resolutions, most of them relating to the general improvement of the community and the promotion of Muslim unity.

RESOLUTION VIII

The first resolution of the day ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League deplores the persistent attempts that are being made in various forms to set up what are called Hindi and Punjabi as the vernaculars of the United Provinces and the Punjab respectively, and to displace Urdu from the position so long occupied by it as the lingua franca of India, and having regard to the fact that the preservation of the Urdu language and literature is essential to the general progress of the country, particularly in Northern India, the League hopes and prays that the Government will be pleased to discountenance all such attempts to injure Urdu.

Sheikh Zahur Ahmed, who moved the resolution, spoke as follows:

I have been called upon to address you on a subject which has been for a long time the storm-centre of controversies and which, in its importance and far-reaching consequences, yields to no other questions that are to-day stirring the educated brains of India. It is a problem affecting the whole country and has nothing sectarian about it, as some interested and shortsighted partisans will have us believe.

Gentlemen, few questions have created more bad blood between Hindus and Mohammedans than this unfortunate question of Urdu and Hindi. It has caused many a heartburning, and has done more than anything else to keep the sore raw and festering.

Mr. Chairman, I request you to consider with me most dispassionately the relative claims of Urdu and the so-called Hindi. Ever since the days of Shahjahan, hundreds of years ago, Urdu has been to all intents and purposes the lingua franca of India, and has practically occupied the same position in our country as French does in Europe.

There is no gainsaying the fact that Mohammedan domination greatly affected the thought, manner and speech of the great Indian people. During this long course of years and even under British rule, Urdu has established its claim, beyond all dispute, to be the common medium of a very large portion of the Indian population. It has acquired a fixed literary character, and has been considerably enriched by various sources, expanding every day with the growth of human thought. Of late years, a most deplorable feature of the controversy has been to excite racial feeling by identifying the advocate of Hindi with the Hindu population and the advocates of Urdu with the Mohammadens. This is a most unjustifiable and unwarrantable assumption. Urdu has been the common property of Hindus and Mohammedans. It has been spoken and written quite as well by Hindus as by Mohammedans, and I make bold to say that Urdu has endeared itself through long associations to both the elements of the Indian population. There are many books written in Urdu by Hindu authors, which in their literary excellence compare most

favourably with any written by a Mohammedan author. The language is as chaste and pure in the pages of Naseem and Suroor as in those of Meer and Akber.

Sarshar loses nothing by comparison with any other novelist who writes in the same language, and words come quite as hot from his pages as from those of Sharar. In modern periodicals, *Adeeb* and *Zamana*, conducted by Hindu editors, rival and in some respects excel the best Urdu journals of the day. Urdu songs and dramas appeal as readily to a Hindu as to a Mohammedan. In educated Hindu homes, most straight-laced and polished Urdu is spoken and lapses are treated as in bad taste. If you go to a college or a school in Bihar, the U.P. and the Punjab you will find the majority of the Hindu students take Persian for their second language—Persian from which Urdu has been largely drawn—and they find the language easy, because most of the words they heard spoken to them when they were crooning babies. Lessons written in Urdu are most readily appreciated by village schoolboys. In a word, it is a cosmopolitan tongue spoken and understood from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from the Sutlej to the Gangetic delta, and even in some outlying parts of India...

As far back as 1867, an attempt was made for the first time by an interested clique to assert that so-called Hindi instead of Urdu or Hindustani—call it by whatever name you like—is the lingua franca of India. This small but noisy element had been more or less successful in inducing the Government to pass resolutions in its favour in certain provinces of India. However, it evoked a storm of feeling throughout educated India, because it spelled a serious blow at Urdu, the cherished language of the people.

Much confusion has arisen from the loose employment of the term Urdu and Hindi—and much breath has been wasted in trying to prove that Hindi as spoken in this country is a quite distinct language from Urdu. It is a great philological error to forget that a language is not distinct from another simply because it can be written in different characters. Urdu is no more Hindi if it is transcribed in Nagari characters nor does it lose its identity if it is written in Roman. Hindi can by no stretch of mercy be called a language in itself, it is rather Urdu degraded and vulgarized. It is a jumble of dialects and there is no such thing as a standard Hindi literature, standard Hindi vernacular and standard spelling—whoever writes it writes it according to his own sweet will and pleasure, and often finds it difficult to read his own writing. If I mistake not, there are seven if not nine ways of writing it. This hopeless confusion of dialects decked in the garb of Nagari, with no settled vocabulary, pronunciation or spelling, is being substituted for Urdu or Hindustani by anxious and devoted bands of patriotic champions. Urdu with its intrinsic superiority, its immense flexibility and power of assimilation, and its advantage of alphabet over Nagari as a vehicle for representing articulate sounds of our language, is to be proscribed in favour of so-called Hindi,

because some of our Hindu brothers choose to regard Urdu or Hindustani as a foreign imposition, and because they are anxious to show that they owe nothing to Mohammedan rule. It is quite a mistake to suppose that Urdu is not the language of the country. It is an offspring of languages belonging to the Aryan stock, and thus though not directly, indirectly belongs to the soil. Those who want to resuscitate Sanskritic Nagari, because the sacred books of the Vedas are transcribed in it, are only trying to bring an Egyptian mummy to life by constant puffs of human breath, regardless of the fact that it would take quite hundreds of years before their pet language comes to acquire the position now enjoyed by Urdu in India. Raja Shiv Pershad, a staunch advocate of Nagari, in an appendix to the Education Commission report, rightly observes, ''Persian words have become our household words which are now used by our women and children and the rustic population as well as the urban. They wanted to use unintelligible and difficult Sanskrit words which often I myself don't understand.''

And as to substituting Punjabi for Urdu in the Punjab, it is sufficient to say that the educated class would always prefer a standard language to a provincial dialect. Punjabi has no better claim than Hindi to be called a language in itself. The leading newspapers, journals, books and pamphlets are all written in Urdu in the Punjab and in the U.P. The Punjab has rendered more service to the cause of Urdu than any other province in India. Delhi, the home of Urdu, is in the Province of the Punjab and it would be a very sad day, indeed, if the birth-place of Mir, Ghalib and Zouque should be vulgarized by that Babylonish jargon, by courtesy, called Punjabi.

One of the oldest charges against Urdu is that it is not suited to the courts of law, for the litigants are mostly illiterate. We ought to realize the fact that technicalities of law cannot be made to suit the bovine mind. If it were not so, Chief Justice Stanely and Justice Knox would have had to undergo a course of study in the rural districts preparatory to any appearance they might make on the Bench.

In vain do our Hindu brethren cry up so-called Hindi and cry down Urdu, since it is evident that their efforts to undermine it are of no avail in practical life. The anti-Urdu movement, I am grieved to think, is nothing but an affront to Mohammedans. However elaborately patriotic advocates of Hindi try to veil their motives, I venture to ask the accredited leaders of our country if this is a move towards the ideals of United India. The Mohammedans are always prepared to meet their Hindu brethren half-way if they work in a spirit of justice, cordial co-operation and amity.

Language is a great unifying factor between any two communities and races. It is language that promotes uniformity of thoughts, ideals and actions. Our common language, Urdu, is the only great bond of unity between the two communities; and if that bond is severed, the communities will be thrown disunited from each other. Now when the spirit of fraternity

and unity is in the air, it would be only a retrograde movement if some narrow-minded politicians, by stirring the embers of this futile controversy, for ever render the ideals of a United India unrealizable. I appeal to the sober sense of both the communities to respect each other's rights and privileges, to work in a spirit of mutual toleration and compromise, and to try their best to sink petty differences in the interest of higher ideals. If we want to be in the vanguard of nations, we have to stand shoulder to shoulder and most zealously maintain any bond of unity that might be existing between the two great communities.

Gentlemen, I should not like to trespass any further on your patience, and I thank you sincerely for the patient hearing you have given me.

Mr. Mohammad Yakub, in seconding the resolution, pointed out that the existence of the Urdu language was brought about only by the contact of the two great communities and was the after-effect of their unity. Efforts to injure its very existence would be disastrous.

Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed supported the resolution, saying that Urdu had been recognized as the queen of vernaculars. It was a camp language, as the name implied, but it was now the language of the Indian merchants and of Indian society. Twenty-five years ago Urdu was the medium of instruction in primary schools in the Bombay Presidency; but to-day Gujrati and Marathi had usurped its place, and it had been relegated to the place of a second language, and that too only in a few schools. He did not desire that the Muslim minority should impose its vernacular on a non-Muslim majority. All that he desired was that Government should give to the vernacular of the minority the same facilities as to the vernaculars of the majority. The Director of Public Instruction in Bombay, in his recent reports had said that Urdu should altogether be excluded from public schools, and Muslims be left to learn Urdu at home as they did their theology. He criticized the Director's statement sharply, and said that they must make a representation to Government on the subject. Urdu was not only the lingua franca of the country, but the queen of languages, and any attempt to dethrone her from her high pedestal would be revolting to Mohammedan susceptibilities. The Chief Commissioner of the Province, he remarked, had yesterday pointed out the unfairness of asking 96½ per cent of the population to learn Urdu, but their point was that Urdu being their mother tongue the same facilities should be provided for Mohammedans as had been given to others. We don't want favours, he added, but justice.

Mr. Mohammad Ali supported the motion in an eloquent speech. He said that they were on the eve of a new era of peace and goodwill between Hindus and Musalmans, and they were going to Allahabad with open minds in the sincere hope that the relations of the two great communities of India would be better hereafter than they had hitherto been. It would be foolish for either party to insist on the other signing all the thirty-nine articles of its

creed, but both could and should insist on some positive indication of feelings of unity and concord. He regarded the question of Urdu a touchstone of Hindu sincerity. In a land where everything was dissimilar, races and creeds, customs and institutions, modes of thought and action, the one thing common was the lingua franca of the country, Urdu. It was its development and the enrichment of its vocabulary from all possible sources, Arabic, Sanskrit and English, which was the *sine qua non* of the Indian nationality of the future. Musalmans have no linguistic prejudices. In Persia they preserved and developed Persian. In Turkey they preserved the language of the destroyers of the Abbaside Empire. In India they took up the language from the soil itself and made it their own. Did they bring Urdu from Arabia or Persia or Afghanistan? No, it was in the Indian camp and the market-place that they picked it up, and 80 per cent of the words used in their daily intercourse were such as would have no meaning for an Arab or Persian, or a Turk or an Afghan, and yet he noticed that the one province with which the Musalmans were most intimately connected for a thousand years objected to words of Persian and Arabic origin, branding them as *bideshi* and foreign. It was as if a banker were throwing into the gutter all gold and silver that bore the stamp of Arabia or Persia. No Hindu banker would throw away pure gold and pure silver simply because the coin was minted in a *bideshi* mint, and yet the Hindus of the United Provinces and the Punjab were doing what no thrifty Hindu would do in the case of his hoarded wealth. For a community justly renowned and praised for its thrift, this was amazing, but it was a fact. He was present as a visitor and journalist at this year's session of the Congress, and he heard a speech of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya in what was marked in the programme as Hindi. That speech was wholly unintelligible to the Mohammedans and only partly intelligible to the Hindus of his province. It contained more Sanskrit words than any speech he had ever heard in Gujrati and Marathi. These words would have been unintelligible to the Parsis of Gujrat or Bombay who spoke Gujrati. At the same time words of Persian or Arabic origin were rigorously excluded, they had no admission even on business. But a few trespassers crept in and were speedily rejected by Sanskrit translations that had to be forced in as an afterthought. Again he heard a speech which was not only in the programme but delivered at his own request by a Hindu gentleman from Cawnpore in what he called Urdu. In this, not only were the complex concepts worded in Sanskrit, but even its agents were garbed in the ancient garb of Vedic India. A third speech was delivered by a Hindu gentleman from Karachi, and the programme said it was to be delivered in Hindi. In this there were as many words of Arabic and Persian origin as in the most high-flown bombast and fustian of an Arabic scholar. When three Hindus in the Congress labelled languages differently, he felt it would be absurd to place much credence in the entries of census enumerators. But one thing was certain. In the United Provinces

at least, Urdu was being attacked in a deplorable spirit, and in others it was being labelled Hindi. He cared little for the label, but he was much concerned with the article itself; and as he had said before, he regarded the question of Urdu as the touchstone of sincerity and hoped that one of the chief results of the Conference at Allahabad would be the development of Urdu, which was the common heritage of Hindu and Muslim. Speaking as a Musalman he felt that in other provinces too the preservation of Urdu was necessary for Muslim education. Urdu should be the medium of instruction in most of the primary schools for Musalmans in the Bombay Presidency, and in undermining Urdu, its opponents were destroying the only chance which Musalmans had of educating themselves. He remembered a cartoon in the Hindi *Punch* in which the Hon'ble Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed was depicted as a child asking Sir George Clarke for some toys placed on the top of a shelf. He was made to point to a ladder marked education, which he asked the Moulvi to ascend. There was nothing very humorous in the cartoon, but the real situation was intensely humorous; for in reality, though not in the cartoon, the ladder had been removed and hidden away.

Mr. Ibrahim Rahmutollah of Bombay remarked that the Urdu language was being treated in a stepmotherly way in the Bombay Presidency, if not in Bombay town. By quoting figures, he showed that Urdu schools had increased in the town of Bombay since 1888, when only two Urdu schools existed. He hoped that if energetic people would come forward to help this language, the Mohammedans would make their sister communities feel the significance of their mother tongue.

Mr. Ishaque Ali, in further supporting the resolution, asked the members not to join hands with Hindus at the cost of injuring their mother tongue.

The resolution was put to the vote and unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTION IX

The next resolution was of vital importance to the progress of the community and it ran as follows:

> The All-India Muslim League respectfully reiterates its prayer that the Government may be pleased to institute a thorough inquiry into the general purposes and manner of administration of existing Musalman endowments designed mainly for the public benefit.

The above resolution was ably moved in an eloquent speech by Syed Shumsul Huda. He gave instances from his experience in Bengal to show how such endowments were mismanaged, either through incompetence or dishonesty of the trustees, and urged that this should no longer be permitted. Urging the Government to hold an enquiry on the subject, he deplored the fact that though a blue-book had been issued containing *Wakf* names, no other step had been taken.

Mr. Mohammad Ali seconded the proposition. He said, "You would question the necessity of passing the resolutions. Well, if my pocket is picked I will hasten to send the man to jail; but if endowments are being misapporopriated we would not care to bring trustees to account. It is a matter of great concern that we do not even know where endowments exist, and who manages them." He referred to his own experience in connection with *Wakfs* in Rander, a sub-division of Surat. He eulogised the sympathy of H.E. the Governor of Bombay in the matter, and of Mr. Anderson, the Collector of Surat, who showed a keen interest in his effort to unearth a *Wakf* of about Rs. 33 lakhs. He described the difficulty he had to encounter; and he found that not only the public, but the Collector of Surat himself knew nothing of such a large endowment, for it was given to him to bring it to their notice. Nobody knew the amount of the *Wakf* property. One estimate placed it at Rs. 11, another at Rs. 7 and the third at Rs. 33 lakhs. Under the circumstances, it was necessary to request Government to hold an enquiry, as the League had repeatedly asked, and to request Government to cause it to be prepared in every district and maintained as a record open to public inspection.

Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan briefly supported the resolution, after which it was put to the vote and unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION X

The next resolution was moved by Mr. Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim, and ran as follows:

> The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the time has arrived when a beginning, however modest, should be made in the direction of making primary education free and gradually compulsory throughout the country, and for this purpose respectfully suggests that experiments should be made in selected areas.

In proposing the resolution, Mr. Fazalbhoy said:

The proposition that has been entrusted to my care deals with the vast and complex subject of primary education. It has been a subject of never-ending discussion and has formed a chief plank in the writings and speeches of Indian publicists. It involves several grave and far-reaching issues, and true statesmanship demands that the subject should be looked at not from one side only: in order to arrive at a correct understanding of it, we must have a complete treatment of the question in its various aspects. In the first place, it is necessary that you should draw a line between impatient idealism and the sphere of practical administration. If we mistake the wood for the tree, we should be lost. I am glad that the Muslim League recognized the need of caution in this matter of vital importance to the well-being of the millions of people in this country; and the proposition that has been placed in my hand is reasonable, though I believe it should have been so worded as

to make it comprehensive and effective by directly touching the main issue.

Lord Curzon in one of his speeches, had admitted that one of the first claims upon its bounty that Government would do well to acknowledge will be the education of the masses. He further admitted that it cannot be a right thing that three out of four villages should be without a school, and not much more than 300,000 boys, or less than one-fifth of the total boys of school-going age, should be in receipt of primary education. He even went so far as to assert that he was one of those who thought that Government had not fulfilled its duty in this respect. Ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of the Indian languages and Indian textbooks, the elementary education of the people in their own tongues had shrivelled and pined. Lord Curzon condemned the policy and characterized it as a mistake. The fact that three out of every four Indian boys grow up without education is significant in itself, and it is high time that this most unsatisfactory and lamentable state of things is remedied with the least possible delay. The idea of free primary education is not a new one or sprung upon Government all of a sudden. As far back as 1882, the Education Commission made a recommendation to the effect that an attempt should be made to secure the fullest possible provision for an expansion of primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province. Nearly 30 years have since passed by, and the Government are in the same state of unpreparedness as they were then. The strongest argument that can be produced in favour of the proposition is that, as pointed out by Sir Fredrick Lely four years ago, the Government were in favour of introducing the system of free and compulsory universal education, but recent official pronouncements show that we are still as far removed from that ideal as we were ever before. There is little doubt that much of the agrarian discontent and suffering prevalent among the masses, and social miseries that hedge round simple and superstitious folk, are due to ignorance; and no nation can ever hope to thrive in ignorance.

Education must be acknowledged as a charge on revenues and a State duty, and the State should accept the full responsibility. Education is a vital power for the rise of nations; and it is acknowledged by the best administrators that in India education is the most clamant necessity of all, because it is the key to employment or improvement in different stations of life. Although, as I said, the Government themselves were in favour of the proposal, we do not wish to embarrass them by any ultra-radical programme. Even my esteemed friend the Hon'ble Gokhale did not ask, when he moved his famous resolution in the Viceregal Council in March last, supported by his eloquence and convincing facts, that elementary education should be made compulsory at once throughout India, nor did he demand that it should be made free at once throughout the country. What we at present want is that a comprehensive and definite scheme may be formulated and clarified; that a beginning should be made in selected and most suitable areas, at the discretion of the Govern-

ment or according to demands from the residents, towards the laudable direction of making education free and useful and practical to children; and that the policy should be rigorously but judiciously followed up till every child that should be at school is there. If any district declares itself ripe for the experiment, the Government should not withhold its consent to introducing the principle of free and compulsory primary education.

One is grieved to find that financial considerations are put forward as a set-back against the principle of free education. The Government incur an expenditure of about Rs. 1,36,00,000 for primary education. A few years ago the expenditure was much smaller than it is to-day. Far be it from me to deprecate what Government has already done during recent years in the way of increasing the expenditure on this head. While I greatly appreciate what they have done, I emphatically state that they have not gone to the extent of the country's requirements or their responsibilities in the matter. During the last few years, they have increased their military expenditure by over Rs. 13 crore, while civil expenditure has gone up by Rs. 8 crore. The expenditure on railways, post and telegraphs has also increased by leaps and bounds. The land revenue has advanced by Rs. 8 crore. A good portion of it ought to have gone towards the education of the children of those who toil at the plough. Yet, during the same period, the expenditure on education has increased by only a little over Rs. 50,000. Even Japan spends over Rs. 5 crore on primary education. What the Indian Government has done in regard to this question is very little indeed compared with what has been done with highly beneficial result by other civilized states during the last 30 or 40 years. The condition of our agriculturists who swell the coffers of Government is most deplorable; they are steeped in ignorance which militates against their emancipation.

Again, the Government should never for a moment forget the moral and economic aspect of the question. As a German professor has pointed out, general education is the foundation and necessary antecedent of increased economic activity in all branches of national production: in agriculture, small industries, manufactures and commerce. The rapid growth and progress of civilized countries in regard to their manufactures was due to the scientific training of the proprietors and to elementary education among the masses. Those countries that have made primary education universal and practical have richly benefitted thereby. India has fallen into the key (*sic*) of international competition, and she cannot afford to stand still, much less to recede. It is time that Government prepare their programme before it is too late.

As I have remarked above, the proposition could have been more pointed and attractive. For while no one disputes the benefit of popular education, everything depends upon the real meaning of it. We are painfully reminded of the backwardness of our industrial progress, which is handicapped by the absence of diffused education of the right sort. It is no use putting up

schools which are no better than the old hedge-schools with ill-trained teachers and a defective or ill-suited course of studies. We should not content ourselves by making primary education free and gradually compulsory; we must ask the Government first of all to lay down a definite line of policy in regard to this question, and we must as emphatically insist upon the necessity of a system of primary instruction suited to the needs of the recipients in different stations of life. British institutions in the East have in reality not proved as efficient as they are in the West; but even in Great Britain primary education is not free from defects. In the March number of *Blackwood's Magazine*, Mr. Charles Whibley, in criticizing the system of primary instruction in Great Britain, wrote as follows: "The State having assumed the complete responsibility of the schools does not wish that each citizen should grow up capable of doing his own work well. It has no desire to make good labourers or artisans, its one ideal is a half-competent clerk who has many smatterings and no real knowledge."

We should take care to escape from the sway of similar false ideals, especially when the economic and industrial era is dawning upon India. Our system of primary education should be so devised as to spare the waste of effort, secure efficiency and prevent the recipients of instruction from drifting away from the true path. The point was vigorously emphasized by our revered and eminent leader, H.H. the Aga Khan, in his address at the last meeting of this League held at Delhi. He said that our aim should be to secure to the next generation of agriculturists and artisans the fruit of their industry. Primary education should aim at being complete in itself up to a point, which shall make the sons of farmers and operatives better farmers and better operatives, at the same time leaving wide open the avenue to higher walks of life to those who have the means and abilities to follow it. This aim has, unfortunately, been lost sight of in India; and I am convinced that the full consideration of the end of primary education is as essential as the wider diffusion of it. India has long suffered from paucity of skilled labour, which is so very necessary for its economic and industrial advancement. This is due to lack of suitable primary education, which has failed to keep pace with the needs of the time and of the country, and it has therefore fallen behind in the economic race which is going on in the civilized countries of the world.

As to compulsion, I think even if you make education free, its advantage will not be taken fully until some kind of compulsion is applied, as the masses do not yet appreciate the value of education and the blessings attendant thereon. We do not want a revolutionary policy, but a policy which should slowly broaden down from precedent to precedent. I think that at this critical period it is advisable to refrain from taking any steps which may lead to any friction or irritation. We must gradually prepare the way for it by co-operation with the Government and creating a public opinion in its favour. In no country is it so very necessary as in India to move on the lines of least resistance,

as nowhere are the intentions of Government more liable to misrepresentation and misinterpretation than in a conservative country like India. I am therefore pleased to note that the League is quite conscious of this difficulty that besets the path of the Government, and rightly uses the words 'gradually compulsory' in the resolution. We can best carry into practice the principle of the wider diffusion of mass education in the first place by adopting and vigorously working the policy of persuasion and the provision of increased facilities for suitable elementary education. I am, however, free to admit that this is no reason why we should not press our views on the Government. The wheels of the State coach move ever so slowly specially when considerations of finance are involved. I will give only one instance to convince you of the dilatory attitude on the part of the Government in the matter. In 1906 when the finances of the Government of India were in a much more prosperous condition (it was a period of large surpluses), the Hon. Mr. Gokhale suggested in the Viceregal Council that the fees in primary schools should be remitted. By this means it was hoped not only to give a remission of taxation, but also to give a stimulus to primary education. The proposal was put to local governments in 1906, and a despatch embodying their view was published only a few months ago—after a lapse of nearly four years!

Perhaps the great stumbling block in the way of the Government consisits of the sinews of war, but we can boldly assert that no subject calls more loudly for heavier expenditure than that of primary education. On the right solution of primary education depends the future of India. Ignorance and poverty are twins: they are inseparably co-related to each other. Education is of course costly, but ignorance is more so; and however poor the country, it cannot refuse even to be further taxed for the purpose of education. We had a magnificent instance of the Mohammedans of Sind offering to be voluntarily taxed to obtain educational facilities. A Government that can afford to wipe off the opium revenue of Rs. 5 crore per annum, to satisfy the conscience of a few sentimentalists in England; a Government that allows the imposition, however reluctantly, of a countervailing excise duty on cloth made in India, in the interest of Lancashire; a Government which imposes duty on silver, when the principal industry of the country is passing through a grave crisis; a Government which spends millions of rupees on military and civil charges, can certainly find means for the expansion of educational facilities, if it only once lays down a definite policy and follows it perseveringly and vigorously in spite of the vicissitudes of time. The Hon. Mr. Orange struck a keynote of the situation when he said in the Viceregal Council in March last that "the question of the cost of a great system of popular education has not yet been faced, but the expenditure has been increased from time to time according to the possibilities of the moment. The next stage which we should endeavour to reach is one in which the increase of our expenditure will become less a matter of chance and more a matter of calculation, that we may

put before ourselves some defined standard up to which we may hope, within reasonable and a not too distant limit of time, to arrive in diffusion of educational facilities, and that the provision of the funds required become part of a settled financial policy. Such expenditure will in the end not be entirely unproductive." If that stage has not already passed, I think the time has certainly arrived for some defined standard and a settled financial policy to be fixed. We want the stiffening of the moral backbone of our youth; we want him to take his natural position in the industrial and agricultural world with a minimum of inconvenience and maximum of prosperity; and the ideal cannot be achieved when the rising generations are innocent of even elementary instruction.

I have not got the statistics of the whole of India; but in the Bombay Presidency, out of 25,000 villages, about 18,000 are without any kind of school. The Government have in recent years nearly doubled the expenditure on primary education and they have made a liberal provision for opening about 500 new schools every year. The supply of primary schools in the Presidency is yet far below the demand; and the authorities believe that if an extension of facilities were possible, the opening of the new schools would be followed by a substantial increase in the number of pupils and about 1,00,000 pupils would forthwith be added without any kind of compulsion or even persuasion. But there is a paucity of trained and sufficiently remunerated teachers; the provision of accommodation is small. While these conditions exist, the Government—in the absence of larger doles from the Imperial Exchequer—are reluctant to remit the fees, which they think should go towards strengthening the existing institutions, providing schools where they do not exist, supplying trained and adequately remunerated teachers, and making a liberal provision for scholarships to children of indigent parents. It is argued by apologists of Government that to remit fees would be to arrest progress, so long as there are unsolved factors which militate against making primary education universal. The apathy of the masses to education, the scarcity of trained teachers and provision of buildings and the financial aspects are prime factors in the situation. Attention should first be directed to surmount these difficulties. At the same time, it is absolutely essential that with *quantity* we should look to the *quality* of our educational product; and efforts should, in the first place, be directed to recruiting new material for the teaching staff of the quality that is desirable. I am glad the improvement of the salaries and prospects of teachers are inducing better men to come forward to join their ranks.

I must confess that the plea that the lack of funds is responsible for the scarcity of educational facilities is, to my mind, incomprehensible. I think the plea ought never to be put forward by the Government. Though India is poor, it is not too poor to pay for her children's education. There are many sources of revenue which could be derived by imposing certain taxation

without making the taxpayer in any way feel the additional burden. If a policy of judicious retrenchment were followed in regard to the present overgrown and ever-growing charges for the military services and civil departments, it would result in substantial reductions which must go towards the education of youth. Our goal must be the formation of a definite policy aiming at making primary education general in the first instance, then free and compulsory when a certain stage it reached. We have heard a great deal about the parents' apathy, their non-appreciation of the value of education, and their reluctance to throw away the advantage of the wage-earning power of their children. There is really some force in that. The economic and other natural difficulties do exist, but they are not insurmountable. When the pernicious and barbarous custom of *Sutee* and infanticide were suppressed by penal enactments, there was a hue and cry raised in India; but British statesmanship triumphed over deep-seated prejudices, so much so that if the same customs were revived to-day they would be denounced by the very orthodox people as monstrous and barbarous. If the people are made to understand that they will remain impecunious as long as they are illiterate, the only stimulus wanting to avail themselves of instruction will be the provision of educational facilities. As I have said, there is need of co-operation and self-help to stimulate and crown with success the efforts of the Government. I am fairly of opinion that more than Government help, what India wants is such an example of self-help and sacrifice on the part of the people themselves. However great the odds, I am firmly of opinion that we are bound to triumph in the end in the cause of universal education in India.

Gentlemen, our community has not taken its proper place in the education of modern India, though in the past it was renowned for learning and enlightenment. We have lagged behind in commerce and manufacture and arts of peace owing to lack of education. Of late the Government has given a great fillip to the educational movement, they have provided facilities for industrial education. But I have noticed with pain that so far the Mohammedans have made scarcely any use of the increased facilities for such studies as have a direct bearing on the development of Indian industries. Syed Ameer Ali referred to this shortcoming in plain terms in his address last year, when he urged that special efforts should be made to create scholarships for Mohammedan students proceeding to Europe, America and Japan for technical studies. You will all be pleased to know that the Mohammedans of India have resolved to found such scholarships bearing the name of H.H. the Aga Khan and Syed Ameer Ali to commemorate their eminent and enduring services to the community. I hope the community will establish many such scholarships. Again, I think that the people's goodwill and co-operation and example of self-help are much needed in this matter, and will do much more good than a hundred penal enactments. We must hold before us the noble lead which Scotland and Wales have furnished in the matter; and our people

would do well if they were to study and profit by the conditions prevailing in those countries, where people have provided themselves with a good system of education—not mainly by the help of Government or of rich men, but by the self-sacrifices of the working classes, small agriculturists and others, all of whom gave as best they could. If the same sense of self-sacrifice, and the same noble spirit is aroused in our people, the future will tell a different tale of our advancement in the scale of civilization and in our moral and material welfare. With these remarks, I beg to propose the resolution which stands in my name.

Sheikh Zahur Ahmed seconded the resolution in Urdu, and in doing so observed that after the able and luminous exposition of the subject by Mr. Fazalbhoy, little was left for him to add. It was a matter of regret, he said, that of all the countries of the world which claimed to be civilized India should be the most backward in the matter of universal education. The ignorance of the masses was the greatest impediment in the progress of all reform, and as long as the Government and the people of India did not co-operate in the diffusion of education, the attempts to ameliorate the wretched condition of the lower strata of our society would always end in failure. Reform it is said, he further observed, should come from the people and cannot be imposed upon them. Our agriculture and the allied industries on which depends the prosperity of our country are suffering to a great extent from the inability of ignorant cultivators to understand the possibilities of the labour-saving machinery of the West. The attempts that have hitherto been made to popularize education among the people have failed as the majority of them are unaware of its blessings. Hence a generous and far-seeing Government should have no hesitation in using a little coercion in making primary education free and compulsory, so that the people may be able to appreciate the blessings of civilization and give up their deep-rooted prejudices, which stand so much in the way of progress, of social and moral reform.

Mr. Ibrahim Rahmutollah, supporting the proposition, observed that he had devoted some years to the subject, because Musalmans were backward in education, and their awakening, which was reflected in the Conference and in the League, was delayed. If they desired to produce a united nation, then the masses should be educated. For national progress and national unity, and for the economic and social regeneration of the people, the masses should be trained at any cost and at any sacrifice. Education would solve many difficult problems which were taxing the country's best brains. He was glad to see many members of the Bombay Corporation present at the meeting, and he hoped they would support him in his endeavours to make education free in Bombay, and gain Bombay the credit of giving a lead in this much desired reform. It was a mistake to suppose that the time was not ripe for the introduction of free and compulsory education. He instanced Baroda which had made a beginning in free and compulsory education and where the experiment

had proved so successful that the enlightened ruler of that State had extended the system to all parts of his dominions. He added that Indians were ready to pay more taxes for the development of free education, for they thought it high time to make a beginning.

Haji Yusuf Haji Ismail, further supporting the resolution, remarked that Musalmans needed compulsion more than the sister communities, and he was sure that the Mohammedans would give their hearty support to the scheme. He also observed that girls should be the first to be taken care of. On the position of women, he said "we have rendered half of our population useless, nay, not only useless but mischievously useless, because they actually hinder progress instead of helping to promote it." The time has come, he concluded, when the position of girls should be radically altered, and he hoped that his co-religionists would see eye to eye with him.

Mr. Shamsul Huda opposed the resolution on a point of principle. He thought that reforms should not be thrust upon people, but be the result of systematic evolution. In launching this scheme, he said, we would be undertaking huge financial responsibilities for which our Exchequer is not prepared. When free and compulsory education was launched in England, 43 per cent of school-age children were already in school, while in Japan 28 per cent attended school before the introduction of the system: but in India only 1.9 per cent were now under instruction. Besides this, he feared the agricultural class would be greatly injured by the scheme. If the system had proved a success in Baroda, it was due to the fact that the ruler and the ruled were one and the same, while the case was different in British India. In British India the good intentions of a foreign Government were likely to be misinterpreted. He was afraid people would put a different construction on the introduction of the system of compulsory education by Government.

Mr. Mohammad Ali, replying to Mr. Shamsul Huda, said that the question of finances was after all a minor one. It was recently shown that if England went to war she would spend 500 millions if she won, and 1,500 millions[1] if she lost, and yet who could say she would hesitate on that account, if her existence and honour were concerned? Want of funds seldom prevented war, nor could India be without peaceful progress for want of a million or two where her honour and her very existence as a civilized land were at stake. The real issue was the recognition of education as involving the people's honour and their very existence.

A more important question was that of compulsion; it was said that things could not be forced down the throats of unwilling people. That was an argument better appreciated by all in their school-days; yet nobody took a plebiscite of schoolboys about school attendance. Nobody suggested a referendum on the question of school holidays. The Government of India

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1. Probably pounds sterling.

would have no claims to the name of a civilized and civilizing Government, if it had not abolished infanticide and human sacrifice against the wishes of those that cherished them even as religious duties. We were told that we had to consider the ryot. It was a question of his daily bread. Yes, it was for a half feed to-day. He will have to starve to-morrow, he said, if we do not educate his progeny to-day. It was no use talking of hypothetical difficulties and conjecture evils when compulsory and free education was already established in Baroda. Paucity of funds did not prevent the great ruler of Baroda from making education free. The needs and feelings of the ryots did not prevent him from making it compulsory. The speaker then gave details of the generous exceptions made and the convenient school hours and holidays arranged for agriculturists and the poor. He said that to talk of such difficulties was to presume that the administrators would work out the details senselessly or with sheer carelessness.

We were told that analogies were misleading. The ruler of Baroda was an Indian and our Government foreign. He deprecated the use of that word and left sure that a government was foreign only if it alienated the sympathies of the best of its subjects. In making education compulsory and free, Government would win the sympathy and active support of the best in the land, wherees procrastination would be fraught with grave danger. The speaker thought that Government would make its good intentions perfectly clear by supporting the leaders of Hindus and Musalmans in this matter. The best form of freedom, Mr. Mohammad Ali concluded, is free education, and the most pleasing compulsion is compulsory education.

The resolution was then put to the vote, and carried with a single dissent.

ELECTIONS

On the motion of Mr. Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy, Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak and Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed, the following were elected Vice-Presidents of the All-India Muslim League: Syed Nabiullah, M.A.,LL.M., of Lucknow; Raja Naushad Ali Khan of Lucknow, and Hazikul-Mulk Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan of Delhi.

This brought the proceedings of the morning session to close.

Fourth Sitting

The afternoon's sitting opened at 2-30 p.m., and His Highness the Aga Khan was loudly cheered on his arrival.

RESOLUTION XI

The first resolution of this final sitting was moved by Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League; and ran as follows:

In view of the necessity and importance, under the existing circum-

> stances of India, of each community being duly represented in the administration, the All-India Muslim League reiterates its resolution of last year that the number of Mohammedans employed in the various branches of the public service is absolutely inadequate, and strongly urges the Government to give the Mohammedan community that share in the public service to which it is entitled by reason of its importance and numerical strength, the League being of opinion that a sufficient number of qualified Mohammedans is available for the purpose.

In moving the resolution Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza delivered a speech in Urdu, of which an abstract follows:

In the early days of the British occupation of India, Mohammedans occupied almost all the principal judicial and executive appointments, and a knowledge of oriental classics was deemed to be a *sine qua non* for high office. At first Persian and then Urdu became the court language, but gradually a knowledge of English became necessary for employment under Government, and the result was that the place of Mohammedans was occupied gradually by members of other communities. The Mohammedans were for a long time under the impression that Western culture would undermine their religious beliefs, while other communities, having no such prejudices, took full advantage of the educational facilities provided by a liberal Government. Consequently, the Mohammedans were rapidly ousted from the position occupied by them in the administration. Thanks to the self-sacrificing labours of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the foundation of the Aligarh College, there was a general awakening among the community; but the progress made by the other communities had been so rapid that when the Muslims woke up from the lethargic sleep of a century, they found the doors of Government service practically closed to them. Though the Mohammedan community, as a result of this general awakening, has made rapid strides in Western culture and can now boast of men well-qualified to occupy the highest posts open to Indians, with credit to themselves and benefit to Government, they are still looked upon as a backward community and their proper share in the administration is still denied to them.

Let us throw a cursory glance at the position which we at present occupy in the public service of the country. The population of British India, leaving out Ajmere, the Andamans, Baluchistan, Burma, Coorg and the North-West Frontier Province, is 218,292,989, and of this 51,138,248 are Mohammedans, i.e., Muslims constitute a quarter of the total population. From this it will appear that even if we leave other considerations aside, we are at least entitled to a fourth share in the public service of the country on our bare numerical strength, although this is hardly a fair test. Now we will proceed to see whether we at present enjoy our proper share even in this respect. On looking at the various civil lists, we find that in the different

provinces of India, there are 1,182 Deputy Collectors, out of whom 270 are Mohammedans; 287 Sub-Judges, out of whom only 28 are Muslims; 718 *Munsifs*, out of whom only 80 are Mohammedans; 160 Deputy Superintendents of Police, out of whom 50 are Mohammedans; out of 297 Superintendents of Post Offices and Postmasters, only 33 are Mohammedans; out of 238 Officers in the Provincial Educational Service, only 29 are Mohammedans; the total number of Tahsildars is 1,142, out of whom 238 are Mohammedans; out of 491 Assistant Surgeons, only 65 are Mohammedans; and out of 149 Engineers in the provincial grades, only 5 are Mohammedans. A study of these figures will show that only in the revenue and police services do the Mohammedans occupy their bare numerical proportion, while in the other branches of the administration they are nowhere. As regards the medical and engineering branches of public service, there would appear to be but little cause for complaint, as our community has never taken kindly to professional education; but as regards the other departments no such valid objections exist, for the community can now produce a number of educated men who are in every respect well-qualified to take their proper share in the administration.

After dealing with British India as a whole, we will now proceed to see how we stand in the various provinces. Let us first take the United Provinces, where the Mohammedans occupy an acknowledged position of great historical importance, and we find that the total population is 47,691,782, out of which the Muslims number 6,731,134. Out of 219 Deputy Collectors there are 82 Mohammedans; out of 101 *Munsifs*, 21 are Mohammedans; out of 35 Sub-Judges, 10 are Mohammedans; out of 28 Deputy Superintendents of Police, 12 are Mohammedans; out of 68 Superintendents of Post Offices and Postmasters, 4 are Mohammedans; out of 31 Educational Officers, 3 are Mohammedans; out of 213 Tahsildars, 96 are Mohammedans; out of 95 Assistant Surgeons, 9 are Mohammedans; and out of 22 Engineers, 2 are Mohammedans.

We will next go to the Punjab, where the Muslim population exceeds the total of all other communities, the total population being 20,390,329 out of which 10,825,698 are Mohammedans. We find that out of 114 Deputy Collectors, 47 are Mohammedans; out of 90 *Munsifs*, 31 are Mohammedans; out of 24 Sub-Judges, 12 are Mohammedans; out of 26 Deputy Superintendents of Police, 13 are Mohammedans; out of 99 Superintendents of Post Offices, 18 are Mohammedans; out of 33 Educational Officers, 8 are Mohammedans; out of 131 Tahsildars, 43 are Mohammedans; out of 86 Assistant Surgeons, 19 are Mohammedans; out of 32 Engineers, only 3 are Mohammedans. This shows that even in this Province, where Mohammedans have also made considerable progress in education, they do not occupy, even in the executive services for which they are acknowledged to be peculiarly well-fitted, their bare numerical proportion.

Now we will go to Eastern Bengal, where the Muslim population is

more than two-thirds of the total population. We find that out of 193 Deputy Collectors, 42 are Mohammedans; out of 145 *Munsifs*, 75 are Mohammedans; out of 13 Sub-Judges, only one is a Mohammedan; out of 12 Deputy Superintendents of Police, 4 are Mohammedans; out of 19 Superintendents of Post Offices, 2 are Mohammedans; out of 42 Educational Officers, 2 are Mohammedans; out of 136 Sub-Deputy Collectors, 36 are Mohammedans; out of 55 Assistant Surgeons, 3 are Mohammedans; and out of 4 Engineers in the Provincial Service, none is a Mohammedan.

Deplorable as is the condition in almost all the provinces, we are worst off in the Presidency of Bombay. The total population of the Bombay Presidency is 18,559,561, out of which 3,760,175, or nearly 20 per cent, are Mohammedans. Leaving all other considerations aside, we are entitled to one-fifth of the posts on our bare numerical proportion. But we find that out of 82 Deputy Collectors, only 9 are Mohammedans; out of 116 Sub-Judges only 2 are Mohammedans; out of 34 Deputy Superintendents of Police 8 are Mohammedans; out of 33 Superintendents of Post Offices only 2 are Mohammedans; out of 195 *Mamlatdars* only 3 are Mohammedans; out of 52 Assistant Surgeons, only 1 is a Mohammedan; and out of 19 Engineers in the Provincial Service, none is a Mohammedan.

This is indeed a record, although the Mohammedans, in spite of their backwardness, have produced at least 100 graduates from the Bombay University alone; and if we take into account others who have graduated from other universities, their number is not likely to be less than 150. Can we ask the Bombay Government, which always professes great sympathy for the Musalmans and in no measured terms deplores the want of properly qualified candidates in the Muslim community, to how many persons out of these 150 graduates they have succeeded in giving employment in consonance with their qualifications?

If we compare the treatment meted out to us in the Bombay Presidency with the position we occupy in the Central Provinces and the Madras Presidency, where the Muslims are few and far between and even educationally are no better off than in the Bombay Presidency, the result will be still more disappointing. In the Madras Presidency, out of 78 Deputy Collectors, 7 are Mohammedans; out of 138 *Munsifs* and Sub-Judges, one is a Mohammedan; out of 29 Deputy Superintendents of Police, 4 are Mohammedans; out of 36 Superintendents of Post Offices, 4 are Mohammedans; out of 38 Educational Officers, 3 are Mohammedans; out of 169 Tahsildars, 11 are Mohammedans; out of 35 Assistant Surgeons, 2 are Mohammedans; but none of the 4 Engineers is a Mohammedan.

In the Central Provinces, out of 106 Deputy Collectors, 24 are Mohammedans; out of 131 *Munsifs* and Sub-Judges, 6 are Mohammedans; out of 12 Deputy Superintendents of Police, 3 are Mohammedans; out of 9 Superintendents of Post Offices, 1 is a Mohammedan; out of 14 Educational

Officers, 1 is a Mohammedan; out of 90 Tahsildars, 16 are Mohammedans; but there is no Mohammedan Assistant Surgeon or Engineer in the Provinces.

These figures speak for themselves and require no comment.

No doubt the Government is very sympathetic to us, and whenever we approach it, orders are issued to the provincial administrations to do justice to our claims; but past experience shows that unless persistent efforts are made nothing is likely to be done. It is often said that the Mohammedans claim special treatment, but when it has been proved to you that we do not occupy even our bare proportion in the public service of the country, and that there is no dearth of well-qualified candidates amongst us, there can be no doubt that we are seeking for justice and not favouritism. We do not want to lower the standard of service; our only claim is that so long as we do not occupy our proper share in the service of the country, our candidates possessing the minimum qualifications for Government service should have preference over those of other communities. This is the only favour we ask for. Is it too much to hope that a just and benevolent Government, like ours, will lend a willing ear to it?

Prince Ghulam Mohammad of Calcutta, in a brief but forcible speech, seconded the resolution, which was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION XII

The next resolution ran as follows:

> The All-India Muslim League earnestly hopes that now that the highest offices in the State have been thrown open to Indians, Government should give them a greater share in the defence of their country by appointing the younger sons of Ruling Chiefs and the scions of other noble houses, after receiving proper training in the Imperial Cadet Corps, to the higher posts in the British Army to which persons of British birth only are now eligible.

Syed Wazir Hasan, in proposing the resolution, referred to the necessity of those who had a stake in the country to take part in its defence. At the same time, an honourable career would be opened for the nobility who at present had no opportunity of serving the country and of giving practical proof of their attachment to the Crown.

Raja Naushad Ali Khan, seconding the resolution, remarked: The racial barrier thus imposed on the sons of noble houses is really more keenly felt by the Ruling Chiefs than by us; and the Ruling Chiefs, if they had been as free as we are, I am sure, would have made a very strong case in support of this resolution. The intensity of the feeling due to this racial barrier can be better imagined than described.

I would respectfully but forcibly urge on the Government to consider this question favourably and to remove this barrier. I would also very strongly suggest that the Chief's Colleges and the Colvin's Talukdar School of Lucknow

ought to be recognized as suitable recruiting grounds for the Imperial Cadet Corps, who should be given Commissions in the Army freely. In this connection let us hope Dehra Dun, the head-quarters of the Imperial Cadet Corps, will become the future Sandhurst of India.

The resolution was put to the vote, and carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION XIII

The afternoon's third resolution, relating to the treatment of Indians in the Transvaal, ran as follows:

> The All-India Muslim League reiterates its admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice of the Indians in the Transvaal who are heroically suffering persecution in the interests of their mother country, and appeals to all Indian Musalmans to help the cause of Indians in the Colonies with funds and in other ways.
>
> The League most respectfully and earnestly urges upon the Government the necessity of its exercising the power recently conferred by the Legislature to prohibit the indenture of Indian labour for the South African Union, as a matter of retaliation, so long as any South African Colony adheres to the present selfish policy and denies to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.
>
> The League protests against the unrighteous and barbarous treatment of Indian immigrants in British Colonies and Dependencies, and draws the attention of the Indian and Imperial Governments to the grave consequences of permitting these dominions of the King to enforce regulations and legislative enactments based on racial distinctions, which are humiliating to His Majesty's Indian subjects, and earnestly appeals to the Imperial Government to assert its undoubted supremacy in matters of Imperial importance, and to secure for the Indian subjects of the British Crown the full rights and privileges of British citizenship by the removal of such racial distinctions within the Empire.

The resolution was moved by Mr. Yakub Hasan of Madras, who recounted the sufferings of Indians in the Transvaal and other Colonies. He specially referred to the new weapon of deportation brought into use by the Colonial Government and the untold hardships to which the poor deportees were put. He expressed the hope that with the advent of the South African Union, better days were in store for the poor, helpless Indian emigrants.

After being briefly seconded by Syed Raza Ali, the resolution was carried unanimously amidst great enthusiasm.

RESOLUTION XIV

Nawab Nasirul-Mumalik Khan Bahadur Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg then proposed the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the reduction of the age-limit at the competitive examination for the I.C.S., by one year with a corresponding increase in the period of probation in England, will prove detrimental to the interests of the Indian candidates for Civil Service, and the League respectfully urges the Government to reconsider the alteration.

He referred to the difficulties which the Indians had to undergo in competing for the Civil Service Examination even when the age-limit was 23 years, and said that any reduction in it would be likely to neutralize even the meagre chance the Indians had of serving their country in the highest branches of administration. The age-limit had been raised from 21 to 23 years after considerable agitation and great deliberation; to lower it again would not be in the best interests of the country.

Kazi Kabiruddin seconded the resolution which was carried *nem con.*

REOLUTION XV

The next resolution ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the new regulation adopted by the Council of Legal Education for the admission of students into the Inns of Court will inflict unnecessary hardship on Indian students, and considers that all reasonable requirements will be met by providing that an Indian student shall be qualified for admission if he shall have passed the Intermediate or F.A. examination of an Indian University; and even if the Council of Legal Education must take the possession of a university degree as indispensable for an Indian barrister, the call to the Bar, and not the admission into an Inn of Court, may be made conditional on his taking such a degree.

The All-India Muslim League is further of opinion that the provision in the new registrations that one of the certificates of good character of candidates should be signed by a District Magistrate on the ground of personal acquaintance extending over a period of one year is extremely harsh and must result in the exclusion from the Inns of Court of a considerable number of good and worthy Indian students who may not have secured the privilege of the personal acquaintance of the Magistrate of his district for the requisite length of time, and of practically all the students of a district to which a new Magistrate is recently posted.

Syed Zahur Ahmed, moving the resolution, referred to the hardships such a rule was likely to inflict upon the well-to-do classes of Indian students and also to the difficulty which would be experienced in obtaining certificates of good conduct from the District Magistrates with whom Indian students had but little opportunity of making personal acquaintance.

Mr. Mohammad Ali, seconding the resolution, felicitously remarked

that as there was no love lost between him and his young barrister friends, he wished that their standard of capacity should remain as low as possible.

On being put to the vote, the resolution was carried without a single dissent.

RESOLUTION XVI

The last resolution related to the very natural desire of the Muslims of the Central Provinces and the Berars to have the right of electing a representative to the Imperial Council, and ran as follows:

> The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the right of electing a representative to the Imperial Council should be given to the Muslims of the Central Provinces and the Berars.

Mr. A.H.M. Anwar, proposing the resolution, said that to safeguard the interests of the Muslim minority it was necessary that the right of electing their own representatives should be given to them in the Cerntral Provinces as had been the case in other provinces.

Mr. Abdul Kadir seconded the resolution, which was unanimously carried.

Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, Honorary Secretary to the All-India Muslim League, thanking the President, the members of the Reception Committee and the volunteers for the trouble they had taken in ministering to the comfort of their numerous guests, said:

It is not given to every one to be a leader of men, but it is certainly within the range of everyone to make himself useful to the community and the country. Those who loom large in the public eye and on whom the mantle of fame has descended are not the only useful members of society. So while we are highly grateful to Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak, the leader of the Central Provinces' Muslims, for his self sacrificing labours in the cause of the community, we are no less thankful to the other members of the Reception Committee, as well as the volunteers, who left no stone unturned to minister to our comforts and make our sojourn here both pleasant and profitable.

The Honorary Secretary was followed by Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak, who thanked His Highness the Aga Khan for the great trouble he had taken in coming all the way from Europe to Nagpur, in spite of being in delicate health, to take part in their deliberations. He concluded by saying that the Muslims were very fortunate in having such a wise and self-sacrificing leader as His Highness.

Nawab Syed Mohammad then signalized his accession to the League by proposing a cordial vote of thanks to the President for the masterly way in which he had directed the deliberations of the League.

The President, Syed Nabiullah, in a humorous little speech interspersed with pithy remarks and sage observations, summed up the proceedings

of the two days. In doing so, he referred to the necessity of separate electorates in municipal and district boards, and drew attention to the resolution passed by the Congress at Allahabad against the creation of separate electorates in municipal and local bodies. He reminded his audience that this was a settled fact so far as Government were concerned, because in 1906, Lord Minto in reply to the Muslim Deputation accepted the principle of separate electorates in all elective bodies, whether Imperial or Provincial Councils, or municipal or local boards. So far as the Councils were concerned, the principle had already been applied in practice, and it would remain for Government to fulfil its pledges in the matter of local self-government.

Referring to the remarks of the Hon'ble Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah in the Congress, he pointed out that he had been good enough to acknowledge that those were his own personal views and that in the matter of separate electorates in municipalities, he did not represent the opinion of the community. The President was thankful for this admission, as otherwise the resolution moved by Mr. Jinnah, who was elected by a separate Muslim electorate, would have caused a great deal of embarrassment.

He also referred to the remarks at the Congress of Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul-Haque, who gloried in the fact of also being a member of the League, and deprecated the sentiments expressed by him in his condemnation of a separate electorate for Muslims, the necessity for which had not only been recognized by Government and Musalmans, but also by leaders of Hindu public opinion, such as the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale. He further remarked that from the summary of the Hon'ble Mr. Haque's speech that had appeared in the newspapers with regard to the separate representation of Musalmans, it was clear that for the present he was not opposed to the application of the principle of separate electorates to Legislative Councils, but he disapproved of the extension of that principle in the case of municipal, local and district boards. Mr. Haque, he remarked, did not state why a principle which was unsound in one case was sound in another. In the absence of any explanation clearing up this paradox, the inference was that he had no strong justification to offer for the maintenance of separate electorates or communal representation in the case of the Councils also. Mr. Haque had thus laid himself open to the charge of inconsistency—a charge which, perhaps, applied with equal force to his colleague Mr. Jinnah, since both of them owed their present positions in the Imperial Council to the separate electorates.

In conclusion, the President emphatically declared that the Muslims were unanimous in the demand for separate representation, although they might take their own time in pushing their claims, which were as righteous as they were reasonable, and which had already been fully accepted by the responsible head of the British Government. He then referred to the gracious consideration of His Majesty the King Emperor in changing the date of the coronation out of regard for Muslim sentiments. He hoped that they

would be able to commemorate His Majesty's visit by the creation of a Muslim University. In bringing his remarks and with them the Session to a close, he called for six cheers for His Majesty the King Emperor, the additional three being for His Majesty graciously changing the date of his Coronation at Delhi to meet the susceptibilities of his Musalman subjects, a call which was most heartily, enthusiastically and vociferously responded to. Three cheers were also given to the acknowledged leader of Indian Muslims, His Highness the Aga Khan.[1]

1. *Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the All-India Muslim League held at Nagpur, on the 28th and 30th December, 1910.* Compiled by Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, Hon. Sec., All-India Muslim League.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

FIFTH SESSION

CALCUTTA, MARCH 3-4, 1912

First Sitting

The Fifth Session of the All-India Muslim League Commenced on March 3, 1912, at the Town Hall, Calcutta. Moulvi Badruddin Haider Khan Bahadur, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered the following address:

On this momentous occasion, I feel I cannot make a better commencement of my speech and open the deliberations of this august assembly in a more fitting manner than by following in the footsteps of our forefathers, who always reverently adhered to the time-honoured practice of inaugurating all important undertakings by involving the blessings of the Most High, "Whom slumber seizeth not and Whose throne overspreadeth the heaven and the earth", so that the conviction may grow in our hearts that we are guided and fortified by that divine strength and wisdom which alone is responsible for any great results that human energy is able to achieve in the realm of action or of thought. Our brightest hope and firmest trust is oft-times based on what proves in the event to be a flimsy superstructure of vague desires based on the rotten foundation of vain sanguinness. Let us, therefore, begin by praying that His divine inspiration may guide us in our deliberations and help us:

"In working out in heart and brain
The Problem of our being here."

My next duty—and a most pleasurable duty, I assure you—is to welcome the delegates to this assembly. The practice of welcoming our guests is a stereotyped formula of the speech of the President of the Reception

Committee; but believe me, the sentiment which dictates it is anything but stereotyped—it is a deep sense of gratitude for the encouraging and enthusiastic response which you have made to the call of the Reception Committee of which I have the proud privilege of being the President. It is very gratifying to me to see gentlemen representing the highest intelligence and culture and the noblest public spirit of the country assembled here from all parts of India at the sacrifice of personal interests, ignoring material considerations, moved by a noble spirit of patriotism and inspired with a hopeful and manly outlook on the future of our community. I thank you sincerely, gentlemen, for undergoing the inconvenience consequent on a tedious journey and for cheerfully making considerable self-sacrifice to come and enlighten us by your wisdom, and help us with the moral force of your political support. Gentlemen, will it be saying too much if I make the assertion that we would have weighed as dust in the scale of the political balance in which the various organizations of India are weighed, had it not been for the noble exertions and indefatigable zeal of the various delegates, who have been at all times ready and willing to work out, without failing in their loyalty to the Crown, and on lines not in conflict with or in opposition to the policy and ruling principles of the Supreme Government, plans and schemes to further the interest of the Mohammedan community and to secure for it rights and privileges to which it is lawfully entitled and to which it may justly aspire?

We are passing through that most critical period in a nation's history—a stage of transition; a great revolution is silently but surely working out its mighty destiny. Inevitable misfortune and utter collapse and annihilation would be the fate of those sects and races which would sit by indolently and neglect to take a lively interest in the march of events. It is a revolution worked out and effected not by sheer brute force and culpable violence, but by the wholesome and salutary influence of intelligence rightly directed to its objects, acting and thriving under the benign aegis and fostering care of the power to whom merciful Providence has consigned the sway of our destiny.

Gentlemen, we have passed through troublous times. The sky was overcast with dark and murky clouds, and the political atmosphere was surcharged with electricity. Anarchism was rife in the country. Life and property seemed to be insecure. Mischievous conspiracies were formed to weaken the Government. The cult of the bomb was preached and practised, and shots were fired for the destruction of innocent persons in the pursuit of illegal and often shadowy aims; and the pity of it was that the ostensible malefactors were mere boys into whose immature and sensitive minds had been infused, by designing persons, ideas and hopes of a dangerous character. The firmness of the Government, its humane administration of the law and the general patriotism of the country tided us safely over all difficulties, carried us through the gloom, and landed us in light.

Whatever shred of disaffection still remained, the recent visit of the

King Emperor to this country has entirely dissipated, and working like a potent charm, it has produced unprecedented harmony and created intense affection for the Crown. We may be permitted to congratulate ourselves on having been at all times unflinching and steadfast in our loyalty to the State, and on having stood by it through all its difficulties and embarrassments. We trust that we have never been impelled by any sordid motives, but that we have been actuated by genuine appreciation of the goodness of the Government to lend to it our entire support and devotion. To quote the words of His Highness the Aga Khan, "the loyalty of the Indian Mohammedans is not a cold calculating loyalty bound up with the material sense of favours to come; but a warm and passionate attachment to the Imperial Throne under which the community has made such gigantic strides in progressive evolution." Under the auspices of the new Governor and during the new regime, it is confidently expected that the industrial and commercial interests of Bengal will be established on a basis of progress and advancement; that the legitimate aspirations of the inhabitants of Bengal will have a freer and larger scope; and that future generations will have good cause to remember with gratitude the epoch-making visit of King George V to this country.

The statement is persistently made by some of our leaders, with florid eloquence and great show of reason, that India is for the Indians. The soundness of the doctrine cannot be called in question when it is qualified by the modifying clause that India is for the Indian only so far as it is in consistence with the rights and interests of the Supreme Government, without whose assistance, protection and guidance our political entity would be an impossibility. To link the different races of India in bonds of union and brotherhood is the goal of our progress; and the English Government, the best, the most humane and the wisest of all European governments must exist in the country to keep us all together in peace and harmony. We have not yet been able to thoroughly master and assimilate the political lessons which English education has imparted to us. I may be pardoned for describing ourselves as mere infants in the cradle of freedom.

It must be a matter of great rejoicing to us that we have enlisted on our side the sympathies of many far-seeing politicians, particularly those of the great philosopher and statesman Viscount Morley and Lord Minto, the predecessor of our present Viceroy. Through their exertions, Indians have been allowed to participate in the government of their country. We cannot be sufficiently thankful to them for the considerate interest they take in the welfare of India. And we hope that the day is not far distant when they will think it proper invariably to have a well-qualified Mohammedan representative of our special communal interests in the Imperial Executive Council, as well as to have a greater number of Indians associated with the Government of India. In connection with this question, I am sure I voice the unanimous sentiments of the Mohammedan subjects of his Imperial Majesty when I say

that we are all grateful for the recent elevation of Mr. Hasan Imam to the Bench of the Calcutta High Court, and for the intended appointment of the Hon'ble Mr. Shamsul Huda as a Member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal. The office of the Law Member in the Viceregal Council, the duties of which the Hon'ble Mr. Ali Imam discharges with great credit to himself and benefit to the Government, has been a gift for which every Mohammedan should consider himself bound by ties of gratitude to the State. The Right Hon'ble Mr. Ameer Ali's appointment as a Privy Councillor has been an act of grace on the part of the King which has secured for the Throne the love and loyalty of all the Mohammedans of India. The career of Mr. Ameer Ali has been marked with such success and has produced such splendid results, beneficial alike to his countrymen and to the administration of British justice, that it justifies our hopes and expectations that he will be found in every way worthy of the high honour done to him. Mr. Ameer Ali has brought his great talents, keen intelligence and untiring energy to bear on all questions concerning the Indian Mohammedans; and it is a circumstance of national felicitation that his labours in the field of literature and politics have been fruitful in producing that wonderful solidarity and uniformity of ideas in our community which we trust will prove its ultimate salvation.

I must also take this opportunity to express the gratitude of our community to His Highness the Aga Khan, whose burning zeal for the cause of Mohammedans has so lately been honoured by the highest recognition that the Indian Government can bestow. The part he took in securing the Mohammedans a proper share in the benefits accruing from the new reform is a matter of common knowlédge; and we fully realize that but for his timely intervention, we should have been hopelessly handicapped in the race which India is just starting. We must also put on record our high sense of gratitude for his titanic labours in the cause of Muslim education; and we confidently hope that the Mohammedan University will soon be established as a permanent fountainhead of thought for the whole Muslim world and continue to exist as an everlasting monument of his noble labours in the Mohammedan cause.

Next I must express our sense of obligation to the President of this Session of the League, Nawab Bahadur Sir Salimullah, G.C.I.E., of Dacca. His selfless services in the Muslim cause in India, and specially in his part of Bengal, are a fit subject of emulation for all right-thinking Mohammedans. We offer the Nawab Bahadur our hearty congratulations for the signal mark of Royal favour which has been shown to him in the recent Durbar at Delhi. We take it as a compliment to the whole community to find that our Government has so highly honoured two of our distinguished leaders on such a memorable occasion.

Our thanks are also due to Her Highness the Begum Saheba of Bhopal for her earnest and sustained efforts to advance the cause of female education, and for the general uplift of the residents of the *zenana*. The partial success

which she has as yet achieved must really be very disheartening. But we would fain remind Her Highness that great achievements have always had very small beginnings. There has, however, lately come into evidence a powerful development of opinion all over India in favour of the emancipation of our women. That the community has begun to appreciate the Begum's pioneer work in this field of social reform is a great step forward; and we are confident that in no very distant future she will have cause to be gratified at the success that will crown her philanthropic endeavours. Female education in one of the crying social needs of Muslim India. Purely through our own culpable neglect in denying them the blessings of a sound education, Muslim women had sunk to a low degree of social degeneration. Some grew to look upon them as mere commodities to be toyed with. They had no individuality of their own. They could not take part in the ordinary social and literary life of the nation—let alone the higher political and economic spheres of social activity. This regrettable backwardness of the lumber-room puppets and the empty-headed beauty-shows who now people some of our harems is a notorious cause of our social degeneration; and the betterment of their condition, which, we trust, the Begum Saheba will succeed in effecting within a short time, will be a most vital contribution to the cause of our national regeneration. We heartily bid her God-speed in this profoundly important work which she has set before herself, and which, we trust, she will carry through with her usual unflinching zeal and undaunted energy. We congratulate the Begum Saheba on the high honours which her sterling worth has secured for her at the recent Delhi Durbar.

This much for felicitations and congratulations. I have now to turn to sadder duties and have to record our deep sense of bereavement and sorrow at the loss of those prominent members of our community whom death has removed from amongst us during the course of the last year. Pre-eminent among these, alike by the position he occupied and the void his death has left in Muslim society, was the late Nizam of Hyderabad. He had established for himself an undying name in the history of India by the catholicity of his sympathies, his broad-minded statesmanship, his gentle humanitarianism, his administrative capacity and his active and whole-hearted co-operation in all schemes of national regeneration. It is a circumstance of the deepest national regret that the cruel hand of death should have taken him away from us at such a critical juncture, when Muslim India is just entering upon the threshold of a new life, and when so many of our highest hopes for the success of schemes of national uplift were centred in his person. We also take this opportunity of welcoming His Highness the present Nizam as a bright new orb in the firmament of public life. We sincerely hope that he will not fail to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious father. His high education, sound political training, and the healthy environments amidst which he has been brought up from earliest infancy raise great hopes in the heart of the members

of his community; and we look to him to realize these hopes and ambitions in their entirety.

We would next express the deep sorrow we feel at the quite recent and untimely death of our able and energetic secretary, Mr. Aziz Mirza. His valuable services to this League are too well know to need recapitulation. As Secretary of the League, he has contributed, perhaps to a greater degree than anybody else, towards establishing it on a sound and stable basis, widening its scope of usefulness, increasing its influence and generally developing it as an agency of high potency for safeguarding the communal interest of the Indian Mohammedans and the national interests of the whole population of India, irrespective of caste or creed. He has earned a permanent place in our memory by his enthusiastic zeal in furthering all Mohammedan interests, his unfailing courtesy, his affability of temper, and all those qualities of head and heart which endeared him to all those who came in contact with him. He possessed in a pre-eminent degree that quality—so rare among the general run of Mohammedan leaders—of self-effacement, which is the true and only criterion of the real greatness of a leader of society.

The community has also had to deplore the loss of another of its prominent members in the death of Syed Ali Bilgrami, an eminent linguist of high repute. He belonged to that small band of illustrious Mohammedan leaders who have been working so incessantly to bring about the regeneration of the Muslim community, and we can ill-afford to sustain such an irreparable loss at a time when we are just awakening to a sense of our political consciousness.

Gentlemen, I yield to none in my desire to help forward the cause of my community; but at the same time, I must frankly say that I feel myself embarrassed by the high honour done to me, and it is with great diffidence that I make bold to submit to you the results of my deliberations on current topics. The crowded routine of public events at the present time and the embarrassing series of reverses which are befalling our community in foreign lands must be my excuse for the inadequacy of the reception we have been able to extend to you. Had conditions been more propitious, we would have tried to give you a welcome worthy of you and befitting the occasion. We trust, however, you will look to the spirit that goes with the welcome and forgive us its inadequacy. Once more I repeat, gentlemen, that I heartily bid you welcome to our city. Calcutta will no more be the capital of India; but the City of Palaces, the City of Clive and of Hastings will not sink into the oblivion of insignificance. Our Sovereign Lord, the King Emperor, has himself assured us that Calcutta would still be the premier city of the Indian Empire, and that the removal of the capital to Delhi will have no very adverse effects on its future prosperity. Delhi, after wearing widow's weeds for centuries, has again been restored to her ancient pre-eminence. Its importance has been re-established and its dead glory will live again in future ages;

but it will not, I trust, rob Calcutta of the glory that is its due. Calcutta will still continue to loom big in the public horizon. True, it does not possess the romance of antiquity and the halo of departed glories, but it does possess the higher romance of Western organization and the more modern glamour of Occidental civilization. The history of Calcutta will go down to future ages as a remarkable instance of the unlimited potentialities and astounding virility of industrial energy. In future, Calcutta will draw our pulse just as Delhi draws it now:

> "For men are we, and must grieve whenever
> The shade of that which once was great
> Has passed away. . . ."

Whatever adverse circumstances might befall her, we can never forget the glory attaching to Calcutta, which from a mere hamlet of fishermen grew to be the second city in the Empire within the almost incredible period of just over a century and a half.

I shall now, with your permission, proceed to review some of the more important events of Muslim interest that have occurred since the last session of our League. The Muslim community all over the world is passing through very stirring times. Coming events are casting their shadows before them; and the whole Muslim world waits on the tip-toe of expectation to see what the womb of futurity has in store for us. Of these great events, the Italian raid on the Tripolitan coast at present looms biggest on the international horizon. There can be no manner of doubt that the course of action pursued by Italy in the present case is utterly unjustifiable and wholly uncalled for. I will not swell the literature already existing, and daily growing, upon this unfortunate subject by expressing my personal views in the matter. I will only content myself with saying that I quite fail to see how any internal mismanagement by an autonomous power can give a rival power the right of territorial acquisition. It stands to reason that if Turkey had failed to guarantee fair treatment to her Italian subjects, Italy might have entered a strong protest against such a breach of international equity. She might even in the last resort have demanded of Turkey the surrender of all Italian subjects and the payment of fair and equitable compensation for any losses incurred by them. But no political reasoning, however sound, and no logic, however subtle, can establish her claim to a right of territorial sovereignty over the whole of Tripoli, just because a microscopic minority of the Tripolitan foreign population was alleged to be labouring under Turkish iniquities. Even granting that there had been—but I wholly deny that there was—such a maladministration, we should still fail to find any justification for the high-handed action on the part of Italy. It is a matter of great gratification for the Muslim community to find that the cold-blooded atrocities committed by the Italians have elicited strong and unqualified condemnation from almost all great

international Powers. It remains to be seen how far these protests will be followed up by more vigorous declarations of policy, sufficiently practical to prevent a possible recurrence of such unfortunate and disreputable instances of international greed. In this connection the British Government in particular has its duties clearly outlined for it by the serious gravity and the magnitude of its own political stake. The British Government has a greater number of Mohammedan subjects than any other single power, European or Asiatic; and it is to the best interests of Britain herself to see that the sentiments and feelings of this vast population are not wantonly outraged. The Muslim community of India, therefore, confidently expects that it will not be long before the British Cabinet will become alive to its serious responsibilities, and, discarding the present halting policy of passive neutrality, will attempt to bring about some sort of reconciliation which may be acceptable to both the contending parties. Action in this matter is urgently called for, and procrastination will only intensify the gravity of the situation.

The political situation in Persia is also a matter of grave concern to the whole Muslim world. Here, again, we have a superior power trying to bully a weaker constitution, and seeking to establish an utterly iniquitous claim by the primitive and highly objectionable rule of 'might is right'. How far Britain has involved herself inextricably in this mesh of international relations we are not in a position to judge. But rightly or wrongly, the idea has of late been gaining ground that the part taken by Britain in these transactions has not been wholly in consonance with ideas which we entertain of British justice. I, for one, am hopeful that these misgivings will prove groundless. The British Government, however, owes it to its Muslim subjects to set their mind at rest once and for all by a final declaration of the line of action it means to pursue, if matters come to a head and Russia persists in her irrational and obstinate conduct. The subjects of the British Empire have been taught from their cradles to believe that wherever the interests of British subjects are involved—directly or indirectly—we may rely on the international potency of Pax Britannica to secure fair and equitable treatment. The Muslim community all over the world expects that this conviction will ere long be actualized, and that the British Government, both at home and in India, will take an active part in ensuring political autonomy and territorial integrity to unfortunate Persia.

Let us now turn to the brighter side of the picture, and mention in passing some of those fortunate events, conducive to the brightest optimism, which have occurred during the same period. Of these, the first to arrest our attention is the recent visit of the King Emperor to India. The Royal visit was a unique event in the annals of British India—an event with results of the profoundest importance. It has for the first time given an opportunity to the Indian masses to realize that sense of warm fervid loyalty and strong personal attachment to the Crown which is the only loyalty that they can

fully comprehend and actually feel. The royal visit has been a triumphant march all through, and the noble simplicity of the King Emperor, the genuineness present in every word of his epoch-making utterances, his invariable courtesy and spontaneous affability towards all his 'beloved subjects, irrespective of colour, caste or creed', have won for him a permanent corner in every Indian heart. The boons he was pleased to bestow on his subjects on the memborable occasion of the Durbar cover a wide range, and will have touched the Indians as they have never been touched before. It will echo through future ages, and grateful posterity will fully realize and enjoy the benefits accruing from these boons. It would hardly be proper of me to stand between you and the President of the Session by giving a long and detailed account of these boons. I would only draw your attention to the liberal and sympathetic instinct which breathes through every line of the Government of India's despatches, and the thorough comprehension and masterful grasp of an extremely intricate situation which characterize the replies of our enlightened and open-minded Secretary of State for India. This sympathetic tone has forged a new link in the golden fetters of loyalty and of love which bind the Indian subjects to their British benefactors.

Following close in the footsteps of these generous boons has come the Viceroy's proposal to grant a university to Eastern Bengal. Here, too, it was the Government's solicitude for Mohammedan interests that dictated the proposal. For though the university does not purport to be an essentially denominational university, cogent circumstantial evidence irresistibly points to the fact that it is meant to serve as some slight recompense to the Eastern Bengal Mohammedans for the loss of those educational facilities which the new province (Eastern Bengal) had secured them. We thank His Excellency Lord Hardinge for this kindly consideration for Muslim interests, and we welcome the proposal that it should be a teaching and residential university.

Apropos of this, I take this opportunity of offering our heartfelt thanks for the further grant of Rs. 125 lakhs which has only yesterday been announced by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, G.C.I.E., in his financial statement. We hope it is only an earnest of that series of liberal grants to the cause of education which we have been led to expect by the Durbar announcements.

The next point to which I would draw your serious attention is the absolute dearth of journalistic literature in the Mohammedan community of India. In fact there was not until very recently a single organ of Mulism public opinion which could claim any wide circulation or considerable influence with the public or the ruling bureaucracy. This circumstance is particularly regretable in view of the great importance and high potency which the press has been attaining all over the world, not only as a social and literary agency, but also as a political factor of predominant influence. From expressing and then guiding public opinion, it grew into a power absolutely, almost dogmatically forming this public opinion. And now, in these democratic

and socialistic times, it has begun almost to dictate political policies to nations on the assumption, as often mistaken as correct, that it is a legitimate representative of true public opinion. At such a time, it is a serious drawback for the Indian Mohammedans, and a drawback likely to react most banefully on their cause, not to have a recognized and powerful organ through which to voice their grievances and in which to express their social, moral and political aspirations. Lately, however, Mr. Mohammad Ali of Aligarh, a distinguished graduate of Oxford University, has established *The Comrade*, which is a journal of a very high order and commands respect in the highest official and private circles. We thank Mr. Mohammad Ali sincerely for the valuable services which he has thus been rendering to his community and country at very considerable personal sacrifice. Paucity of funds, however, has heretofore tied his hands from increasing the efficiency of the journal by making it a daily paper, and supplementing it with an Urdu daily. I confidently hope that our liberal-minded patriots will not fail to come forward to help such an important cause and open their purses freely for a national undertaking of such vital importance.

I beg leave next to draw your attention to the part we Mohammedans are taking in the industrial reorganization of India. It is a fact patent to the most perfunctory observer that India is just now passing from the stage of a purely agricultural to that of an industrial and commercial organization. Machine enterprise is marching onwards with giant strides; large-scale production is fast displacing the old craftsmanship and the petty domestic industries which characterized the economic condition of India in the past ages; the dignity of labour is being gradually recognized by the upper circle of the Indian community. The Indian hoard of precious metals so long buried in vaults or dissipated in wantonness is losing its shyness towards industrial ventures, and is being invested as capital to help forward manufacturing or commercial enterprises. The Government has recognized its duty towards the Indians in the matter of advancing India in economic efficiency and has established technical colleges, technical and scientific research scholarships, and has also opened large experimental farms. In short, to quote the words of Sir Theodore Morison, "India is fast emerging from that primitive stage of industrial organization which it had stuck to so tenaciously down to the end of the last century." And this general economic revolution is sure to lead to immeasurable good for India and to secure it a very much higher place than what it now occupies in the community of nations. It is therefore a circumstance of deep regret and of grave concern to see that Mohammedans have hitherto held themselves studiously aloof from this national movement of industrial reorganization. Most of our young men hanker after Government service, and forget that, in the words of a Madras merchant, "an income which is, in the last analysis, derived from the pockets of our own poor rate-payers cannot be in the best interests of our country." Failing Govern-

ment service, our youths drift into the legal profession and swell its already crowded ranks. Our young men should be encouraged to go in more for the independent walks of life and actively participate in that leavening movement of industrial development which is now proceeding apace all over the country. Such a procedure will not only tend to their ultimate good, but bring India considerably nearer to that goal of industrial independence which such Indian thinkers of admitted sagacity as the late Mr. Justice Ranade and his truly worthy pupil, the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, so fervently desired.

We hear a great deal in these days of local autonomy and communal interests. Self-government conducted within certain prescribed limits and under reasonable control of the supreme authority is productive of great results. The wisdom of the Government, always directed by a liberal and generous policy, has not hesitated to grant us, to some extent, the great and invaluable right of self-government; and the history of the past 25 years has amply proved that Indians are capable of governing themselves and fully deserve the right of self-government accorded to them. A close observer of the times, however, sorrowfully marks that the Mohammedan interest is faint and almost invisible in these schemes of local self-government; and it is high time now to insist upon proper recognition of the hitherto almost ignored Mohammedan community, in whose way greater facilities should now be placed, so that Mohammedans might be properly represented in the district and municipal boards. It is also noteworthy that the Mohammedans do not by a long way receive their fair share in the different branches of the public service.

Gentlemen, it is also a truism to assert that strength increases with the constant exercise of it. We feel that we are everyday growing stronger and stronger, both morally and intellectually, by being called upon to exercise our judgment and discretion in positions of trust and dignity. To have our own representatives in the different deliberative and executive councils of Government is a high privilege which by our conduct and action we have proved to the world we are worthy of holding. A duty, at once serious and solemn, is therefore laid upon us to elect our representatives, ignoring all considerations excepting such as affect the weal of our community or the general interests of our motherland. In making such selections we have often to face some difficulties.

The Government were pleased to lay down certain rules to regulate Mohammedan elections to the Provincial Legislative Council. Amongst other things it was provided that a person paying income-tax on Rs. 6,000 would be eligible for election and the voting for such election would be by delegates. The delegates were not to be bound by any specific mandate from electors. These rules were enforced during the last election, and the experience gained calls for their amendment. The Government also recognized the necessity for such amendment, and appointed a representative

committee to go into the question. The committee has lately finished its labours. The election should not be by delegates, as it may possibly lead to corruption. The voting should be direct by the electors; and if the election is at all to be by delegates, such delegates should be bound to follow the mandate of the electors, and the full property qualification in the case of those who seek election through that qualification should be insisted upon, and mere payment of income-tax on the statutory amount without actually having such income should not make one eligible for election. An equal number of seats should also be allotted to Mohammedans and Hindus.

I agree with the general principles of Mr. Gokhale's Bill on elementary education, and I am of opinion that it should be passed into law with some modifications safeguarding the interests of Mohammedans.

I now come to the consideration of the *Wakf-alal-Aulad* Validating Bill introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah. In the Mohammedan Law of Succession, unlike the English Law of Primogeniture, as you all know, even comparatively distant relatives come in for a share in the property of a deceased persons. Such an enactment was indeed called for at the time and under the special circumstances under which our Prophet laid it down. But his far-seeing eye had also perceived that under a different set of attendant circumstances, such, for example, as those obtaining in India, this procedure might lead to the ultimate ruin and disintegration of Muslim families. Here in India the system of infinite subdivisions had always led to the gradual impoverishment and ultimate effacement of ancient Muslim families. The misery resulting from this procedure has been great, and is bound to be acuter in the near future when industrial organization will have advanced to a high degree. For then this law will prevent that accumulation of large capital with individual capitalists without which no big enterprises can be built up. It will also be responsible for the very ephemeral character of all commercial and manufacturing establishments which might owe their origin to Muslim energy. All these catastrophies will make for national degeneration. Such an eventuality should therefore be avoided; and our Prophet laid down a rule which provides, where necessary, a remedy against the worst consequences of such infinite subdivisions among a succession of heirs. This was the institution of *Wakf-alal-Aulad*. It is greatly to be regretted, however, that the highest appellate court of British justice has set aside this eminently salutary enactment of Mohammedan law. This action of the Privy Council is calculated to result in serious mischief and much harm to the Muslim community, and we earnestly pray that the Government of India will see their way to undo this wrong by recognizing the institution of *Wakf-alal-Aulad* and passing Mr. Jinnah's Bill into law with such modification as may be considered necessary.

Apropos of this, I must put on record my strong protest against a movement set afoot by certain gentlemen to revive the old system of having

Kazis in the courts of justice to interpret Mohammedan law. This is a retrograde and reactionary measure, and would not prove conducive to efficiency in the administration of justice.

I have already detained you long, gentlemen, and I do not think it would be permissible for me to encroach any more on your valuable time. It would be out of place at this initial stage of our deliberations to descend into details and to foreshadow the resolutions that will be put forward by the League in this Session. But I trust that these resolutions will be given due consideration by the Government, and that most, if not all, of our suggestions will be adopted after due deliberations.

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me remind you that though we have achieved some success, we cannot yet afford to rest on our oars. Honest, earnest, and solid work must still be our task for a long time to come. Our future lies more largely than ever with ourselves. Other races have stolen a march over us and are pushing on with rapid strides. To regain our place among the nationalities of India, we must take time by the forelock, and not let slip any opportunity of advancing our cause in this transitional stage of national evolution. We have still very much to do; but if only we persevere in the path we have adopted and continue our labours with undaunted zeal, we are bound to come off with flying colours in the end:

> "Let us then be up and doing,
> With a heart for any fate,
> Still achieving, still pursuing,
> Learn to labour and to wait."[1]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF NAWAB SALIMULLAH BAHADUR OF DACCA

It is with feelings of the utmost diffidence, almost verging on trepidation, that I stand before you here to-day in obedience to your summons to preside over the deliberations of this august assembly, the Fifth Session of the All-India Muslim League. When I cast my eyes upon this distinguished audience and the brilliant galaxy of leaders of my community from the various provinces, representing the wealth, the culture and the talent of Islam in India, I feel surprised that your choice should have fallen on my unworthy self; and when, looking back from the present to the past, I call to mind the muster-roll of the names of the noble sons of Islam who have graced this Chair during the past sessions of this august body, my heart fails within me at the thought of the magnitude of the task which you in your goodness have called upon me to perform to-day. Believe me when I say that I look upon the honour you

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1. Official Pamphlet.

have so graciously conferred upon me as the crowning ambition of an Indian Muslim's life of self-sacrifice and whole-hearted devotion to the best interests of his country and his community. I regret that I cannot escape the thought that I owe this signal honour more to the indulgence with which you have accepted what little services I may have rendered to my community than to any intrinsic merit or worth in my humble self. Permit me, therefore, to offer you my most heartfelt thanks not only for the great honour you have conferred on me by electing me to preside over your deliberations, but also for the warmth and cordiality of the splendid reception you have just now accorded to me. I venture to hope that the same kindliness of feeling and indulgent sympathy which prompted you to confer this honour on me will also induce you to overlook my failings and shortcomings in the discharge of the onerous and responsible duties of the office to which you have been pleased to call me to-day.

It is now barely five years ago that the inaugural meeting of the League was held at Dacca in December 1906. We in Eastern Bengal were then passing through one of the severest crises which Islam has had to face since the commencement of British rule in this country. The sense of a common danger threatening our very existence as a community, and the imminent peril to which our rights and liberties were exposed, made us close up our ranks and take counsel of the veteran leaders of Muslim thought all over India. This was the first inception of the League; and after deliberation, it was launched into being as the chamption of our cause and the trusted exponent of our thoughts and aspirations in the political life of our community in this country. The unselfish labours of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur and the munificence of His Highness the Aga Khan, who has been the President of the League since its very beginning, together with the exertions of its energetic Secretary, the late Mr. Aziz Mirza (may his soul rest in peace), enabled it to get over the early struggles of its infancy and contributed no little to its unprecedented success within so short a time. Looking around me to-day, I can well perceive how successfully the League has enlisted the sympathies of the leaders of Muslim thought in India; and I hope I will be pardoned a little legitimate pride in having been fortunate enough to initiate the proceedings which gave the League its birth in my native city of Dacca.

I feel I cannot let this opportunity pass without referring to an event which has saddened our hearts and cast a gloom over us all. The sudden demise of Mr. Aziz Mirza has been an irreparable loss to the League and the community, and has come to me with all the bitterness of the loss of a personal friend. In the freshness of my grief, I cannot dwell at length on all he did for our community; but no enumeration of his services is necessary, as they are well known to all who have had anything to do with guiding the League through the troublous days of its past career. I hope his noble example will inspire his successor to follow in his footsteps in a spirit of unselfish devotion

to the best interests of our community.

Gentlemen, before proceeding formally to the consideration and discussion of the various subjects in the programme before us, I consider it my duty to refer to an event which, unprecedented in the varied annals of this continent, has stirred the hearts of the Indian peoples to an extent unknown before. I allude to the recent august visit of Their Gracious Majesties the King Emperor and the Queen Empress, undertaken at great personal sacrifices, out of Their Majesties' unbounded love for the peoples of India. The wealth and imagery of the English language have been exhausted by the distinguished love, the heartfelt devotion and fervent loyalty with which Their Majesties have been greeted everywhere in India, and His Majesty himself has set the seal on all the varied accounts of the Royal visit and of its far-reaching consequences in the several Royal messages to the Princes and peoples of India, and recently in the speech from the Throne, which are all full of that felicity of expression, that purity of diction, that broadminded statesmanship and overflowing love for his subjects which are inseparable from all the utterances of our Gracious Sovereign. For me, therefore, to attempt an account of the Royal visit or of the loyalty and enthusiasm it naturally evoked among the various classes of His Majesty's Indian subjects would be, in the words of a great English poet, 'wasteful and ridiculous excess'. No description, however life-like or graphic, can convey an adequate idea of the scenes which were witnessed in India during that all-too-brief a period. In the midst of the gorgeous pageants which greeted Their Majesties in their triumphal progress throughout India, the personality of the King Emperor always stood out bright, majestic, serene, full of kingly dignity, and yet intensely human in the gracious sympathy with which His Majesty accepted the heartfelt homage of all classes of his subjects. And, to add lustre to these scenes, there was by the side of His Majesty that august lady, the Queen Emperess, justly styled the type of perfect British womanhood, who will always live in history as the first British Queen who graciously consented to tear herself away from her children at home to testify, by her presence in India, to her love for the Indian peoples. Long will these royal figures live in our hearts, enshrined in a halo of devotion and loyalty which has never before been surpassed, and to which the future historian will seldom find a parallel in any age or clime. To us, the Indian Musalmans, His Majesty possesses the additional fascination of being the ruler of a larger Musalman population than any other sovereign on the face of the globe. The sceptre wielded by His Majesty the King Emperor is also the symbol of protection for a very large fraction of the entire Musalman population of the world, and we in India rejoice that our interests are in such safe keeping and so well guarded against those internal and external commotions which prevent a people from devoting its energies to mental, moral or material advancement. No wonder then that the Musalmans were so conspicuous in their demonstrations of loyalty

to their Sovereign, for their loyalty is a deep and abiding sentiment, which nothing can change, and in this respect they yield to no section of the community.

I need not detain you long by referring to the epoch-making Durbar, or the historic ceremonies which attended it. These heart-enthralling events will supply memories which will be amongst the most cherished possessions of the Indian peoples and will fill the brightest and the most glorious pages in Indian history. I cannot, however, pass on to other matters without referring to what are called the Durbar announcements, one of which has unfortunately saddened Musalman hearts and cast a sombre shadow over Musalman homes in East Bengal. I will, however, refer to only four of these announcements and take them up in order.

Transfer of the Capital

First, as regards the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi. We in Eastern Bengal are not much concerned with the effects, immediate or remote, of the transfer of the capital; but none the less we rejoice, because our brethren in the United Provinces and the Punjab will be benefited by the change. We rejoice, because the high officials who control the destinies of India will naturally now be in close touch with so remarkable a centre of Muslim intellectual activity as Aligarh, such refined seats of Muslim culture as are to be found in the principal cities of the United Provinces, such exemplary types of Muslim manhood as the virile Musalmans of the Punjab. We rejoice with them, and pray to the Almighty Disposer of events that this momentous change of the transfer of the capital to Delhi may be for the good of all classes of the poeple, and that it may usher in an era of progress for Islam in those parts, which may redound to the glory of our community all over India. May the heart of Islam be resuscitated and vivified even as the historic city of Delhi will come to new life in this restoration to her of her past dignity, and may the ancient glories of Islam be revived a hundredfold under the aegis of British rule, so that our future generations may hold aloft the banner of culture, progress and civilization as our forefathers did, when the mighty flag of the Musalman Emperors floated triumphantly over the walls of Delhi.

Annulment of Partition

I am now forced to refer to another Durbar announcement which compels me to say some bitter truths, but on which I cannot keep altogether silent, for I am sure my silence would be misunderstood. I am sorry I have got to take the risk of saying things which may perhaps expose me to contumely; but I feel that I cannot let this opportunity pass without an attempt at expressing our real feelings over a matter which weighs so heavily on our hearts—I mean the annulment of the Partition. I hope I will not be misunderstood. I am not one of those who used to look upon the Partition, in itself, as the only

panacea for all our evils. The Partition gave us a great opportunity to bestir ourselves, and it awakened in our hearts the throbbings of a new national life which went pulsating through the various sections of our community in Eastern Bengal. I hope, gentlemen, you will believe me when I assure you that the Musalmans of East Bengal supported the Partition, not out of enmity to our Hindu brethren or at the bidding of the Government, but because we felt sure that the new administrative arrangements in East Bengal would afford us ample opportunities for self-improvement. We felt sure that the people of East Bengal, particularly the Musalmans, would be immensely benefited by a sympathetic administration easily accessible to them, and always ready to devote its time and attention exclusively to their welfare. As for ourselves, the Musalmans of East Bengal, we came to realize for the first time in our history that we too had rights and privileges as British subjects, and that it was only necessary for us to put our own shoulders to the wheel to free ourselves from that state of servile dependence on a dominant community in which we had been living before the Partition. How far we took advantage of these opportunities of self-improvement offered to us, it is now needless for me to discuss. This is now an integral part of the history of the East Bengal districts for the six years (1905-1911) during which the Partition remained in force.

Our ill-wishers at once perceived that the Partition would necessarily bring to the fore the long-neglected claims of the Musalmans of East Bengal, and although we never got more than what was justly our due, what little we gained was so much a loss to them. We regretted that this should be so, but it was unavoidable. It was perhaps unavoidable also that the philanthropy of our opponents should not be equal to the occasion, for they saw in the maintenance of the Partition a possibility of the Musalmans of East Bengal regaining a portion of their well-deserved rights as citizens of the British Empire. Those who are forced to give up a portion of their long-enjoyed monopoly, however unjustifiable in nature and origin, will readily understand the feelings of our enemies after the Partition. It was, therefore, only natural that they started a vigorous agitation to have the Partition annulled and to secure a reversion to the old order of things. Over the vehemence of this agitation, the excesses to which some of the agitators could go, and the violent crimes of which they became guilty in giving expression to their pent-up feelings against the Government, I would draw a veil, for they are matters of public notoriety and will soon pass into history. Seditious writings in the press were backed up by revolutionary speeches on the platform, and a band of irresponsible agitators roamed at large over the country to instil into the receptive minds of the youths the deadly poison of anarchical ideas. To give effect to their disloyal feelings against the Government, the agitators organized a boycott of British goods, and under colour of supporting an economic movement, sought to inflame the minds of the ignorant masses against Britain

and its people. For some time the whole of Bengal seemed to be in the throes of a violent revolution, and there was hardly any peace in the land. Political murders were followed by political dacoities, and the officials entrusted with the maintenance of law and order were harassed in a way which would have exhausted even the patience of job.

The reason for all this violent agitation was not far to seek. The agitators themselves alleged that Bengali sentiment had been outraged by placing them under two separate administrations, and that the Government wanted to injure their interests by placing them in a minority. It is a pity that this specious excuse for all this violent agitation and sedition should have been accepted by Government and believed by shrewd politicians like His Highness the Aga Khan. The real cause of the Bengali opposition to the Partition lay far deeper than in the plausible excuse of outraged sentiments, and I do not wish to repeat what I have already said on this point.

The Musalmans naturally refused to join the agitation because it was so violently opposed to their feelings of loyalty, and because it was directed against a measure which had proved of so much benefit to their interests. The agitators strained every nerve to win them over to their side and seduce them from their loyalty, but without success. Those who know the utter helplessness of the Musalmans at the hands of their Bengali landlord, lawyer or creditor, will easily have an idea of the tremendous sacrifices which Musalmans had to make in rallying on the side of law and order. Bitter feelings arose between the two communities—not on account of the Partition, as the Government of India seem to imply in their Despatch, but because the Musalmans refused to join the agitators in their seditious conspiracies against the Government.

Vigorous measures were then adopted by the Government to vindicate its authority, and although they brought about an apparent calm, they inflamed the minds of the agitators more fully against the Government. Gradually, the position of affairs was this—on one side there was the community of agitators with, in many cases, wealth, education and influence to back them, and on the other, there was the loyal community, both of Hindus and Musalmans, who had faced the onslaught of the agitators and incurred their bitter hostility in supporting the Government.

All at once the Government of India decided upon the annulment of Partition, based, as they have said, on broad grounds of administrative expendiency, but affected in a way which to the popular mind conveyed the impression of having been exacted by clamour and agitation. The ignorant masses understand nothing about constitutional struggles, and by them the anti-Partition agitation and its apparent successes were regarded as the outcome of a trial of strength between the Bengali politician and the Government. When the Partition was annulled, the popular interpretation was that the Government had been defeated, and the exultant agitators in their hour of

triumph did all they could to exaggerate the importance of their victory. The result has been a serious blow to British prestige all over the country, especially in East Bengal. But this is not all. The annulment of the Partition had all the appearance of a ready concession to the clamours of an utterly seditious agitation. It has appeared to put a premium on sedition and disloyalty, and created an impression in the minds of the irresponsible masses that even the Government can be brought down on its knees by a reckless and persistent defiance of constituted authority. Moreover, it has discredited British rule to an extent which is deeply to be regretted. It has hitherto been felt throughout the East that the word of the British Government is its bond, and that, come what may, Government cannot go back on its plighted word. Anything which weakens this belief must irreparably injure British prestige in India and the East in general.

To us, the Musalmans of East Bengal, the annulment means the deprivation of those splendid opportunities at self-improvement which we had secured by the Partition. But it is not the loss of these opportunities merely, heavy as that is, that forms the burden of grief over the annulment of the Partition. It is the manner in which the change has been brought about, without even warning or consulting us, which adds to the poignancy of our grief. I think I may fairly claim that though we should doubtless have urged our views strongly, our subsequent action has shown that we would have felt that Government by consulting us had shown its full confidence in our loyalty. And had there even been a chance of a Mohammedan agitation in East Bengal, the mere fact that the announcement had been made by His Gracious Majesty himself would have sufficed to render it impossible. We preferred to restrain ourselves from the course which might have commended itself on the first impulses of the moment, and did not wish to embarrass Government by agitation against an administrative measure which, however galling to our feelings, has had the impress of the Royal assent and approval. We hope we have succeeded in setting an example of genuine loyalty and willing obedience to the words of our Sovereign which can stand the severest tests.

The Other Announcements

From a discussion of this sad topic of the annulment of the Partition, it is a real pleasure to refer to two other announcements of the Durbar which will undoubtedly prove to be of lasting benefit to the Indian peoples. The munificent grant of Rs. 50 lakhs for the advancement of education comes very opportunely at a time when the ferment of new ideas in the East has led to a great educational renascence in India, and to an eager craving for education amongst all the various sections of the community. The spread of education in all its branches has been one of the inestimable blessings of British rule in India, and anything that serves to foster education is a real boon to the people. I have no doubt that the Government will be able to allot the grant very

judiciously, and that the money will serve to fructify many a field of education which would otherwise have been barren for want of pecuniary aid. I hope I will be pardoned if I put in a plea for a preferential treatment of the Eastern Bengal districts and pray for an allotment exclusively for the advancement of education in that area.

The Royal announcement of the pension of the Shamsul-Ulemas and Mahamahopadhyas is yet another tangible proof of His Majesty's solicitude for the votaries of learning. These savants have generally not enough of the riches of the world, and this Royal grant will now place them above sordid material wants. It is to be hoped that they will henceforth be able to pursue their noble calling unhindered by pecuniary cares and anxieties, and serve by their labours to extend the ever-widening bounds of human knowledge and culture.

Mr. Gokhale's Bill

I have just referred to a great educational renascence in India. It appears to me that the immediate effects of this renascence are to be seen, among others, in the momentous movements for two great universities at Aligarh and Benares, and the eager enthusiasm with which the country as a whole has welcomed Mr. Gokhale's Bill. The question of a system of free primary education for the masses has been agitating the minds of the leaders of Indian thought for some time. In my opinion the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has rendered a signal service to the future of primary education in this country by the elaborate scheme he has worked out and which he has so ably formulated in his Bill. I feel it my duty to accord my whole-hearted sympathy to the principle of Mr. Gokhale's Bill, for I feel convinced that unless some action is taken in the way suggested by Mr. Gokhale, the cause of primary education will continue to be relegated to the cold shade of neglect. The apathy with which we have hitherto allowed our masses to pass their days in dense ignorance and superstition appears to me to be almost a crime. All the efforts that have been made in this country towards the advancement of education have hitherto been confined mostly to the cause of higher education. It is time that this apathy to the cause of primary education should be removed. That this primary education should be free is, perhaps, universally accepted; but in order that any scheme for this sort of education may be effective, it should also be to a certain extent compulsory. There can be no hardships in compulsion as is sometimes argued, provided there are reasonable safeguards, just as is provided for in Mr. Gokhale's Bill. But instead of wasting time over endless discussions as to the details of the working of the Bill, I think that a beginning should be made as early as possible. With the inauguration of a system of free primary education, I can look forward to an era of prosperity and progress for the inarticulate masses whose interests should always be our most sacred charge.

As regards the movements for the two sister universities, I am aware that doubts have been expressed in some quarters as to their desirability under existing conditions in India. It has been said that they will retard rather than foster the growth of knowledge by perpetuating obsolete forms of learning—that they will hinder the diffusion of new and enlightened ideas, and that they will perpetuate the line of cleavage, accentuate the differences, and widen the gulf between the two communities. Now, I for one cannot seriously believe that these results can follow the establishment of any university worth the name. A temple of learning hardly deserves this honourable appellation, if, instead of diffusing the light of knowledge and culture, it leaves its votaries in Cimmerian intellectual darkness, where they are prevented from looking beyond their own immediate selves, or taking a broader view of men and affairs than what is afforded by sordid personal considerations. These apprehensions arise from an ignorance of the wealth of knowledge, culture and civilization which lies hidden in the neglected mines of Oriental learning. Nor do I believe that there cannot be any real amity between the youths of the two great communities unless they are prepared to forswear, partially at least, their own respective ideals in order to develop a hybrid nationality and meet on the common ground afforded by the diffusion of an alien culture and civilization. If such are the tremendous sacrifices that have to be made, even for so desirable an object as a real *rapprochement* between the two communities, I for one would not purchase even so valuable a commodity at so high a price. Happily these alarms are without foundation. For the Muslim University, I am prepared to tell these false prophets that it will be a great seat of intellectual activity, where the youths of our community, drawing their inspiration from the master-minds of Islam in the past, and taking the fullest advantage of the wealth of Islamic culture and civilization, will also be fully equipped with all the weapons of modern warfare to take their Proper place in the battle of life. I am confident that if, under Providence, the university fulfils its ideals, the East and the West will be blended in our youths in perfect harmony. This is fully recognized by all the leaders of Muslim thought, and this is the secret of the tremendous enthusiasm which the movement for the university has evoked all over India.

Proposed Dacca University

While on the subject of residential universities, I feel bound to say a few words as regards the proposed university at Dacca. The announcement made by His Excellency about this new university has given rise to endless discussions, and some of our countrymen are opposing it tooth and nail. One distinguished Bengali leader calls this university 'the apple of discord', and the opponents of the scheme pretend to see in its inauguration a clever linguistic partition of the Bengalis, quite as pernicious as the late administrative Partition. Now, I am very sorry that our Bengali friends should scent danger where

none exists, and oppose the scheme in a way which is sure to set the two communities against each other. The Viceroy has distinctly assured the Bengali leaders that the university would in no sense be a sectional university meant to benefit the Musalmans alone. It was the remarkable strides made by East Bengal in the matter of education in recent years that suggested to His Excellency the idea of creating a teaching and residential university at Dacca—the first of its kind in India—in order to prevent a setback in this remarkable progress. We, the Musalmans of East Bengal, welcome the university, not because it is meant for our exclusive benefit or to injure the interests of our Hindu brethren, but because we feel convinced that a teaching and residential university, in an area which has shown itself so susceptible of educational improvement, would give an impulse to the cause of education in the Eastern Bengal districts, which would easily place them in the van of educational progress in India. No doubt, any benefit to East Bengal necessarily means a benefit to that section of the population, numbering 20 millions, who happen to be Musalmans, but this is a contingency which cannot be avoided. We cannot cease to be a part and parcel of the population of that part of the country simply to please the fancy of a set of politicians who would eternally penalize the whole of Eastern Bengal for the sin of having harboured so large a Musalman majority. But while we welcome the scheme of the university and the appointment of a special officer, I am strongly of opinion that the Musalman community would not derive any appreciable benefits, unless sufficient funds are allotted for the exclusive advancement of Musalman education. Ours is a proverbially poor community, and the leaders of the Hindu Deputation, as well as the Viceroy, have admitted that it will be necessary to give some special facilities to Musalmans. With sufficient funds at our disposal, it will only remain to work out matters of detail as to how our community in East Bengal can best be helped to take the fullest advantage of a residential and teaching university in their midst.

Need for Musalman Teachers and Inspectors

And this leads me to say a few words on a subject which, I am afraid, has not received the attention it deserves, and which must be well borne in mind if our efforts for the advancement of Musalman education are expected to meet with practical success. I refer to the urgent necessity of having a larger number, than hitherto, of Musalman teachers in the schools situated in areas where Musalmans preponderate in the population, and also of having more Musalman inspecting officers to supervise Musalman education. It has been the fashion to denounce the apathy of the Musalmans in taking advantage of the facilities afforded by the educational institutions of the country, and there is no doubt that the accusation is partially well-founded. But there are other causes which have conspired to keep away the Musalmans from our English schools and colleges. These institutions have all along been condemn-

ed for the godless education they impart, and to the large majority of Mohammedan parents these seminaries of learning are so many devil's workshops where the minds of youth are filled with ideas repugnant to the tenets of Islam. There is hardly anything either in the curriculum of studies or in the personnel of the institutions, which can inspire Musalman parents with confidence as to the spiritual upbringing of the students. "Is it any object for wonder", says Mr. E.C. Bayley, "that they (Musalmans) hold aloof from a system which, however good in itself, made no concession to their prejudices—made, in fact, no provision for what they esteemed their necessities, and which was in its nature unavoidably antagonistic to their interests and at variance with their social traditions?" "The language of our Government schools", says Sir William Hunter, "in Lower Bengal is Hindi and the masters are Hindus. The Musalmans with one consent spurned the instructions of idolators through the medium of idolatry......the astute Hindu has covered the country with schools adapted to the wants of his own community, but wholly unsuited to the Mohammedans. Our rural schools seldom enable a Mohammedan to learn the tongue necessary for his holding a respectable position in life and for the performance of his religious duties." No condemnation can be more vigorous or more complete, and no words more deserving of careful consideration. Some good has no doubt been done in recent years by the acceptance of some of the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882, and the appointment of a larger number of Musalman inspecting officers in certain areas has been amply justified by events. In some instances, the advance made by the Musalmans, under the fostering care of Musalman inspecting officers in matters of education, has been phenomenal. But although much has been done, much more yet remains to be done, and I sincerely hope that Government will be induced to give fuller effect to the recommendations at an early date.

Technical and Industrial Education

On the subject of technical, industrial and commercial education for our young men, I do not think I need say much. All the great leaders of Indian thought consider it essential to the real progress of the country for our young men to devote their energies to the development of the resources of our country and the improvement of our arts and industries. It is time that our young men should avoid the beaten track of qualifying themselves solely for service or the overstocked professions; and I am sure if they did so, they would not only benefit themselves, but serve the best interests of the country.

Communal Representation

With the broadening of outlook and the advancement of ideas consequent on the diffusion of education on Western lines, comes a natural craving for Western institutions and an eager desire to be associated more liberally

in the administration of the country. The unerring signs of the times could hardly have escaped the notice of our rulers, and to their credit be it said that they have nobly come forward to meet the demands of our countrymen in both respects. It is now within the reasonable ambition of any properly qualified Indian to be admitted to the highest posts in the service of the Crown, and the expansion of the Legislative Councils and the generous recognition of a liberal representation of popular rights have secured the people of India an effective voice in the administration of affairs of the country. And in doing this, our rulers have been careful at each step to recognize that it is the duty of the British administration to protect the interests of the various communities in India, and to secure impartial treatment to all. In the peculiar circumstances prevailing in this country, with its vast congeries of peoples in all stages of intellectual development, each with its own traditions, ideals and aspirations, it would have been suicidal to the peace and harmonious progress of the country if Western institutions had been bodily transplanted to India without due regard to local conditions or the interests of the various communities inhabiting this peninsula. It would have been opposed to the sense of justice of the great British public, and they have not done it.

And this leads me at once to say a few words as regards the principle of communal representation and the system of separate electorates claimed by the Musalmans in India. This has been opposed by the other communities on the ground "that separate election by castes and creeds is not known elsewhere in the British Empire, and would introduce a new element of discord and disunion if introduced in India". Now, as regards the first objection, I consider it a sufficient refutation to say that the analogy of what prevails elsewhere is not applicable to India, simply because Indian conditions are so essentially different from the state of things in other parts of the British Empire. This is no doubt a truism, but these simple and obvious reasons are so often forgotten in the heat of controversy that it is worthwhile emphasizing them. India must be judged as it is, and not from visionary theories of what it should be or by false analogies drawn from conditions different from our own. Moreover, the system of representation by caste, classes or creeds is not entirely unknown elsewhere, and it does actually prevail where the conditions are fairly similar to those in India. In moving the second reading of the Indian Council Bill in the House of Lords on February 23, 1908, the Secretary of State said: "The Mohammedans demand. . . .the election of their own representatives to these Councils in all the stages, just as in Cyprus, where, I think, the Mohammedans vote by themselves. So in Bohemia, where the Germans vote alone and have their own register. Therefore, we are not without a parallel for the idea of a separate register."

The Royal Commission upon Decentralization in India, composed of European and Hindu members, strongly supported communal representation. "We are in entire accord", says the report of the Decentralization Commission,

"with Lord Ripon's resolution of 1882 as to the desirability of trying the methods of proportional representation and election by caste, occupation, etc. Having regard to the very different circumstances of different areas, we think it essential that the system adopted in each should be such as to provide for the due representation of different communities, creeds, and interests." It may be added that a class system of representation which exists in Rangoon, and in some of the Punjab municipalities, was found by the Royal Commission to have worked fairly satisfactorily.

It is also essential that Mohammedans should vote upon altogether a separate register, and for Mohammedans alone, in order that they may be able to exercise the right of voting undeterred by the various influences which would otherwise deprive them of the free exercise of their privilege. In addressing the Mohammedan Deputation that waited upon His Excellency Lord Minto at Simla in October 1906, His Lordship observed: "I am firmly convinced that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent.... You point out that in many cases electoral bodies as now constituted cannot be expected to return a Mohammedan candidate, and that, if by chance they did so, it could only be at the sacrifice of such a candidate's views to those of a majority opposed to his own community, whom he would in no way represent. I am entirely in accord with you."

As regards the apprehension, expressed by our opponents, that the introduction of these principles of communal representation and election by separate electorates would introduce discord and disunion in India, I am strongly of opinion that all accepted facts point quite the other way. I am firmly convinced that the best way to avoid friction with our Hindu brethren is to allow us to choose our own representatives in the local, district and municipal boards and Legislative Councils. It is our experience that nothing causes more bad blood between the Hindus and the Mohammedans than these contested elections. The Hindus fill the legal and other professions; they are also the village money lenders and the village landlords. It is hardly necessary to point out that the combination of wealth and influence in our more fortunate Hindu brethren often makes the Mohammedan voter dependent on his Hindu zemindar, creditor or lawyer. To prevent any influences being exercised over Mohammedan voters, Mohammedan candidates have sometimes been obliged to appeal to the religious sentiments of the voters, with sometimes very deplorable results. These contingencies would be avoided if Mohammedans are allowed to vote by themselves.

All these arguments apply with equal force to the separate representation of Mohammedans on local and district boards, and municipalities. These bodies exercise great influence over the everyday life of our people. Education, sanitation and other important local affairs are entrusted in their hands,

and it is necessary that the Musalmans should be allowed their full share of representation on these bodies as well. To quote again from Lord Minto's statesmanlike reply: "I agree with you that the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government are to be found in the municipal and district boards, and that it is in that direction that we must look for the gradual political education of the people." To this emphatic statement of our case, I feel I have nothing more to add.

It will thus be seen that the privileges that we claim for our community have been repeatedly recognized by distinguished British statesmen, and pledged to us by the highest officials in unmistakable terms. I repeat my firm conviction that the fulfilment of these pledges would not only be an act of bare justice to Musalmans, but would also be productive of the utmost harmony between the two great communities by removing all chances of controversy and bitter rivalry for the possession of prizes in civil life. As a practical solution of the question, I personally think that the interests of Musalmans will be safeguarded if half the seats are reserved for them on all self-governing bodies in all the provinces, as well as the Legislative Councils, to be filled by the system of separate electorates and voting on separate registers. To quote once again from Lord Minto: "You justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service to the Empire."

Wakf

The question of the mismanagement of *Wakf* endowments has been agitating the mind of the community for sometime past, and is a matter of grave concern to the Musalmans of India. It is the duty of the Government to see that the pious wishes of these benefactors of our community are fully carried out by a proper application of the *Wakf* funds to the purposes for which they are intended. The League has already drawn the attention of Government to this deplorable state of things, but hitherto without effect. Another source of annoyance to the community has been the indifference with which Government has treated the representations of the community as regards the dissatisfaction amongst the Musalmans of India caused by the decision of the Privy Council regarding the validity of *Wakf-alal-Aulad*. I cannot conceive how Government can persuade itself to ignore such unmistakable expressions of the opinion of the leaders of our community on questions of such supreme importance to the Musalmans of India.

Indians in the Transvaal

I feel it my bounden duty to raise an emphatic protest against the unjust treatment of Indians, and the serious disabilities imposed on them, in British South-East Africa. The perpetuation of the grievances of our countrymen in that land, in spite of the most vigorous condemnation both in this

country and in England, is a marvel to those who have learnt to pin their faith on the sense of justice of the British people for the redress of real grievances. Nearly five years ago, I put a series of questions in the Imperial Council with a view to ascertain how far the Government of India was regardful of the rights and privileges of the natives of India in the Transvaal. The replies, as I noted then, were satisfactory. I am well aware that both the Governments here and in Britain are very sympathetic, and there is a tendency towards the redress of grievances. But in spite of all that has been done, a bare enumeration of the existing disabilities of the Indians in the Transvaal would be shocking to the feelings of their fellow-countrymen in India. They are still denied all freedom in the acquirement of land in that country; they are not given facilities and comforts in the matter of travelling in the railways; they are debarred from nomination to the magisterial offices, however influential and respectable they may be; while suffering terms of imprisonment, little or no consideration is paid to their religious scruples, although these are often as dear to them as life itself. These and a thousand other grievances make the life of our countrymen most miserable in the Transvaal and other parts of South Africa, and must necessarily be humiliating to them and galling to their feelings. I repeat what I said five years ago on the same subject from my seat in the Imperial Council, that I challenge the right of the British Colonial Government to put the stain of inferiority on British Indian subjects or place them on a lower status than that bestowed on the commonest of foreigners. I understand that the Committee of the London Branch of the All-India Muslim League has recently addressed His Majesty's Government on the imperative necessity of redressing these real grievances. I need hardly say that these grievances weigh heavily on the hearts of all Indians irrespective of caste and creed, and that any action taken towards the amelioration of the condition of our countrymen in South Africa would be hailed with immense satisfaction and joy by all the communities in the Indian Empire.

Appointments

The question of larger employment of our youths in various branches of the public service is a matter of great importance to our community. I am not one of those who look upon the successful securing of a post in Government service as the only laudable ambition of a youth's career, or the *summum bonum* of a man's existence. I am convinced that too much of a craving for service in a young man is incompatible with the existence of those high aspirations and lofty ideals which lift us to excellence as useful members of society. I deprecate this morbid frame of mind quite as strongly as anybody; but the fact remains that a considerable number of our youths must choose Government service as their career in life, which, with all its drawbacks, has got certain obvious advantages. It satisfies a laudable ambition in a young man to be associated in the work of the administration of the country; it relieves

him from pressing pecuniary wants; education is encouraged by the success of our educated young men in securing honourable posts in the public service; and lastly, a Government servant can look after the education of his children with greater facilities than one of his position in life outside the Government service. But I wish it to be distinctly understood that I have no desire to make any proposals which will have the effect of impairing the efficiency of the various branches of public service. We are convinced as well as anybody else that it would be detrimental to the cause of the proper administration of the country if incompetent men are pitchforked into posts without due regard to their abilities to perform the duties assigned to them. Officials in India seem to have an idea that Musalmans press for a preferential treatment of their youths in the matter of employment in the public services, in utter disregard of the requirements of efficiency. Nothing is further from our intention than this. What we want is that, provided Musalman candidates satisfy the minimum test required for efficiency, they may be freely admitted in preference to candidates belonging to advanced communities. To insist on more than the minimum requisite of qualifications for the due discharge of the duties of a post would be to insist on what is perhaps a superfluity. There is a general impression that in matters of employment in public service, Mohammedan claims have met with indulegent consideration. I have gathered statistics of appointments in Eastern Bengal, where the principle of favouritism is alleged to have been carried very far, which shows that there are far more Hindu officers without any university qualifications than there are Mohammedans. It seems to me that if Mohammedan claims are to be fully met and real justice is to be done to them in the matter of appointments, a minimum qualification, with due regard to the pay and prospects of the various offices, should be fixed. And when a Mohammedan is found to satisfy the requisite minimum, and is otherwise qualified, he should be given preference over candidates belonging to advanced communities; and that this policy may be continued till such time as the proportion of Mohammedans in the services comes up to their proportion in the population.

Concluding Remarks

And now I must bring my words to close. I feel I owe you ample apologies for having inflicted this long speech on you, and I must thank you for having listened to it so patiently. I am quite aware that I have said nothing new or original, or anything particularly nice to strike your fancy. I have said just what came uppermost in my mind regarding some burning questions of the day affecting our community in India. Master-minds have handled these subjects before me, and they have left nothing new for me to say. But even obvious truths have got to be repeated, and their importance reiterated, lest in the tumult and bustle of the modern world we lose sight of them altogether.

The East is just now the scene of strange happenings. Old barriers are being broken down, old prejudices uprooted, and everywhere we seem to be confronted with revolutions which seem likely to convulse society. We in India cannot be unaffected by all that is happening around us. New hopes and aspirations have been born within us; and the mind of educated India is now throbbing with inspiring ideals and lofty aspirations. For the Musalmans to continue further in a state of listless indifference would be to seal their fate for all time. We must all move with the times, or be forever doomed.

The quetsion has often been asked: What should be our attitude towards politics? The world has grown older and wiser by more than half a century since the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan advocated a total abstention from politics as the best course for a Musalman to pursue in India. Things have greatly changed since then, and the advice of even so great a leader as the late Syed has got to be modified in the light of past experiences. I think the proper answer to the question must, at the present moment, depend on what we mean by politics. There can be no harm if we confine our politics to placing our wants and grievances before our rulers, in a perfectly constitutional manner, and with due regard to the just claims of the other great communities of India. But we must deprecate the encouragement of the spirit of utter lawlessness, defiance of authority, rank sedition and reckless disregard of the rights of others, which we find generally form a part of the programme of the politics of the day.

To my mind, what is more urgently needed for our community than any politics is a combined effort on the part of all our leaders to spread education in all its branches amongst the various sections of our community. The facilities for education that already exist should be multiplied and extended, and all possible inducements held out to Musalman parents to secure the benefits of a liberal system of education for their children. We want men of genuine patriotism and self-sacrifice like our friend the Hon'ble Haji Mohammad Ismail Khan of Backergunj, whose munificent donation towards the cause of Mohammedan education recalls the noble and large-hearted philanthropy of Haji Mohammad Mohsin.

I have never advocated the principle of preferential treatment for the claims of my community in any respect; and what I have always claimed has been a just and proper regard of our legitimate rights. We do not wish to be selfish ourselves, and we would not tolerate selfishness in others. As regards our attitude towards all the other communities generally, I consider that man the worst enemy of the Indian peoples who would needlessly sow the seeds of discord and disunion between class and class and race and race in this country. In saying so, I am only giving expression to the earnest desire of His Majesty the King Emperor, so repeatedly emphasized by His Excellency the Viceroy, to see peace and harmony established amongst all the classes of

his subjects, and I consider it almost a disloyalty to act in contravention to the clearly expressed wishes of our Gracious Sovereign. To the Hindu community particularly, our attitude should be one of brotherly love and amity; and we should always be ready to extend to them our whole-hearted sympathy in all their efforts for the advancement of India. (We must not forget that by their wealth and superior culture they deservedly occupy a very prominent position amongst the leaders of Indian thought, and not infrequently have they set before us examples of fearless independence, which we should do well to follow in all that concerns our country and our community.) To our young men, I would add a few words of advice. Be manly and self-reliant, for a spirit of servile dependence on others is repugnant to the best traditions of Islam. Be honest and truthful, in small things and great, and recollect that one of the chosen attributes of the Divinity in Islam is Truth. Be loyal, and cultivate a feeling of reverence, love and respect for the great British people to whom your country and community owe the blessings of peace and ordered government. Above all, cultivate the spirit of self-sacrifice, and learn to sink your personal needs and requirements in striving after the common good, and I have no doubt you will grow up to be useful members of society, loyal and law-abiding citizens, and thus be worthy not only of your glorious heritage, but also of that great future which, under Providence, is to be sure the destiny of India as a part and parcel of the mighty British Empire.

Gentlemen, I must again apologize to you for having trespassed so much on your valuable time; but before I sit down, I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to take formal leave of you and all my colleagues, with a view to retiring finally from the field of politics. I am sorry to tell you that my failing health now stands in the way of my participating further in the bustle and turmoil of an active political life; and I sincerely regret that I am no longer able to take my humble share in the service of my community and my country. For the last 12 years I have been your humble comrade-in-arms, and I hope I have always been found in the thick of the fight. When I first took the field more than a decade ago, my co-religionists were hemmed in on all sides by implacable enemies. Now, through the blessings of God, the situation is greatly changed. My co-religionsts have known (*sic*) their own rights and privileges. I feel satisfied that they can handle the weapons of warfare with pluck and courage, that they can now hold their own. Had it not been for the conviction that I cannot any longer be an active participator with you in the present state of my health, I would have continued at my post undeterred by any consequences. When I first took up politics, I did it to place my services at the disposal of my co-religionists and without any hopes of personal aggrandisement. I can now retire with a light heart, for my co-religionists have no longer that need for my services which they did before. But although I retire from active service, I will be in your reserve, for you can ever command me to do all that I can for the furtherance of the interests of my community.

I will always be at your beck and call, though not by your side. My consolation is that I see such a large number of our educated young men devote their time, talent and energies in the cause of Islam; and I am confident that when I unbuckle my armour, the weapons of warfare will pass on to stronger arms and stouter nerves. Believe me that in my retirement, you will have my most earnest prayers for the success of your efforts in securing Islam that place amongst the great communities of India to which it is entitled by its glorious history, noble traditions, lofty ideals and cultured civilization. May God prosper you and crown all your efforts with unqualified success.[1]

Following this speech, the meeting was adjourned till after lunch.

Second Sitting[2]

Resolutions[3]

The League resumed proceedings after lunch at 3:20 p.m. Formal resolutions were passed, thanking the King and Queen for the unique honour done to the people of India by the Imperial visit; lamenting the death of H.H. the Nizam, of Moulvi Mohammad Aziz Mirza, and of Syed Mohammad Bilgrami.

Then Khan Bahadur Allabbuksh served a resolution, on behalf of the League, appreciating the munificence of the Hon. Haji Mohammad Ismail Khan of Backergunj, in making a princely donation towards Mohammedan education.

The resolution was seconded by Nawab Ghulam Mohammad Shah.

Haji Ismail Khan, the donor, being called upon to speak, said that since he thought that poverty was the cause of the educational backwardness of the Musalman community, he had done what, in his humble way, he had considered proper.

Mr. Mohammad Ali moved a resolution appreciating the tough fight of the Indians in South Africa protesting against racial distinctions, and praying that the Government might be pleased to remove those distinctions.

Syed Zahur Ahmed seconded and Haji Mohammad Zakeria supported the motion.

Mr. Polak, who was received with applause, explained the Registration Law in the Transvaal.

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1. *Speech Delivered at the Fifth Session of the All-India Muslim League Held in Calcutta on 3rd and 4th March, 1912, by Nawab Sir Khajeh Salimullah Bahadur of Dacca.* (Printed Pamphlet.)
2. Reports of this and the subsequent sittings of the Fifth Session are taken from *The Bengalee* of March, 1912. Errors and confusions of language have been corrected where repeated reading has made the intended sense clear.
3. All these resolutions were adopted.

Mr. Jeevanjee supported the resolution

Mr. Mohammad Shafi proposed a resolution respectfully urging the Government to take steps to put an end to the system of recruiting Indian labour under indenture.

Mr. Rafiuddin seconded the resolution. In answer to an article in *The Pioneer*, asking how Indians in South Africa could expect better treatment in spite of the unrest in India, he said that the treatment meted out to the Indians in South Africa was one of the causes of Indian unrest.

Mr. Samiullah Beg proposed a resolution requesting the Government to reconsider the alteration in the age-limit at the competitive examination for the I.C.S., as it would prove detrimental to the interests of Indian candidates.

Khan Bahadur Ghulam Sadiq seconded the resolution.

Third Sitting

The League resumed its sittings on Monday, March 4, at 11:15 a.m.

Before the proceedings commenced, the Secretary communicated the news that His Highness the Aga Khan had agreed to be the third of three Joint Presidents of the League. But he announced that under the present rules, it was impossible to have more than one President; His Highness was therefore elected the only President.

Annulment of Partition

Mr. Mohammad Ali proposed the following resolution:

> The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of regret and disappointment at the annulment of the partition of Bengal in utter disregard of Muslim feeling, and trusts that Government will take early steps to safeguard Muslim interests in the Presidency of Bengal.

In doing so, he said that it might seem strange that he, not being born a Bengali, moved this resolution. But as he considered the whole Mohammedan community one, he thought that when the interest of a portion of the community suffered, the remaining portions shared the same feeling of trouble. This lesson of unity, they had learned from the Hindus, who made the question of Bengal an All-India question. He observed that the annulment was a great blunder, for it might shake the people's belief that the King can do no wrong. It was indeed calculated to cause the belief that any settled fact could be unsettled if agitation against it was persisted in. He further remarked that if the annulment served to promote love and fraternity between the Hindus and the Mohammedans, they would consider the annulment a

boon, and think that Lord Hardinge was their best friend. But if it served to contribute towards alienation between the two, it would be the greatest misfortune that had ever befallen the country. The present time was a time of patience for the Mohammedans and trial for the Hindus; the latter should not be carried away by a feeling of triumph into a feeling of indifference towards the interests of the Mohammedan community.

Sheikh Zahur Ahmed seconded the resolution, which was then carried.

Education in Eastern Bengal

Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhuri moved the following resolution:

(i) In view of the comparative backwardness of the people of Eastern Bengal and Assam in the matter of higher education, the All-India Muslim League heartily welcomes the scheme for the constitution of a teaching and residential university at Dacca, and urges on the Government the desirability of extending the operations of the proposed university over the districts of Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong divisions, so far at least as the general control and supervision of the educational institutions in those areas and the prescription of the curricula of studies and the examinations are concerned.

(ii) The League begs to accord its hearty support to the proposal for the appointment of a special educational officer for Eastern Bengal and begs to urge the necessity of vesting him with full powers of initiative and control, independent of the Director of Public Instruction at Calcutta, and with adequate funds at his disposal.

(iii) With a view to inducing the Musalman community to avail themselves more fully of the benefits of education and to prevent a setback in the remarkable progress in education made by the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal and Assam during recent years, the All-India Muslim League begs to urge the desirability of continuing in Eastern Bengal and Assam the facilities already granted to them and giving full and immediate effect to the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882 in this behalf.

Mr. Wasi Ahmed seconded the resolution, which was carried.

Musalman Endowments

Mr. Wasi Ahmed moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League respectfully reiterates its prayer that the Government may be pleased to institute a thorough inquiry into

the general purposes and manner of administration of existing Musalman endowments designed mainly for the public benefit.

Sheikh Ghulam Sadiq seconded the resolution.

Mr. Nur Mohammad moved an amendment that the consideration of this resolution be postponed until Mr. Jinnah's Bill in the Legislative Council had been passed.

Several gentlemen rose to a point of order, saying that it had nothing to do with the resolution.

The amendment was put to the vote and defeated.

The resolution was carried by a large majority with only three votes against it.

Public Service

Syed Sultan Ahmed moved a resolution to the following effect[1]:

> The All-India Muslim League strongly urges upon the Government of India (to recruit Indians) in the higher branches of the public service in larger numbers as a corollary to the reforms recently introduced and in fulfilment of solemn pledges repeatedly reiterated. The League also hopes that in view of the necessity and importance of each community being duly representated in the administration, and with a view to securing efficiency in the public service, the Government will lay down an irreducible minimum of educational qualifications, and will give the Musalmans possessing the minimum qualifications their just and rightful share in the appointments.

Mr. Sultan Ahmed, in moving the resolution, said that although repeated promises were made by the Government of India, these promises had not been given effect. Mr. Ahmed then quoted statistics in favour of his proposition, and said that Indians and Musalmans claimed those privileges as a matter of right.

Mr. Zahur Ahmed, seconding the resolution, said that Indians had been entrusted with the most responsible posts, but had never been found wanting. There was no excuse for the Government to keep them out of any position, however high it might be.

The resolution was carried, and the meeting then adjourned for **lunch.**

Fourth Sitting

Elementary Education Bill

After lunch, when the League resumed its proceedings at 3 p.m., Mr. Mirza Samiullah Beg moved the following resolution:

1. The words in perenthesis, or others to the same effect, have probably been left out as a typographical error.

The All-India Muslim League accepts in the main the principles of Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill, but is of opinion that elementary education should also be made free, and that Muslim interests should be adequately safeguarded.

In moving the resolution, Mr. Samiullah Beg said that if Mr. Gokhale's Bill were passed into law, it would benefit the Mohammedan more than any other community in India. Speaking of Lucknow, the speaker said that when a leading man of that place died there was nobody to take up his place. If this sort of thing continued for 15 or 20 years more, Lucknow would lose all traces of Mohammedan culture.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, seconding the resolution, said that if the Bill were passed into law it would do more good than harm. He could not understand how a Musalman, following the teachings of the Prophet, could oppose a measure that would regenerate India as a whole. Referring to the compulsory section, he said that unless there was compulsion, they would not reach that position which ought to be theirs among civilized nations. The Government said they had no funds; but he could not accept this argument. Let the Government give him the portfolio, and in two months he would be able to point out jobberies which could easily be spent in education. In this question, the Hindus and Mohammedans were one.

Mr. Mohammad Shafi said that Islam did not tolerate compulsion. He should not be misunderstood when he said that, for he was not opposed to the spread of education. He challenged the supporters of the Bill to point out a country where compulsion was used in education. Compulsion in education was merely the thin end of the wedge. It would be giving an effective weapon into the hands of a dominant majority at the sacrifice of the minority. First of all, let there be a school in every village: then the boys would go there in numbers. In his opinion higher education should first of all be made compulsory (*sic*). If the Bill were passed into law, it would lead to political disabilities, for then Hindi would be powerful at the expense of Urdu.

Mr. Mohammad Ali said that it was not possible to make higher education compulsory. As regards the argument that religion did not authorize compulsion, he asked whether that was any reason to oppose the compulsion to light lamps at sunset, which an ordinary policeman would compel even an Hon'ble member of the Council to do. The Muslim religion was embodied in a small book which had been their guiding light through all ages. But that small book contained a number of stories, a number of directions relating to the actual circumstances where the revelations were made, and a great many exhortations; yet the whole body of Islamic jurisprudence was based on that book. The duty to acquire learning was commanded by Islam, and the best method of carrying out that duty was left to us and to our varying circumstances.

While Mr. Mohammad Ali was speaking, Mr. Mohammad Shafi made several attempts to interrupt him, but he was not allowed to do so.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque quoted teachings of the Prophet which said that the search for knowledge was the bounden duty of every man and woman. Adding that Mr. Shafi was wrong in saying that compulsion was not tolerated by Islam, Mr. Haque referred to the Quran to show that, the Bill was not opposed to Mohammedan interests.

Mr. Zahur Ahmed supported compulsion in elementary education; but in the interests of the Muslims, he advocated the establishment of an Arabic school in every village.

Mr. Wahed Hussain thought that compulsion was the only means of removing widespread ignorance.

Maulana Abulkalam Azad said that only title-holders and members of the Council were opposing the Bill in order to show their loyalty.

Mr. Mohammad Shafi objected to the remark.

Several gentlemen from the dais shouted: "We cannot bear this."

A tumultuous scene followed, in a which number of gentlemen rushed forward to speak on the subject simultaneously. After a few minutes order was restored, when Maulana Azad was asked to take his seat, as he was out of order.

The mover of the resolution, speaking in Urdu, then explained the objects of the Bill.

Mr. Mohammad Shafi rose to say something, but he was ruled out of order.

The members of the League then retired to an ante-room to record their votes. Thirty-four voted in favour of the resolution, while the opponents, who were in a hopeless minority, declined to vote.

The resolution was then carried unanimously (*sic*).

Indians in the Army

Mr. Zahur Ahmed moved the following resolution:

> The All-India Muslim League earnestly hopes that now that the highest offices in the State have been thrown open to Indians, Government would give them a greater share in the defence of their country by appointing qualified Indians to the higher posts in the British Army to which (only) Europeans are now eligible.

The resolution was supported by Mr. Mohammad Ali. He said that when even the highest offices of the State were open to Indians, it would be absurd not to admit them in the army, in view of the tact, pluck, dash and all the other qualities shown by Indian soldiers on various occasions. The loyalty of the Indian soldiers was unquestionable.

The resolution was carried.

Indian Law Students in England

Mr. Abdul Aziz proposed a resolution saying that the provisions of the new Regulation adopted by the Council of Legal Education for the admission of Indian students into the Inns of Court, respecting the certificate of good character, were harsh and must result in the exclusion of a considerable number of good and worthy Indian students.

The resolution[1], which was seconded by the Mr. Wasi Ahmed, was carried.

The Persian Situation

Mr. Ghulam Hussain moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sympathy with the people of Persia, who are connected with the Indian Musalmans by the closest ties of blood, religion and a common culture, in their unmerited sufferings in their noble efforts to save their unfortunate country from Russian encroachments, and while trusting that the British Government is fully alive to the grave consequence likely to result from the dismemberment of Persia, respectfully urges upon the Imperial Government to get Russia to adhere to the spirit of the Anglo-Russian Convention and more effectively ensure the integrity and independent development of the country.

Mr. Samiullah Beg seconded the resolution, which was carried.

The meeting was then adjourned.

Fifth Sitting

The League resumed deliberations in its final sitting at 6.30 p.m., when Mr. Zulfikar Ali Khan was voted to the Chair, pending the return of the President, who had been delayed.

Mr. Mohammad Shafi moved a resolution to the effect that the League expressed deep abhorrence of Italy's raid on the Tripolitan Coast, and hoped that the European Powers would not fail to oblige Italy to recognize Turkish sovereignty in Tripoli.

Nawab Sarfaraz Hussein seconded the resolution.

At this point the President arrived and the *protempore* president retired in his favour.

The resolution was carried[2].

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque moved that, in view of the formation of an Executive Council in Bihar, the U.P. and the Punjab be granted the same privileges as Bihar, as they were equally entitled to these.

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1. Wording not recorded in source document.
2. The wordings of this and subsequent resolutions are not available.

The resolution, seconded by Mr. Mokbul Ahmed, was carried *nem con.*

Moulvi Syed Rafiuddin proposed that the League urge a provision for the adequate communal representation of Mohammedans on district boards and the municipalities.

He observed that their rights had been taken away by other people. They were going to defend their rights; but their demands were never of an aggressive nature. There should be practical unanimity amongst them on the subject. It was high time for them to demand these rights: if they did not do so now, they would not get them till the end of time.

The resolution was seconded by Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhuri. He said that for their election, Musalmans generally had to depend upon Hindu zemindars, who were preponderant over them by virtue of their wealth and position.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque observed: "It is said by newspapers, both English and vernacular, that I pose as a representative of the Mohammedan community. These really are my personal views. I have said that on the Congress platform and in the Imperial Council. I have never been a hypocrite. I shall never be a hypocrite. I differ from you in this particular matter. I know there is an overwhelming majority against me in this hall. But I (also) know there is an overwhelmingly strong minority (*sic*) in my favour. I do not want to thrust my views upon you, nor do I wish that you thrust your views upon me. I may be wrong. Nobody is infallible in this world. I think the time will come...when we will all agree. So long as this time is not come, you will pardon me for my differing from your views. But kindly allow me the freedom of thought which is the birth-right of every Musalaman. Because I have the misfortune to differ from you, there are people in this very hall, who say that I am not a Mohammedan. I tell you I am a greater Mohammedan than many *mullas*. It is a libel upon me and my life. I love Islam better than many *mullas*. You should give me the freedom of my conscience. The time will come when we shall all be one. That time is almost come in Bengal. These are my views. I do not want to discuss the matter now. You will forgive me when I say that I cannot agree with you. If I am wrong, pray to God that He may give me light. If you are wrong, let me pray to God that He may give you light."

Mr. Mohammad Shafi believed that separate electorates for the Mohammedans would combine the Hindus and the Mohammedans.

Mr. Mohammad Ali thought that a separate electorate was a hateful necessity—like divorce, which was accepted by Islam as a hateful necessity.[1]

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1. Although it is not stated in the report, it may be assumed that the resolution was passed.

The meeting adopted a resolution agreeing with Mr. Jinnah's Bill regarding *Wakfs*, and urging upon the Government, the desirability of its being passed into law. This resolution elicited much discussion, a number of gentlemen opposing it.

The office-bearers were then elected, after which the meeting was closed at 9:15 p.m.[1]

1. *Source*: *The Bengalee*, Calcutta, March, 1912.

MUSLIM LEAGUE COUNCIL MEETING

BANKIPUR, DECEMBER 31, 1912

A meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League was held on December 31, 1912, under the presidency of the Aga Khan. A resolution was passed therein which recommended that the aims of the Muslim League should be:

1. To promote and maintain among Indians feelings of loyalty towards the British Crown;
2. To protect and advance the political and other rights and interests of the Indian Musalmans;
3. To promote friendship and union between the Musalmans and other communities of India; and
4. Without detriment to the foregoing objects, the attainment of a system of self-government suitable to India by bringing about, through constitutional means, a steady reform of the existing system of administration; by promoting national unity and fostering public spirit among the people of India, and by co-operating with other communities for the said purposes.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque of Bankipur, pointed out (*sic*) why of all the people in India the Musalmans should make a speciality of expressing their loyalty. It was no good, he said, to profess their own chastity. They were true to their salt and were born loyalist and there was no need of its declaration.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah spoke in support of Mr. Haque, and said their action would stimulate the loyal feelings of other people in India.

Sir Wazir Hasan, the Acting Secretary, explained the reasons which led him to insert the foregoing passage (4) in the Constitution. Without an ideal, he said, no nation ever lived and it was time to put an ideal before the community.

Mr. Haque, objecting to the words 'self-government suitable to India', said that that was a meaningless sentence. People ought to be told that India wanted self-government on Colonial lines.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah pointed out that a system of self-government on Colonial lines was not feasible for India, where things were quite different from the countries where they existed. He asked Mr. Haque, how was 'self-government suitable to India' a meaningless phrase? If he knew the English language, he was sure it meant government of the people by the people. He put it to the credit of the League that it had placed the right ideal before the community. Though he was a Congressman, yet he knew that it was wrong in this matter, and he prophesied that very soon the Congress would adopt the same form as suggested by the League, and thus he thought that the League could well be congratulated for going ahead even of the Congress in the formation of the ideal. Replying to Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, who mentioned that the time had not come for the attainment of self-government, the speaker said that nobody asked for it to be given tomorrow or the day after. It was the goal and ideal of the nation, and might be attained say a century hence.

Maulana Mohammad Ali also supported the resolution as it stood, and it was passed.

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1. *The Pioneer*, Lucknow, January 2, 1913. Reproduced verbatim, except for spelling and punctuation.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

SIXTH SESSION

LUCKNOW, MARCH 22-23, 1913

This Session of the League, scheduled to be held in December 1912, was postponed because Syed Ameer Ali, whom the Muslims wanted to preside, could not spare time in that month, and the matter dragged on till March 1913, when it was felt absolutely necessary to hold it without further delay. Mian Mohammad Shafi took the Chair. Several delegates from far and near came to attend it; and among the honourable visitors were Bishan Narain Dhar and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Mr. M.A. Jinnah, though then not a member of the Muslim League, was also invited to attend the Session as a guest.

The first sitting of the League was held at the historic hall in Kaiser Bagh, which was tastefully decorated and crowded to its utmost capacity. The President of the Reception Committee, after welcoming the guests, dealt briefly with the various current events. Then Mian Mohammad Shafi gave the following Presidential Address:

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MIAN MOHAMMAD SHAFI

When my esteemed friend Syed Wazir Hasan communicated to me the desire of your Council that I should accept the presidency of this great gathering, I regarded the high honour offered to me as a token of your appreciation of the active share which, ever since its foundation, the Punjab Muslim League has taken in the great work accomplished by our organization during a period remarkable for a series of momentous political changes and the birth of new political forces in this country. When a complete history of the organized efforts during the days of the Reform Scheme comes

to be written, it will be found that the Punjab Muslim League played an important part in securing those valuable rights and privileges for our community which have, to a very great extent, enabled our co-religionists to take their proper share in the legislative and administrative machinery of the Indian Government. Writing from Switzerland on August 23, 1909, that veteran Muslim leader, the Right Hon'ble Sayed Ameer Ali—who but for the Turkish crisis would now have been presiding over this Anniversary—spoke of our work in that connection in these gratifying terms: "Let me congratulate your League upon the emphatic manner in which you have declared yourself. I have already received from English friends, who take an interest in our cause, expressions of warm appreciation of your League's independence, consistency and political insight." And now by my election as President of the Sixth Anniversary of the All-India Muslim League, you have set the final seal of recognition upon the services rendered to the Muslim cause by your Punjab Branch. In return for this generous appreciation on your part, I can confidently assure you that the 'Living Hearts of the Punjab' shall continue to beat true and steadfast as ever in the service of the national cause, that your brethren in the Punjab shall not be found wanting no matter how great be the sacrifice which the call of duty may demand.

The Unique Importance of this Anniversary

Gentlemen, we have met to-day under circumstances which lend exceptional importance to this year's anniversary. Political events in India are marching with a lightening rapidity and, in circumstances such as these, it is absolutely essential for a progressive political institution to keep pace with the ever-changing conditions of a transitional period. The improved legislative machinery is now in full swing; and to those who have been gifted by Providence with the foresight necessary to anticipate coming events, signs are not wanting of further development in the complicated political problems with which Indian affairs are surrounded. The Indian political atmosphere is already reverberating with the distant echoes of a coming storm which, though as yet below the far horizon, is travelling steadily onward until at last it is sure to burst over our heads. The murmurs of 'Provincial Autonomy', 'Increased Power of Interpellation', 'Non-Official Majority in the Imperial Legislative Council', and the advent of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India, are but the forerunners of that storm. It is the duty of the Muslim League to be on the alert lest the Indian Musalmans be caught napping at the critical moment.

The League itself is, this year, entering upon what may be rightly termed the second stage of its development with a revised constitution which is but the natural outcome not only of altered conditions but also of spontaneous evolution. In the Muslim world outside India, momentous events have taken place which besides changing the maps of three continents, are

bound to have a tremendous effect upon the fortunes of Islam. Indeed, the great ocean has been disturbed by a storm the consequent commotion of which will be felt far and wide on every Muslim shore. In these circumstances, an intense feeling of responsibility almost overwhelms me when I think of what I have taken upon myself in responding to your call by agreeing to preside over your deliberations. But the heavy burden of that responsibility is considerably lightened by the assurance that I may count upon your generous co-operation in rendering my task less difficult than it might otherwise be, and in giving to our discussions that vigorous and yet moderate tone which alone is worthy of so important a gathering as ours, representing the 70 millions of His Imperial Majesty's Musalman subjects in this great continent.

The Delhi Outrage

But before dealing with the important problems which I propose to discuss to-day, I desire, on behalf of the Indian Musalmans, to offer our respectful and sincere congratulations to His Excellency the Viceroy on his recovery from the effect of the injuries resulting from the dastardly outrage committed by some despicable miscreant on December 25. The universal chorus of condemnation of that inhuman act by His Imperial Majesty's Indian subjects belonging to all classes and creeds, and the remarkable display of genuine sympathy for Their Excellencies personally on that deplorable occasion, have placed it beyond even a shadow of doubt that the heart-strings of the Indian people ring absolutely true. Indeed this cold-blooded act of some follower of a most abominable cult, hitherto foreign to Eastern ideals and traditions, finds no sympathy among any class of His Majesty's faithful subjects in this country. Who could have even imagined that on such an auspicious day and in the midst of general rejoicings, this apostle of anarchism would select for his victim the central figure of a stately procession—a Viceroy who, during the comparatively short period he has been at the helm of the Indian administration, has won for himself a conspicuous place in the hearts of the Indian people by his keen solicitude for their welfare? Who could have even conceived the possibility of an outrage like this aimed at the life of one who has already done so much to satisfy that greatest of our country's immediate needs, a wider diffusion of elementary education among the Indian masses? The rercudescence of anarchism evidenced by this and other outrages, recently committed in certain parts of the country, constitutes a most deplorable feature of the existing situation. Alas! these misguided terrorists do not realize the infinite harm which results from their evil propaganda to the cause of peaceful progress in India. These horrible crimes, aimed against law and order, must inevitably put back the hands of the clock and retard the onward march at a period when every step forward means so much for the ultimate regeneration of our people. It is the bounden duty of all law-abiding citizens not only to assist the authorities

in the detection of the perpetrators of these horrid crimes but also to make an earnest and well-organized effort to stamp out this fell disease which, if unchecked, is sure to eat into the very vitals of the Indian community. Thus alone will this hideous blot upon the fair name of our motherland be obliterated: thus alone will our people advance peacefully along the path that leads to those glorious heights wheron India shall occupy, within the Empire of Greater Britain, that eminent position to which she may legitimately aspire.

Genesis of the New Constitution

The rapid pace with which nations all over the world are advancing in the race for intellectual progress and political emancipation is absolutely unparalleled in the past history of mankind. The increasing spread of socialistic doctrines in the West and the growing influence of constitutional ideals in the East are producing a succession of political changes bewildering to the thoughtful student of world politics. In India itself, hardly had the first Reformed Councils settled down to business, not having completed even the second year of their infantine existence, when the memorable visit of our august Sovereign brought in its wake far-reaching administrative changes, unsettling 'settled fact', and awoke in the patriotic mind dreams of further constitutional reforms foreshadowed in the now famous Despatch of the Government of India. The All-India Muslim League, being an essentially progressive political institution, could no longer rest content with the Pre-Reform Constitution which had been the basis of its operations ever since its foundation in December 1906. And yet practical statesmanship required that the necessary revision of the League's Constitution should be carried out on lines which, while assimilating its policy and practice to the altered political conditions, would constitute but the next stage in the process of a natural and spontaneous evolution without, in any way, creating a wide break with the past. With this end in view and after certain preliminary discussions in Calcutta on the occasion of the last Anniversary of the League, my friend Syed Wazir Hasan issued, in April 1912, a circular letter to all the Provincial Leagues calling for suggestions in connection with the proposed revision; and finally, having prepared the amended objects and rules, placed them before the meeting of the Council held at Bankipur last December 31 under the presidency of our princely leader, His Highness the Aga Khan. The proposed constitution thus prepared and adopted by the Council, with certain modifications, will be placed before you by our able and energetic Secretary, whose valuable work in connection with this all-important matter is deserving of special recognition. For my own part I have, after giving it my most careful and anxious consideration, no hesitation in declaring that the revised Constitution complies with the two fundamental tests mentioned by me, and have great pleasure in

commending it to your approval. The aims and methods laid down therein, while perfectly consonant with those salutary principles which constitute the quintessence of real statesmanship, are fully adapted to the existing political conditions and constitute a natural step forward in the progressive development of the All-India Muslim League. A comparison of the aims and objects of our organization as embodied in its existing Constitution with those now proposed will make the correctness of this statement absolutely clear.

Objects of the League

According to the revised Constitution, the first object of the League is "to maintain and promote among the people of this country feelings of loyalty towards the British Crown". The substitution of the words 'the people of this country' in place of 'Indian Musalmans' and 'British Crown' in place of 'British Government' constitutes a distinct improvement which, I have no doubt, you will unhesitatingly accept. The traditional loyalty of the Indian Musalmans to the Empire, under the banner of which we live in peace and prosperity, does not need to be proclaimed with a flourish of trumpets: nor is it one of those monopolies the successful possession of which depends upon extensive advertisement. The solid foundation of our loyalty rests not upon its profession, but upon deeds the incontrovertible proof of which is writ large upon the pages of history. And the substitution of the words 'British Crown' in place of 'British Government' in relation to our devotion to the Empire of which India is a component part constitutes a more dignified and faithful expression of our real feelings. The ever-changing succession of political phenomena due to the prevalence of the party system of Government in England makes it difficult for one to regard the 'British Government' as the unchanging symbol of Imperialism. The Government is now Liberal: to-morrow it may be Unionist. Do the Unionists acknowledge loyalty to the Liberal Government now in power? Would the Liberals admit loyalty to the Unionist Government if, instead of occupying the Treasury Benches as they now do, they were driven into the opposition? And the recent illiberal policy of the Liberal Government towards Muslim States has but confirmed me in the distrust, which I have always entertained, of the high-sounding principles of liberalism loudly proclaimed but seldom acted upon by its apostles. Be that as it may, the Government in Great Britain or, in other words, the 'British Government' denotes change, while our loyalty to the Empire is unchanging and unchangeable. It is the British Crown alone which is the permanent and ever-abiding symbol of Empire. It is not to this Government or to that we acknowledge allegiance: it is to the British Crown itself that we owe unswerving and abiding loyalty.

But what, you will ask, is my conception of loyalty to the British Crown? In my humble judgment, it is the paramount duty of every loyal subject of the King Emperor to abstain from doing anything calculated to

impair the permanence and stability of British rule in India. And as the happiness and contentment of the people is the only bed-rock upon which that permanence and stability can be securely built, I regard it as the duty of all loyalists to assist the Government in all measures undertaken to bring about that happiness and contentment by representing, faithfully and fearlessly, the real needs and feelings of the people. The British Government in India suffers from disabilities natural to the position of a Western Government in the midst of an Oriental people. And these disabilities are unfortunately not lessened by the policy of social aloofness adopted by a large section of European officialdom in this country. It is, therefore, incumbent upon those who pose as the spokesmen of Indian public opinion to represent the real needs and wishes of the people with that scrupulous honesty which alone is worthy of honourable men and of sincere well-wishers of the Government and the country. And, as it may occasionally happen, if the Government is about to launch an administrative or a legislative measure detrimental to the best interests of the Government and the people, it is the bounden duty of a loyal citizen to warn it of the consequences of its mistaken policy. The man who, knowing that the contemplated action is not suited to the circumstances of the country, or will give rise to legitimate dissatisfaction among the people, intentionally and for his own selfish ends, misrepresents the situation to the authorities is a traitor to the loyal cause.

Dost a'nast ke maaib-i-dost
Hamcho aeena roo-ba-roo goyad
Na ke choon shana ba hazar zuban
Dar pas-e-pusht moo-ba-moo goyad

Speaking of Muslim loyalty at the anniversary of the Punjab Muslim League on October 22, 1909, I said: "We know that the authorities in India as well as in England have, in the past, committed errors of policy and even blunders in their administration of the affairs of this country, and we recognize that they are liable to commit such errors and blunders again. And if, in its watchfulness of the best interests of the rulers and the ruled, the Muslim League finds the Government about to commit what in its judgment is an error, it will be the first to give warning to the authorities and, if necessary, even to enter a respectful protest against the contemplated action." This, gentlemen, is and has always been my conception of loyalty to the world-wide Empire, the citizenship of which is one of our proudest possessions.

Protection and Advancement of Muslim Rights and Interests

Passing on to the second object as embodied in the revised Constitution, the League has undertaken, as one of its principal tasks, the protection and advancement of the political and other rights of Indian Musalmans. Mere verbal modifications apart, the object herein described is one of those we

have had in view from the very inception of our organization. And this undoubtedly is as it should be. Under the existing political conditions in India, it is perfectly natural for the Muslim community to aspire to its legitimate share in the legislative and administrative machinery of the country, and for its representative organization to take active steps for the protection and advancement of the community's rights and interests. Nevertheless, this naturally distinctive feature of the League's activities, and more particularly the part it has played in securing the right of separate representation for Indian Musalmans, has not only furnished a certain class of politicians an opportunity for intentional misrepresentation of our aims, but has also created an entire misapprehension of our position in the minds of certain well-intentioned students of Indian politics. We have been branded as separatists: we have been charged with the evil intention of seeking to erect a permanent iron wall between the various Indian communities! I propose to-day to notice but one instance of each of these two absolutely untenable positions taken up by our critics.

Only a few months ago, the president of a provincial conference, held in the Imperial City of Delhi, while speaking of the Muslim attitude in relation to Indian politics, stated that "The separatist policy is in the ascendency (*sic*) at present, and our Mohammedan brethren regard themselves as 'exiles' in India which, like the Anglo-Indians, they are pleased to call 'the land of regrets'." The mischievous insinuation contained in these words was obviously intended for that portion of the gallery to whom the word 'Pan-Islamism' is like the proverbial red rag, and is too contemptible to need any rejoinder on our part. This is particularly so when we remember that the insinuation came from one whose political creed, to quote from another part of his address, is summed up in the following remarkable sentence: "All measures that satisfy the end are justifiable and all else that abstruct the path are to be removed." Fortunately for our country, this Jesuistic policy finds no support among the vast majority of our enlightened Hindu brethren and, in consequence, may be put aside as unworthy of further notice.

Let's turn to a typical instance of those well-intentioned people who, because of a superficial knowledge of the Indian political conditions, have entirely misunderstood our position. In his book, *The Awakening of India*, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald conceives that the life of Indian Musalmans is "centered round a shrine, not round a political capital", that in India they are "a community only". The opinion thus expressed is based upon such absolute and utter misapprehension of the Muslim position in India that I deem it essential to disabuse the mind not only of our distinguished visitor, but also of those who, whether in England or in India, may entertain similar views.

The Muslim Position in India

The heterogeneous mass of the Indian population consists of a number

of communities which, with the expansion of modern education and culture, are coming more and more under the unifying influences of an increasing community of interests. But in a large continent like India, with a population of over 300 million, this process of unification must, in the very nature of things, be gradual. Meanwhile, the religious, historical and social traditions and ideals which influence the communal lives of the various groups have produced complicated results which find no parellel in any other country in the world. There are the descendants of the pre-Aryan aborigines of India, including what are called the 'Depressed Classes', who have, for thousands of years occupied a position of subservience and, in consequence, are possessed of very little political vitality. Next comes the great Hindu community, descendants of Aryan conquerors of old, whose faculty of adaptability to changing circumstances is indeed marvellous, and who have, in consequence, already assimilated themselves to the altered conditions brought into existence by British rule. Then we have, playing their part upon the Indian political stage, 70 millions of His Majesty's Musalman subjects occupying a unique position of their own. Further, there are the stalwart Sikh races of the Punjab, themselves divided into two schools, one looking upon their community as part of the Hindu section of our population, and the other claiming a separate identity with separate rights and interests. The situation is further complicated by the presence of that comparatively small yet wonderfully enterprising community of Parsis who, by reason of having imbibed up-to-date ideas, have deservedly gained an importance out of all proportion to their numbers. And, lastly, there is the Christian element—European, Eurasian and Indian—which, very naturally, occupies a predominant position, the attendant advantages of which are too obvious to need description.

Now, the Indian Musalmans consist of two sections: firstly, those who, themselves being descendants of the pre-Aryan aborigines or the Aryan settlers in India, were converted to Islam during the long centuries of Muslim ascendency in this country and, secondly, those who are descendants of the Muslim conquerors from the West. It is obvious that the former are as much Indians as our Hindu brethren, and the latter, having settled in India centuries ago and having made it their permanent home, have as vital a stake in the material prosperity and political progress of their motherland as any other section of the Indian population. But there is, in this connection, a fact of great political importance which must not be lost sight of. The majority of Indian Musalmans belong to agricultural or quasi-agricultural classes and are, therefore, relatively more identified with the permanent Indian interests than the other classes of our population. Under these undeniable circumstances, it is but natural that the warm blood of Indian patriotism courses through the veins of Indian Musalmans with the same vitality as is the case with those articulate classes whose patriotic spirit finds loud expression from the public platform and in the press.

But the very fact that they are Indians is naturally, in their case, productive of an ardent desire to play, on the Indian political stage, a role to which they are, by reason of their important position, legitimately entitled. And so long as the evolution of a common Indian nationality, which all genuine well-wishers of the country must sincerely long for, does not become an accomplished fact, it is obviously natural, on the part of Indian Musalmans, to seek to protect their communal interests by securing their due share in the administrative and legislative machinery of the country. Why anybody should grudge us that share, I have never been able to understand. Why we should be looked upon as separatists because we claim but what is our due, passes my comprehension. A joint family system in which the junior member must be content to sink his individuality and to remain under the permanent tutelage of the *Karta* is foreign to our religious, political and social traditions. Our Hindu brethren ought to realize that a discontented member, smarting under a conviction that he is being deprived of his natural rights, is but a source of weakness to the family as a whole.

Separate Representation

The provisions securing separate representation to the Muslim minority in India, embodied in the Scheme of Reforms introduced in 1909, is but the recognition of a perfectly legitimate claim calculated to remove this source of weakness in the great family of communities which constitute the Indian population. And in view of the fact that the equitable principle of minority representation has been formally and fully recognized by the present Radical Government even in the case of Ireland—the political conditions of which are, relatively, less complicated than those at present existing in this country—the soundness of our position with regard to separate representation of Muslim interests becomes unquestionable. But there is one aspect of this important problem which needs special mention and is worthy of careful consideration by all advocates of Indian nationalism. Recent experiences have, more than ever, placed it beyond all doubt that mixed electorates, particularly in Northern India, are 'mixed' only in name and are productive of an amount of irritation in the highest degree detrimental to the cause of inter-communal co-operation. The removal of this periodically recurring cause of friction will itself be a powerful agency for the evolution of a common Indian nationality. And, when satisfied by their respective representation in the various stages of self-government, communities will have learnt to work together in complete harmony, other unifying forces coming into operation will hasten the advent of that happy period when, under altered conditions productive of mutual confidence, separate electorates may no longer be necessary. Replying to the Address presented to him at Lahore by the Punjab Muslim League on April 1, 1911, His Excellency Lord Hardinge confirmed the pledges given

by Lords Morley and Minto to Indian Musalmans in the following words: "I have listened with pleasure to your appreciation of the Scheme of Reforms so recently introduced and note your quickness to appreciate the confirmation by my Government in the Legislative Council of the pledges that have been given to you. You may rest assured that pledges once given by Government will not be broken. Whether or when you may yourself come forward to say that you no longer require the privilege of separate representation, I cannot say—but if such a day comes, it will be evidence of a spirit of mutual toleration and enlightened progress which could not but be a happy augury for the peace and welfare of your motherland." The statesmanlike pronouncement made by His Excellency in these words, breathing assurance for the present and hope for the future, furnishes an object-lesson not only for the Indian Musalmans but for our non-Muslim brethren as well. The acceleration of the happy period foreshadowed in these prophetic words rests mainly in the hands of the ardent advocates of mixed electorates themselves. And, on behalf of my community, I can safely declare that when the dawn of the evolution of a common Indian nationality is in sight, when the perfect mutual goodwill and confidence alluded to by Lord Hardinge has become an accomplished fact, the Musalman community shall not be found wanting in their earnest endeavour to assist in the conversion of the dim light of the early morning into the dazzling brightness of the midday sun. Until the advent of that happy day alone shall we hold the Government to the pledges given to us—releasing it from their continued fulfilment when, under the aegis of the British Crown, the evolution of a common Indian nationality is in sight.

Inter-Communal Union

The spirit in which in the Muslim League seeks to promote Musalman interests is clear from the third Object, as revised, which, in its essentials, is but a verbatim reproduction of one of the three aims embodied in the existing Constitution. For sometime after the advent of British rule in this country, Indian Musalmans, owing to circumstances partly beyond their control, lagged behind the other communities in the race for intellectual progress. And when, under the inspiring guidance of their great leader, the late Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, they at last awoke to the needs of the time, it was but natural that they should, at first, concentrate their attention and energies upon the acquisition of modern education. It was towards the end of 1905 that they turned their active attention to politics; and the force of circumstances, during the first few years of their political awakening, compelled them to devote the greater part of their energies to the protection of their communal interests. That necessary foundation having now been laid, the Council of the League has acted wisely in proposing the removal of the qualifying words prefixed to the corresponding Object as laid down in the old Constitution and in giving it a distinct place by itself, thus emphasizing the

League's intention of paying greater attention to the problem of inter-communal union and co-operation in the second stage of its development. Not only do the strained relations existing between the Hindu and Mohammedan communities, particularly in upper India, retard the peaceful progress of the country and result in infinite harm to the communities themselves, but they, at the same time, create for the Government administrative and other difficulties by no means easy of solution. All sincere well-wishers of the country are united in deploring this most unfortunate state of things and, of late, signs have not been wanting of a genuine desire, on the part of the leaders on both sides, to face this problem in real earnestness. In my humble judgment, the time for loud professions and even emphatic declarations is over: every day which passes without definite action is a day lost to the sacred cause of Indian nationality (*sic*). Are we to continue to wait until unanimity of views all along the line has been reached? Are we to go on being at arm's length even where we can co-operate simply because in other matters we are, at present, unable to see eye to eye? Does not human experience show that partial co-operation is often the most effective instrument in bridging over the gulf in its entirety? If this is so, why wait until absolute agreement in respect of every point of difference is attained?

A Practical Proposal for Joint Action

There are a number of matters of the utmost importance, affecting the vital interests of the motherland, with reference to which we are already in complete agreement: there are a number of grave problems a speedy and effective solution of which depends mainly on our united action. Let us take them into our hands at once and make an earnest and well-organized effort to grapple with them. And when once we have tasted the life-giving pleasures of mutual co-operation for the good of our country, by reaping the luscious fruits of our united labour, mutual confidence and goodwill resulting therefrom will bring about complete harmony of feeling and unanimity of views even as regards matters upon which there is, at present, divergence of opinion among us. Practical steps towards the evolution of a common Indian nationality, the establishment of conciliation boards and mixed social clubs, extended employment of Indians in the higher grades of the Public Services, separation of executive and judicial branches, a wide diffusion of free elementary education among the Indian masses, improvement of sanitation, particularly in rural areas, increased prosperity of indigenous industries and fiscal reform connected therewith, abolition of frequent recurrence of land revenue settlements, treatment of Indians in the British Colonies, grant of Executive Councils and High Courts to the provinces which are still without these institutions, constitute a long enough catalogue of national problems of the highest moment upon which we can all set to work together. Do these important questions not call for immediate co-operation on the part of all true sons of the soil? Do

these momentous problems not furnish a sufficient common basis for united action by the various Indian communities? Let us, then, at once start a 'United India League' open to all classes and creeds, with provincial and district branches, and thus organize the whole country for the great and glorious work connected with this chain of vital problems. With all the earnestness I can command, I appeal to the leaders of all communities to give serious consideration to this practical proposal and to join hands in giving definite shape to a scheme which I, for one, sincerely believe will not only be fruitful in immense good to our country, but will, at the same time, hasten the evolution of a common Indian nationality.

The Ultimate Goal

At the time of the foundation of the All-India Muslim League in December, 1906, it was to begin with, considered sufficient to lay down the basic principles of the League's policy without attempting to formulate definitely the final end to be kept in view. The course then adopted was, I venture to think, perfectly consonant with principles of practical statesmenship. For a communal organization like the Muslim League, launching into the stormy ocean of Indian politics at a time when momentous constitutional changes were in contemplation, to have laid down, on the day of its birth, definitely and once for all, the ultimate goal of its future activities would have been well-nigh suicidal. But full six years have passed since then—years of stress and strife—during which a great deal of experience has been gained, all important political problems have been discussed on the accasion of the various anniversaries, and a considerable amount of work has been successfully accomplished. Moreover, many undercurrents of the Indian political ocean have now risen to the surface, enabling us to form a more or less correct judgment about the future.

Your Council, therefore, felt that the time had arrived when, to the three objects embodying the basic principles of our policy, we could safely add a fourth, laying down the ultimate goal which the League ought to have in view. And in arriving at a correct decision concerning this all-important question, the Council had to bear in mind not only the three basic principles of the League's policy, but also the past traditions of the Indian Musalman community, the various pronouncements made by those who have hitherto guided its political activities, and the principles underlying the various resolutions passed by it from time to time. After a careful analysis of the Indian political situation and of the trend of political events in the country, the Council has proposed "the attainment, under the aegis of the British Crown, of a system of self-government suitable to India" as the final goal towards which our activities ought to be directed. The announcement of this proposal has caused a shaking of heads, curiouly enough, in two opposite camps. While, on the one hand, a section of the forward school is of opinion that we

are not aiming high enough, on the other hand, some of the more cautious, in India as well as in England, have raised their eyebrows as if we are about to advance at a pace too rapid for our safety. They very fact that two such diametrically opposite criticisims have been advanced against the course we propose to adopt is, to my mind, conclusive proof of its soundness. It is my deliberate judgment that the fourth object as suggested by the Council is based upon perfectly sound principles and fully satisfies the two great tests of moderation and political foresight. The adoption of the alternative proposal put forward by some of our friends that the League should set up a 'colonial form of government in India' as its ultimate goal is in my opinion inadmissible as well as politically unsound. The political conditions, internal and external, prevailing in the British Colonies have no analogy whatsoever with those obtaining in India, and I am in entire accord with my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah in thinking that the adoption of any course other than the one proposed by the Council would be obsolutely unwise. Moreover, for a political organization in a country circumstanced as India is, and more particularly when passing through a transitional period, the adoption of a definite form of government as the ultimate goal of its ambitions is opposed to principles of practical statesmanship. Discussing this very question at the second anniversary of the Punjab Muslim League over three years ago, I ventured to emphasize the impossibility, on our part, of fixing 'Colonial *Swaraj*'as the final goal of our political activities, and expressed it as my definite opinion that "a reasonable measure of self-government with due regard to the rights and interests of the various communities inhabiting the Indian continent" was the end we ought to keep in view. It will thus he seen that the decision arrived at by the Council is in perfect harmony with the view I have always entertained concerning this important problem; and I have, in consequence, very great pleasure indeed in recommending its unanimous adoption by this representative gathering.

The Public Service Commission

The extended employment of His Majesty's Indian subjects in the higher grades of the Public Services is undoubtedly one of the best trainings for self-government, under the aegis of the British Crown, which the people of this country can obtain. The Public Service Commission of 1886-87 and its Report concerning this important administrative problem are now ancient history. Meanwhile, the various provinces of India have, under the peaceful conditions brought into existence by British Rule, forged ahead in the race for material and intellectual progress. The results, on the general prosperity of the country as well as upon the awakening of new aspirations and ideals among the Indian people, have indeed been remarkable. The time has now arrived for a thorough overhauling of the administrative machinery of the Indian Empire and for a careful consideration of the legitimate claims of the

people of this country to their due share in the higher branches of the Public Service. The Royal Commission on the Public Service in India, therefore, comes at a psychological moment, and we, the Indian Musalmans, join with the rest of our countrymen in voicing our deep satisfaction on its appointment, and in expressing a hope that the inquiry now going on will result not only in bringing the administrative machinery uptodate, but also in the due balancing of the European and Indian elements in the Service. On behalf of the All-India Muslim League, I venture to offer our cordial welcome to Lord Islington and his colleagues, and to express a sincere hope that, in weighing the relative claims of the various interests in connection with the responsible task undertaken by them, they will bear in mind the fact that there is nothing better calculated to strengthen the political connection between England and India, nothing which can, in a higher degree, further the cause of the permanence and stability of British rule in this country than the happiness and contentment of the people resulting from the satisfaction of their legitimate claims and aspirations.

Avoiding a detailed reference to the questions which form the subject of enquiry, and without entering into a discussion of the points with regard to which there is room for honest difference of opinion, there are a few important matters of principle in connection with which I venture to offer a few observations. A careful study of public opinion in this country makes it abundantly clear that there is, at present, a practical unanimity among the educated section of the Indian population concerning the method of recruitment for the Indian Civil Service. I believe I am voicing your unanimous opinion when I say that the time has now arrived when a fair share of the vacancies in that Service should be filled by recruitment in India. We are, I think, further agreed that such recruitment should be made partly by means of promotion from the Provincial Civil Service and partly by a competitive examination held in this country. We are, I venture to affirm, also agreed that in selecting officers of the Provincial Civil Service for promotion to posts ordinarily held by members of the Indian Civil Service regard must be had to personal merit, provincial claims and communal representation. As regards the nature of the competitive examination to be held in India—whether it should be what is called a simultaneous examination or a separate examination, and if the latter, whether it should be an open competitive examination or in the nature of a competition between selected candidates—I do not propose to anticipate to-day the evidence which I have to give before the Royal Commission.

There is, further, a practical unanimtiy of opinion among us that the complete separation of the executive and judicial branches of both the Indian and the Provincial Civil Services is a much-needed reform which ought no longer to be delayed. The All-India Muslim League has, on more than one occasion, already expressed itself in clear and emphatic terms with

reference to this important question. I venture to assure Lord Islington and his colleagues that the carrying out of this necessary reform alone will inspire the Indian Public with the complete confidence in the administration of justice which is absolutely essential in the interests alike of the Government and the country. It is, further, in the highest degree essential that the judicial branch of the two Services should be strengthened by devising a system of special training for officers of that branch, and by appointing selected members of the Bar to these appointments in larger number than has been the case hitherto. These are matters of principle to which I desire, on your behalf, to invite the attention of the Royal Commission and to assure them that a right solution of these vital problems will prove an effective means of removing the dissatisfaction which undoubtedly does exist among a considerable section of the educated classes in this country with reference to the existing conditions in the Indian and Provincial Civil Services.

The Muslim World Outside India

From a discussion of our country's internal affairs I now pass on to a review of recent occurrences in the Muslim world outside India. At the time of our last anniversary, the world was witnessing a heroic struggle on the part of a devoted band of undisciplined Arabs in Tripoli against the combined naval and military forces of a civilized European Power. On a pretext, absolutely unjustifiable by the rules of international law, the Italian armies had invaded Tripoli and had, under the shelter of a powerful navy, taken possession of a narrow strip of the northern coast of that Turkish province. Such was the wonderful resistance offered by the handful of Turkish regulars and their Arab allies that the Italian cannonade from naval and land batteries, the bursting of shells dropped from aeroplanes and the bayonet charges of a highly trained infantry, could produce no appreciable effect upon the desert warriors' heroic defence of their hearths and homes. The Great Powers of Europe took no steps to stop this unwarrantable aggression by a civilized Power, save in preventing the Turco-Italian war from being waged upon European soil. But this very limitation of the theatre of war proved the bane of Turkey. Lulled by a false sense of security as regards their European possessions, the Turkish leaders did not concentrate their attention and energies upon measures calculated to safeguard the Empire against approaching dangers. Suddenly the war-clouds gathered along the northern and western frontiers of European Turkey. The Balkan Confederacy demanded certain reforms in Albania and Macedonia almost at the point of the bayonet. The Great Powers of Europe joined their heads together and, with a view to preventing an outbreak of hostilities in the Near East, entered into an exchange of views in order to take the question of reforms in the two Turkish provinces into their own hands. But the petty Balkan States were evidently too clever for the great statesmen of Europe! Twenty-four hours before the despatch of the

Powers' note to the Porte, the Balkan Confederacy sent their ultimatum; and soon after, the petty State of Montenegro declared war on Turkey. In vain did the Turkish ministers, and even the Sultan himself, appeal to the Great Powers to prevent the outbreak of this unrighteous war upon a pretext absolutely contrary to international law. What reply, one may ask, would the United States of America receive if, at the instance of the American Irish Party, the Government of that country were to serve England with an ultimatum demanding autonomy for Ireland? What would be the answer of Russia if Germany were to demand home rule for Poland at the point of the bayonet? This utterly unjustifiable action of the Balkan States was followed by the inevitable conflagration in the Near East which has brought untold misery to millions of people on both sides. The Great Powers of Europe, outwitted by the Balkan statesmen, did not move even their little finger to stem the flood. They rested content with the declaration that, whatever the result, a disturbance in the territorial status quo would not be permitted. Entangled in a disastrous war at home, the Porte was compelled to abandon the Tripolitan Arabs to their fate. Being really unprepared for the sudden invasion of their territory all along the land frontiers, the Turks lost battle after battle in quick succession until the Balkan armies were eflectually checked in front of the famous Schatalja lines. The bands of heroes in Adrianople, Skutari and a few other places held out against fearful odds and, by their stubborn defence, vindicated the honour of the Turkish race. The victories of the Balkan States were acclaimed by some of the European races as triumphs of the Cross over the Crescent. Even the Liberal Prime Minister of the greatest Muslim Power in the world[1], regardless of the feelings of 100 millions of His Majesty's Musalman subjects, rejoiced at the fall of Salonica on the ground of its having been the gate through which Christianity had entered Europe. The inhuman and unspeakable atrocities upon innocent non-combatants of both sexes were excused by our Foreign Secretary on the extraordinary ground that they had been committed by irregular bands! For the first time in modern history, a section of the European press openly proclaimed the startling doctrine that the Turks had no right to remain in Europe, as if the Eastern races of Russia and the Balkan States had a greater claim to European territory than the Turks owing to difference in religious belief! Then commenced negotiations for peace in the great metropolis of the British Empire, and upon the European political stage was enacted a farce unparalleled in modern history. The Balkan States demanded, as a part of the conditions of peace, not only the territories actually conquered by them, but even cities and islands which, as yet, they had not succeeded in capturing. And in this extraordinary demand they were supported by the Great Powers of Europe! The former declara-

1. Obviously in the sense of the British Empire then containing a larger Muslim population than any other country or empire.

tions of European chancelleries were thrown to the wind because, it was said, the victors could not be robbed of the fruit of their victories, and accomplished facts could not be ignored. Glancing backwards over a hundred years, is there a single European war in which the conquering nation has ever retained the whole of the conquered territory? What was the result of the great war between Napolean, on the one hand, and England and Germany on the other? Did Germany keep the entire fruits of her victory over France? Was Turkey allowed to retain those parts of the Greek Kingdom which the victorious Turkish armies overran only a few years ago? Unbiased students of international law were surprised at the extraordinary character of these negotiations for peace, and wondered if in this enlightened age, the old adage, 'might is right', was to be substituted for the equitable doctrines laid down by great jurists and writers on the laws of nations! Indeed the history of the Balkan War furnishes us with ample proof of the correctness of what the London correspondent of the *Civil and Military Gazette* has said in his weekly letter published in the issue of March 11, 1913. "I venture to think", says he, "that the usages of war are designed for the entertainment of philanthropists during the periods of peace. Military nations educated on Bernardi principles will find all operations justifiable if they are calculated to have the effect of crushing the enemy."

To this unvarnished statement of fact, I do not propose to add anything except a few words concerning the policy pursued by the Liberal Cabinet in England, not only regarding affairs in the Near East, but also in some parts of the Asiatic continent. Fully conscious of the heavy responsibility which rests upon my shoulders as the President of this great gathering, and as a sincere well-wisher of England, I desire to state what, in my humble judgment, has been the net result of the foreign policy pursued by Sir Edward Grey. Is the British position in the Mediterranean Sea—that highway to India the safety of which is so absolutely essential to the permanence and stability of the British Empire in the East—as strong at present as it was when the Liberal Party came into power? A member of the Triple Alliance has been allowed to take possession of a considerable length of the northern coast of Africa, formerly in the hands of a friendly Muslim state, and thus obtain complete sway over the two opposite shores of the Mediterranean. If the nightmare of German occupation was disturbing Sir Edward Grey's mental equilibrium, surely British diplomacy could devise a safer way of averting the danger of German usurpation. In the Near East—the glorious memories of the Crimean War and of the famous Charge of the Light Brigade absolutely forgotten—the Slav races have been allowed to gain the upper hand, and may some day become a serious menace to British interests in the eastern corner of the Mediterranean. In the pursuit of his anti-German policy and regardless of ultimate consequences, Sir Edward Grey has been throwing himself into the arms of Russia. And the results of this policy have, to my mind, been far

more serious than what our Liberal statesmen seem to imagine. Russia has succeeded in obtaining practical control of northern Persia, will soon have mastery over Mongolia, and those who have been gifted with political foresight can already notice signs of Russian intrigues in Tibet. Her path to the sea being effectually blocked by Japan in the East, the Russian advance to the South is slowly but steadily progressing onward; and, if Sir Edward Grey remains the arbiter of British foreign policy for long, the Muslim states in Asia will ultimately be swallowed up by the Russian Empire to the detriment, not only of Islam, but also of the British Empire in the East.

This rapid succession of disastrous events in the Muslim world has very naturally produced a profound effect on Muslim opinion and sentiment in India. Our sympathhy has gone out, spontaneously and unstintedly, to our suffering brethren in the Near East and the north of Persia. I have nothing but unqualified praise for the great monetary sacrifices which our brethren in this country have willingly incurred in order to afford relief to the Turkish sufferers: I fully share with them the deep sorrow with which our hearts are filled at the unmerited troubles and afflictions which an unwarranted aggression has brought upon the brave Turkish race. The Indian Muslim world rightly regards the organized action of certain European powers to extirpate Turkish rule from European soil as absolutely unworthy of a civilized age, and does not and cannot subscribe to the curious doctrine that Turkey must, in future, be content to remain a purely Asiatic Power. Indeed Muslim feeling in this country has been deeply stirred by the chain of extraordinary events which have taken place in Tripoli, Persia and Turkey. Fortunately for Muslim interests at this critical juncture, there is, at the helm of the Indian administration, a far-sighted statesman who has felt the pulse of Muslim feeling with a precision which has won him our sincere respect and admiration. The active sympathy shown by Lord Hardinge and his noble Consort for our suffering Turkish brethren, the lead taken by Their Excellencies in collecting subscriptions for the relief of the wounded and the distressed in this unrighteous war and the wise pronouncements made by His Excellency, from time to time, have gained for him the deep gratitude of 70 millions of His Majesty's Musalman subjects in India. On your behalf, I venture earnestly to appeal to His Excellency to warn the Liberal Cabinet of the consequences of the mistaken policy which they have hitherto pursued and to bring home to them the conviction that, in allowing a free hand to the Czars of Russia and Bulgaria, our Government is committing a political blunder of the greatest magnitude, the ultimate consequences of which are bound to be highly detrimental to British interests in the East.

Lessons of the Turkish Crisis

Gloomy though the outlook in the Muslim world abroad is, there is one question connected therewith which merits our consideration. What

are the lessons which the people of this country in general and the Musalman community in particular ought to take to their hearts from these sad occurrences? Had the Turkish leaders, instead of being engaged in internecine strife, been united in putting their own house in order, would the results not have been entirely different? Is this very curse of disunion not eating into the vitals of our own community in India? The quarrels between various religious sects and the wrangling which is going on between the spokesmen of various political schools are indeed heart-breaking. Those who are wasting their intellectual gifts in active criticism of Muslim workers who have the misfortune to differ with them in their methods of action should remember that constructive work, not destructive criticism, is the greatest need of the community in this transitional period. There are a hundred and one urgent communal needs crying aloud for united action on the part of those who are inspired with genuine enthusiasm for the national cause. Why waste your precious energies, why squander the gifts with which a bountiful Providence has endowed you in carrying on internecine strife fatal to national regeneration? Abandon party strife, for in it lies destruction: close your ranks for in that alone is salvation.

Would the Turkish race have had to face the misfortunes of which they have been victims in recent years if, instead of relying on the support of this power or that, they had trusted to their own God-given genius and put forth their own national strength for the regeneration of their motherland? In these days of world-wide competition, when nations are vying with each other for the triumph of self, the race which bases its future hopes, not mainly upon its own exertions, but upon the patronage of others builds its castle on sand. "*Innallaha la Yughayyiro ma biqaumin hatta Yughayyiroo ma be anfusihim*", is as true to-day as it was 14 centuries ago, when, like a trumpet-call, it roused the Saracens from their deep slumbers and brought about, from within, an intellectual, moral and material change which has ever evoked wonder and admiration in the mind of the unbiased historian. External causes may compel you to quicken your onward pace; but they can never supply the place of those great forces which, springing from within your own selves, can alone impart to the national movement that vitality which is absolutely essential to the sacred cause of national regeneration. And in trusting to your own God-given genius to help you in the onward march, you must remember that permanent progress is dependent upon gradual evolution and not revolution. As I said on another occasion, nations are like the English oak, magnificent and strong when allowed spontaneous growth in God's free air, dwarfed and hideous if forced to grow in a hot-house. In India a wise Providence has placed you under the protection of an enlightened government, the liberal policy of which has provided you with every facility and every means for working out your own regeneration. Let us, therefore, make up our minds, once for all, that in self-reliance alone lies the secret of national success.

Unity, moderation and self-reliance are the golden lessons which we, the Indian Musalmans, ought to learn from the crisis through which our brethren outside India are now passing. With these as the inspiring forces of our national progress, there is no height to which, under the aegis of the British Crown, we may not rise. Bereft of these, there is no depth to which we may not fall.[1]

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu addressed the audience and asked them to serve the national cause and help India in her regeneration. She urged the Musalmans to revive the true spirit of their religion and this would, she expected, lead to the true spirit of patriotism among them.

Mr. Nabiullah proposed three cheers for Mrs. Naidu, and the audience got up to show respect to her.

Mr. Wazir Hasan, Secretary of the Muslim League, then read out his report.

Second Sitting

The second sitting commenced at 3 p.m., and the objects of the League were discussed. After prolonged and heated discussions, it was decided by an overwhelming majority to adopt as the ideal of the League the attainment, under the aegis of the British Crown, of a system of self-government suitable to India. The Muslim League ratified the change in the creed of the organization as recommended by its Council in its meeting held on December 31, 1912.

Resolutions of the Final Sitting

The following resolutions were passed by the annual meeting of the All-India Muslim League in its final sitting, on March 23, 1913:

I. The All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of gratification at the passing of the Musalman *Wakf* Validating Act 1913, which restores to the Indian Musalmans the full benefit of their personal law with regard to the religious institution of *wakf*, and removes a serious disability from which they had suffered for a considerable time; and the League, while fully recognizing the great services rendered by the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, P.C., and Mr. S.U. Shibli Nomani in the matter, specially congratulates the Hon. Mr. M.A. Jinnah for his skilful piloting of the measure through the Imperial Legislative Council, and tenders its grateful thanks to the Government for accepting and supporting the same in its present form.

II. The All-India Muslim League desires to draw the attention of the British Government in England to the cumulative evidence

1. *Presidential Address by the Hon'ble Mian Muhammad Shafi.* Lahore, Popular Press, 1913.

from disinterested sources, appearing in the press of neutral countries, bearing on the Macedonian butcheries, and demands, in the name of all that is true and honest in the life of the English nation, which owes a duty to its fellow-subjects of other creeds, that the British Foreign Office should take such action with regard to the wholesale massacres and outrages that have been perpetrated by the Balkan invaders amongst the Musalman population of Macedonia, as would do credit to its sense of justice and humanity; that the League deplores the unjust war declared by the Allies against the Turkish peoples and deeply regrets the attitude of Christian Europe, which means the destruction of the Musalman power in Europe and of the integrity and honour of the Ottoman Empire; that the League views with great dissatisfaction the open expression of sympathy, by responsible ministers of the Crown, with the Balkan States in their unrighteous war on Turkey.

III. The All-India Muslim League, in view of the unsettled condition of Persia and the intensity of Muslim feeling in this country caused by the atrocities committed by Russian troops, respectfully urges upon the British Government the immediate need of using its good offices in persuading Russia to evacuate Northern Persia, thus leaving the Persian people to work out their own salvation without foreign intervention.

IV. The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the present system of recruitment by open competitive examination held in England for the Indian Civil Service entails great injustice to the Indian subjects of His Majesty, and expresses the hope that the Royal Commission on the Public Services will be able to devise a system of recruitment equally suitable to the various sections of His Majesty's subjects in India and in Great Britain.

V. The All-India Muslim League, in view of the persistent and unanimous demand on the part of all sections of the people of India for the separation of executive and judicial functions, is of opinion that the Government should be pleased to take early steps to bring into effect the desired reform.

VI. The League is also of opinion that in the interests of efficiency it is imperatively necessary that the judicial branch of the Civil Service be constituted into a distinct service, recruited for the most part from the Bar.

VII. The All-India Muslim League once again records its deliberate opinion that in the interests of the Musalman community, it is absolutely necessary that the principle of communal representation be extended to all self-governing public bodies, and respectfully

urges that a provision for the adequate and effective representation of the Musalmans on municipal and district boards is a necessary corollary of the application of the principle to the Imperial and the Provincial Legislative Councils, and at the same time essential to the successful working of those public bodies.

VIII. The All-India Muslim League places on record its firm belief that the future development and progress of the people of India depend exclusively on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities; deprecates all mischievous attempts to widen the unfortunate breach between the Hindus and Musalmans; and hopes that the leaders on both sides will periodically meet together to restore the amicable relations prevailing between them in the past and find a *modus operandi* for joint and concerted action in questions of the public good.

Mr. Nabiullah, Munshi Ehtasham Ali and Hakim Ajmal Khan were elected Vice-Presidents. Mr. Wazir Hasan was elected secretary of the League amidst deafening cheers. Mr. Azhur Ali was elected joint secretary.

The meeting dispersed with a vote of thanks to the Chair.[1]

1. *The Pioneer*, Lucknow, March 24-26, 1913.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

SEVENTH SESSION

AGRA, DECEMBER 30—31, 1913

First Sitting

The Seventh Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League was held at Agra on December 30-31, 1913, in the *pandal* erected in the compound of the Baptist Mission School.

Syed Alay Nabi, Chairman of the Reception Committee, addressed the gathering and said:

On behalf of the Musalmans of Agra and on my own behalf, I offer you a most respectful and cordial welcome. We thank you for the honour done to us in accepting our invitation to join the session of the League here and to take part in its deliberations. We feel proud to be able to welcome a gathering like this, representative of all the forces that make for progress and enlightment, of all ranks, ages and shades of opinion from all parts of the country.

It is a signal honour to welcome a distinguished assembly like this, and we assure you we will long and dearly cherish memories of this gathering.

Let us hope that views of the ancient monuments for which our city is so justly renowned will amply repay you for all the trouble and inconvenience which, in spite of our best efforts to make you comfortable, you may have to experience during your stay here, and that the past glories of our city, the calm and repose of its ancient monuments and their chequered history will lend colour to your discussions and produce that sobriety of thought and speech which the occasion demands.

We feel particularly proud that in this week no less than three such

important bodies as the Mohammedan Educational Conference, the All-India Muslim League, and the United Provinces Muslim League should have responded to our invitation and sat in this Hall, all animated with one common aim, the progress and advancement of the community.

In addition to those of you who have been able to come, we have received numerous letters and telegrams from a large number of men in other parts of India who for some reason or other have been debarred from attending the League.

Every one must admit that we are passing through a sad and eventful period of stress and storm, and if ever there was a time to close up our ranks and present a firm, serried and united front, that time is this, for the situation is of more than ordinary gravity. It is full of difficulty and full of peril, and unless we are imbued with a strong sense of discipline and of responsibility grave consequences may ensue.

Attempts are being made in some quarters to create a division in the body of the League, to drive it into two camps in order to prevent our appearing in one solid mass, actuated by one common aim and walking along one common path, urging our demands and representing our needs to the Government from one common national platform, in the name of all of the community. I hope, however, that such attempts will meet the fate they deserve.

There is no real occasion for pessimism, especially, as I have said elsewhere, when we are guided in our deliberations by the ripe experience and mature judgment of elders, on one hand, and the well-directed zeal and enthusiasm of youth, on the other, and are ever ready to listen with respect and gratitude to the counsel and advice of all, and to act on such advice and counsel by the sanction of a majority of votes, the only test available that we know of.

The Press Act

In recent years no legislative enactment of the Government of India has aroused such wide-spread and deep dissatisfaction as the Press Act of 1910. A country owes much of its progress and enlightenment to the power of the press. A free discussion and criticism of the actions of Government is absolutely essential to the healthy existence of both Government and the people.

The unanimous judgment of the Special Bench of the High Court of Bengal on the application of Mr. Mohammad Ali about the forfeiture of the well-known pamphlet, *Come Over into Macedonia, and Help Us*, is enough to condemn it, as a piece of legislation quite unworthy of a civilized Government. Sir Lawrence Jenkins, in the course of his judgment, comments in the following words on the language and scope of the sections of this Act: "The language of the section is as wide as human ingenuity could make it. It is difficult to see to what lengths the operation of this section might not be plainly extended

by an ingenious mind."

We have no doubt that His Excellency Lord Hardinge, who has done much to restore peace and goodwill to this land, will remove this most objectionable piece of legislation—a slur alike on the people and on the Government—from the statute-book.

The Religious Endowments Act

There is one piece of legislation more which stands in urgent need of amendment, as it is doing incalculable injury to the country.

Under Act XX of 1863 (Religious Endowments Act), a person who has once been elected or appointed as a trustee is entitled to work as such all his life. This is a rather long lease, and a trustee once elected or appointed feels himself immune from all liability to anyone, except when some one is self-sacrificing enough to file a suit and spend time and money on it. Unfortunately the number of such self-sacrificing people is not great, and a trustee therefore has not the same respect and does not feel the same responsibility as he would if his election or appointment were made only for a fixed term of years. I am glad to be able to say in this connection that the Hon'ble Raja Abu Jafar of Pirpur is taking steps to move an amendment to the Act in the Imperial Legislative Council. Let us hope that it is speedily amended.

It is with great reluctance that I have to mention here the unfortunate disturbance that occurred between Hindus and Mohammedans during the last Moharram in our city. How we wish we could have averted it.

It is, however, some consolation to find that disturbances like these are confined to the masses of the two communities, and that with them too it is a question of time. Let us hope that with the advance of education, these outbursts of feelng will disappear. It pains me a great deal to look back on the amount of time and energy spent by us over this unhappy incident which would otherwise have been much more usefully and profitably spent in your service.

In conclusion, let us thank you once more for honouring us with your visit, and let us hope that you will carry back happy memories of Agra and its people.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla then gave his presidential address to the Session.

PRESIDENTIAL ADRESS OF SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTULLA

Gentlemen, I wish to tender my grateful thanks to you for the high honour you have conferred upon me in inviting me to preside over your deliberations at this Annual Session of the Muslim League. I clearly recognize that it is the highest honour in the gift of the community, and my appreciation

is all the greater because it was spontaneously conferred.

At a time like the present, when differences of opinion are strongly asserting themselves, and there is a general feeling that the Musalmans of India have politically reached a parting of the ways, you will, I am sure, recognize how difficult is the position of your President. Gentlemen, I accepted the difficult task which you have invited me to undertake as a call of duty; and I have done so in the firm conviction that you will all extend me your earnest help and assistance in the discharge of my duties, and will willingly share the responsibility which as Musalmans attaches to each one of us. The large and representative gathering of Musalmans from all parts of India who have assembled here to-day, at great personal inconvenience, proves to my mind, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the strong vitality for organized political and public life possessed by our community. I am confident that I may safely rely upon your sincere co-operation in making an earnest effort to bridge over the difficulties which confront us in a spirit of considered compromise, so that instead of parting we shall all become solidly united again, and in this way adopt the only line of action which will ensure the steady progress of the cause we all have at heart.

In all organizations such as ours, differences of opinion must prevail. It is the application of different minds to common problems and the full and free discussion of the various aspects of given questions which lead to the formation of mature decisions and advance public interest. Holding these views, I am always anxious to welcome reasoned discussion of all questions affecting our progress and well-being—with this reservation, that after a decision has been reached, we should loyally accept it and zealously work on the lines so laid down. This policy does not necessarily mean that a decision once taken should be irrevocable. No policy in this democratic age can be laid down which should be regarded in the light of the laws of the Medes and Persians—unalterable and fixed for all time. The decision so taken should be accepted as a basis to work upon, until such time as the general body of opinion may change in view of altered circumstances, greater experience, detection of flaws and drawbacks not foreseen, and similar causes. These decisions should then be reconsidered, and modified or altered as the then prevailing conditions may require. What appears to me of the utmost importance is that all discussions should be conducted on non-party and non-personal grounds, and people finding themselves in a minority should loyally accept the clearly ascertained decisions of the majority and sincerely co-operate in a spirit of military discipline in advancing the public cause on lines so laid down. Unless we are all prepared to work in furthering the cause of our community on these lines, I am afraid our progress will be retarded and very serious difficulties will continue to confront us. May I appeal to you, gentlemen, and through you to the whole of the Muslim community in India, to work for our common interests in a spirit of broadminded toleration and

sincere co-operation? If we do so free from all personal considerations, bearing in mind nothing but what is best for the common good, our progress will not only be sure and certain, but will be at a rate gratifying even to the impatient spirits amongst us.

The Kanpur Mosque

You are all aware that for several months the Kanpur Mosque question greatly exercised the minds of the Muslim community in India; and it must have been with feelings of relief that you noticed that it was happily solved by the far-sighted statesmanship of H.E. Lord Hardinge, our esteemed and popular Viceroy. May I at this juncture remind you of the noble sentiments to which His Excellency gave expression when, at Delhi on the occasion of his official entry into the new capital of India, he presided at the first meeting of the newly constituted Legislative Council, meeting for the first time in Delhi? In the memorable speech which he delivered on the occasion, His Excellency said: "Still, whatever I may feel on the subject of the crime itself, I only wish to assure you and the whole of India that this incident will in no sense influence my attitude. I will pursue, without faltering, the same policy in the future as during the past two years, and I will not waver a hair's breadth from that course."

Who will venture to deny that Lord Hardinge has faithfully fulfilled the statesmanlike pledges he gave to the people of India on that occasion? The parental interest he has shown towards our countrymen has rightly won him the hearts of the people. This incident is valuable not merely as an episode in the history of this country; the lesson which such a policy illustrates is of inestimable value, both to Great Britain and to India. Lord Hardinge has shown what cures sincere and fatherly sympathy—not in mere words of which we have had plenty in the past, but in actual practice—can easily accomplish. It has always been a marvel to me why the British officials in India do not make a studied attempt, by means of sympathy and consideration in practice, to win over the hearts of the people of this country. May I venture to tell them how ridiculously easy it is to succeed in this direction? One of the prominent characteristics of the Indian people is their highly developed sense of gratitude. In how many places, in times of stress and strain, have not the Indian people come to the rescue of Englishmen in the past, and in how many cases have they not gone to the length of sacrificing their own lives to protect the lives of Englishmen? If an attempt is seriously made by official India, as a religious duty, to try and see Indian problems from the Indian point of view, and if the official always keeps before his mind's eye that he is the servant of the people of India, he will capture the Indian imagination as nothing else will do. We shall not then hear the lamentations which are being constantly dinned into our ears, of the growing difficulties of the governance of this country. It is this policy, which Lord Hardinge has laid before

him and which he is trying to carry out in practice, that has so endeared him to the Indian people. Will the lesson be taken to heart by the official world in India? If it is, they will not only smooth their own path but the path of those amongst the Indian public men who have been striving, in the face of grave obstacles and impediments, to make officials realize how potent the effects of sympathy and consideration are.

Plea of Weakness

But there is a class of croakers who have said before, and will say again, that it is all very well to talk about winning the hearts of the people; but what about British prestige? If Government are to surrender to every agitation started against official measures, the work of administration will become impossible and the British people under these circumstances may as well clear out of the country. It is this class of irresponsible people, though they may belong to the British race, which is largely responsible for any existing estrangement. It is people who imagine that the 'mailed fist' is the best policy who are really responsible for the increasing difficulties that confront the official world. Let us calmly and judiciously examine what this cry logically means. It can only mean that once an official has taken a decision—in most cases without consulting the views of responsible people amongst those who may be affected by such a decision—and has got it ratified by Government on *ex-parte* statements, it shall be irrevocable. If the decision proves distasteful to the people concerned, they have constitutionally two courses open to them: (1) to petition Government, bringing to their notice how hurtful such a decision is and to request a reconsideration of the question; (2) to continue the agitation by holding meetings, by getting interpellations put in the Legislative Councils, and by agitating in the press.

If the people affected confine themselves to the first remedy, the decision in most cases is adhered to on the ground that there was no real feeling against it amongst the people concerned.

If the agitation is carried on on the lines indicated in the second alternative, it is contended that the agitation was manufactured by a few discontented men, that they were unnecessarily exciting the people who are always supposed to be quite content to accept decisions emanating from Government sources. When this plea, however, is found untenable and the officials are obliged to recognize that the agitation is well-founded and calls for remedial measures, it is even then strongly urged that no change or alteration should be made, in view of the fact that such action would be regarded as weakness and that the prestige of the officials would receive a death blow. A strong effort is then made to adhere to the decision previously announced, the logical consequence of such a policy being that the decision once taken must be rigidly adhered to. May I enquire, under these circumstances, how should people act who desire reconsideration and amendment of the orders and decisions

announced by the authorities?

Fortunately there are high officials here who do not follow this plea, but deal with difficult and delicate problems in a wise and statesmanlike manner and thus render most valuable service to both Great Britain and India. I am sure you will all agree with me in thinking that Lord Hardinge is the foremost amongst such officials at present in India, and his action far from being open to criticism is deserving of the highest commendation.

I wonder whether those critics who periodically trot out the bugbear of weakness realize what that means. To my mind it can mean only one thing, namely, that the position of the British Government in India is founded on such flimsy bases that an act of tardy justice done to the people of India by the higher authorities, as the result of strenuous representation against an executive order or decision, so seriously shakes the stability of the structure that a few such shocks would make the building totter and fall. Can the truth be further removed from this obvious inference? The foundation of British rule in India is laid on the bed-rock of strength and righteousness, on its inherent sense of justice, and on fair play. An act of justice, call it mercy if you like, under given circumstances, far from proving hurtful to the foundations of British rule in India, to my mind, has the effect of adding further buttresses to it, if that were necessary, and draws from the depths of the peoples' hearts that feeling of gratitude and loyalty which is an asset of incalculable value to Imperial England. Has not this view been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt? The resolutions passed by Muslim representative bodies and associations all over India on the Viceroy's announcement at Kanpur has clearly shown how far-reaching in its effects His Excellency's policy has actually proved. No one demands that Government should forthwith yield to every agitation. All that we ask for is that our representations should be examined in a judicial spirit, and that when there is a good case for the amendment, alteration or withdrawal of specific orders of the authorities, the necessary action should not be refused out of deference to that bugbear, loss of prestige. Can anyone venture to contend that our demand is in any way unreasonable?

I will not take up much of your time in dealing with the other bogey, namely, prestige. How much good feeling has been sacrificed in the past by acting upon the imaginary advantages of this word? Even Mr. Montague was obliged to deal with this bogey in the following pregnant words in the House of Commons: "Time was no doubt when it was a most important function of this House to see that the theory of government by prestige was not carried to excessive lengths in India. In the extreme of government by prestige, those who administer the country are, I take it, answerable only to their official superiors and no claim for redress by one of the ruled against one of the rulers can be admitted as a right. If for instance, a member of the ruling race inflicts an injury upon a member of the governed race, no question will arise of punishing the former to redress the wrong of the latter. The

only consideration will be whether prestige will be more impaired by punishing the offender, and so admit imperfection in the governing caste, or by not punishing him, and so condoning the failure of that protection of the governed which is essential to efficient government. This illustrates, as I understand the matter, the prestige theory pressed to its logical conclusion. I do not say that it was so pressed in India; it has always been tempered by British character, British opinion and the British Parliament. Whatever reliance there was in our government of India is now giving place to reliance upon even-handed justice and strength, orderly and equitable administration; but a great deal of nonsense is talked still, so it seems to me, about prestige. Call it if you will a useful asset in our relations between the British Government and the educated Indian public. Do not misunderstand me, and this I say especially to those who may do me the honour of criticizing outside these walls what I am now saying. I mean by prestige—the theory of government that I have just described—the theory that produces irresponsibility and arrogance. I do not of course mean that reputation for firm and dignified administration which no government can afford to disregard."

This speech was delivered in the House of Commons in 1911; while two years later, when H.E. the Viceroy has by an act of statesmanship calmed the lacerated feelings of the Muslim community in finding a reasonable solution of the Kanpur Mosque difficulty, he is seriously charged by some of his own countrymen with having given a serious blow to their blessed prestige. No further comment on such criticism of the Viceroy is called for beyond pointing out that this class of critics are so keenly solicitious of this blessed prestige that they feel it would be shaken by the public dancing of Miss Maud Allan in India!

Firing upon the People

Following the wise suggestion made by H.E. the Viceroy, when he visited Kanpur and brought about a settlement of the question, I do not wish to say anything more in regard to this matter. There is, however, one aspect of the question which calls for a few remarks. I would not have mentioned the subject if the incident had been confined to the Kanpur Mosque affair only, but as it has a grave bearing on the future, I cannot refrain from speaking about it. I wish to invite your attention to the fact that under the existing law, the power of firing upon the people under certain circumstances has been deliberately given to Government officials and there have been several instances during the past few years when this power has been exercised, resulting in serious loss of life. That the power of controlling an excited mob by firing upon them under given circumstances should remain with the officials in the interests of peace and order must be readily admitted. At the same time, adequate precautions are essentially necessary when the question is one of taking life. No ordinary circumstances could possible justify the use of

firearms against the people. We have to remember that whatever the crowd in India, it is unarmed and its power of injuring the police and other people is very limited indeed. It will readily be conceded that this power should only be exercised on occasions when the position is so grave as to leave no other alternative for controlling and dispersing the crowd. There is bound to be considerable difference of opinion on this point, and I therefore think that it is necessary both in the interests of the official giving the order to fire and the general public that some provision should be made by which the exact facts of the case may be authoritatively investigated. I would therefore advocate that the Government of India should lay down as a standing order that an independent commission of enquiry, on which the Indian element shall be amply represented, shall be appointed to institute an inquiry within a reasonable time after firing has taken place. This commission should be authorized to take evidence and to report upon the circumstances under which the order to fire was given. The very fact that such a commission would be appointed on each and every occasion when firing has to be resorted to will have a wholesome restraining effect upon the official charged by law with the responsibility of taking life, and it will create a feeling of confidence among the general public that careful and independent enquiry will be made after the exercise of such power. It is therefore in the interests of both the officials and the general public that such a procedure should be laid down. Such an inquiry would save the official from serious adverse criticism to which in the nature of things he is open when life is actually taken. In Great Britain, in consequence of the greater development of democratic principles, firing is under serious control. During the recent Dublin riots, several members of the police were seriously injured—to the extent of being obliged to be taken to hospital. Be it remembered that the British people are not subject to the severe restrictions imposed under the Indian Arms Act, and many men amongst a British crowd may be actually armed. Even then firing is only restored to after all other alternatives have been absolutely exhausted.

The following extracts from Reuter's telegrams will clearly show what happens in Great Britain under circumstances decidedly more grave:

London, August 31, 1913.

"Two hundred civilians and thirty police were injured in last night's rioting. One has succumbed in Hospital.

London, September 1, 1913.

"The riots continued in Dublin yesterday and two hundred cases are in hospital for injuries received. It is stated that during the police charge following upon the arrest of Larkin, a number of old men and women and children who were returning from church were struck with police batons. The Mayor announces his intention of moving that an inquiry be held into the conduct of the police.

London, September 22, 1913.

"Serious rioting took place in Dublin last evening in connection with processions of strikers. The crowd attacked and wrecked tramcars and pitched battles with the police ensued in which batons, stones and bottles were freely used. A number of rioters were taken to hospital and several police were injured."

And still there was no firing upon the crowd. In India the circumstances are entirely different. An excited mob has no weapons of an offensive character beyond brick-bats and sticks. The people of India are as a rule highly amenable to the requirements of peace and order. In such a country, the taking of life by firing upon the crowd is a more serious matter than in England. It is, therefore, doubly necessary to provide for an independent inquiry in all cases which lead to the taking of life. I can appeal with confidence to the British people and the British Government to support and to give effect to the suggestion which I have made in the interests of everyone concerned, and I do so with confidence, especially because the whole trend of British policy is humanitarian. Government have never hesitated to take measures, even when they may be regarded as unpopular, if the object is to save life. The policy of Government in organizing large camps for the relief of famine-stricken people during times of famine, and thereby saving thousands of lives which would otherwise be lost, is beyond all praise. The great impetus to sanitary measures throughout the length and breadth of this country, in spite of opposition in some quarters, has been studiously adopted with the object of preserving health and life. Nay, gentlemen, the fundamental principles on which British rule in India is based, namely, absolute non-interference with religious rites, privileges and liberties of the people of India has been deliberately departed from with a view to saving life. I refer to the law which has been enacted prohibiting the immolation of widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands. Suttees, who under a high sense of religious sentiment voluntarily offer to sacrifice their lives by a hideous death, are prohibited by law from doing so. No amount of religious sanctity attaching to this practice has deterred the British Government from enforcing by legislation that lives should not be sacrificed in this way.

Is it too much to ask the same Government to provide adequate and suitable safeguards against the taking of the lives of people who may have congregated together under some exciting cause, however trivial, and who had disobeyed the command to disperse, in some cases because they could not do so, however willing they may have been to comply? Is it too much to ask that every official, however well placed he may be, and whatever his status in the service of Government, should always have before his eyes the knowledge that far from receiving the unqualified support of the higher authorities in such a matter, he will have to satisfy an independent tribunal of the circumstances which justified him in taking the lives of unarmed people? As I have

already pointed out, it is necessary in the interest of the good name of the British Government, in the interest of officials upon whom the grave responsibility of giving the order to fire is imposed by law, and in the interests of the general public, that the safeguard I have indicated should be provided.

India's Civil Servants

The administrative standard which Lord Hardinge has held before us in dealing with the Kanpur question lends point to the innovation which Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, recently introduced. I refer to the idea of inviting all the young men who have chosen an Indian career to meet him at Whitehall and addressing them with weighty words of counsel and advice. I am inclined to think, however, that might well have improved the occasion by impressing upon them, on the eve of their entering into the Civil Service of India, the fundamental truth that they come out to this continent not to rule India but to *serve* India. The three letters of the alphabet I.C.S., which will remain attached to their names during the whole of their lives, and of which every civilian is justly proud, stand for India's civil servants and do not represent any form of rule. If the members of the Civil Service would but constantly bear in mind the incontrovertible fact that they are servants of India, and that they will, during the whole of the remainder of their lives, whether they are in active employ or in retirement, eat the salt of the people of India, and that, as Mr. Montagu recently stated in Parliament, they must work in co-operation with the Indian people for the promotion of the best interests of this country, not merely on the lines which may appear best to them, but on the lines which may be regarded as best jointly by both, the work of administering the country will be greatly simplified, the progress of India will be both rapid and smooth, and the causes of estrangement and dissatisfaction will be uprooted.

During the many years which I have spent in the service of the public in the Bombay Presidency, I have come into close and intimate contact with a large number of Civilians (*I.C.Ss.*) and I have made many intimate friends amongst them. As a class, I have the highest admiration for their honesty of purpose, their stubborn integrity, their high ability and their sturdy devotion to duty. Would it be too much to ask them to cultivate a better regard for those Indian public men who devote a large portion of their time in the service of the country, who are actuated not by any sordid motives of personal gain, but by singleness of purpose in serving their countrymen; to abstain from attributing motives where none exist; to treat their opinions with respect and consideration, and to feel that perhaps there may be another aspect of questions under discussion which may require a different treatment?

I have said that the Civilians are servants of India, as their very designation indicates, just as much as we all are in the service of our motherland. The difference is that while the former are paid for their services, the latter

belong to the class not of the 'unemployed' but of the 'unpaid'. It has always been a wonder to me that men of high intellectual attainments and in active occupation in their own trades, industries, commerce and professions, men highly successful in their own private concerns, come forward in numbers to serve the country at great personal sacrifices and in the face of severe discouragement. Can better proof be required of the sturdy patriotism of such men, who readily make serious sacrifices of valuable time and money in an endeavour to render all the help that lies in their power to ensure good Government in India? This class of men are in my opinion the most valuable Imperial asset in India and deserve all the encouragement possible in their self-imposed task. Any feeling of suspicion and distrust towards them must result in enhancing the difficulties of the situation.

Balkan War

It must be with a feeling of relief that you will have seen the end of the Balkan War. Turkey has not been turned out bag and baggage from Europe. Though its European dominions have been curtailed, it still has a strong footing on the Continent of Europe. Adrianople, round which a strong Muslim sentiment has concentrated, again flies the Turkish flag. Turkish reverses have this redeeming feature, that they brought to the surface the fact that however much Musalmans may be divided amongst themselves, the religious sentiment of Muslim brotherhood is a living force throughout the entire Muslim world. Musalmans in different parts of the world have all proved their readiness to come forward in a spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to stand by their co-religionists in their hour of trial and trouble. It is the living miracle of Islam that the sentiments of Islamic brotherhood are seated deep down in the hearts of the followers of our revered Prophet, and that the lapse of centuries has in no way blunted the effects of his noble mission.

Foreign Policy of Great Britain and Indian Musalmans

During the time of stress and strain, charges were made against the Musalmans of India that they wanted to dictate the foreign policy of Great Britain, that they desired that England should go to war to protect the Muslim States in Europe and Asia. Can anything be further removed from the truth? The Indian Musalmans fully recognize the danger to England, with all its interests spread over the face of the whole world, to hint that she should thoughtlessly involve herself in a bloody war. It is doing the Muslims of India a grave injustice to suggest that they had the remotest notion of dictating what foreign policy England should pursue. And as a matter of fact they have never dreamt of doing so. All that they have urged—and I think they had ample justification in doing so—was that England, as the sovereign power of millions of Musalman subjects, should, out of regard for their sentiments, endeavour to see that Turkey obtained fair and just treatment in the councils of Europe. I do not think anyone could venture to assert that the request,

nay even the demand, that England should do its best in the councils of Europe to ensure fair, just and equitable treatment to Turkey can possibly be regarded as being in any way unreasonable. It is because the utterances of responsible British Ministers appeared to them to indicate that England's sympathies were against the Turks that Indian Muslim feelings were naturally hurt and that they felt aggrieved. Can any fault be found with them under the circumstances?

At the time of the declaration of war between Turkey and the Balkan Allies, Sir Edward Grey said in the House of Commons that "the great powers are taking what steps they can to prevent a breach of the peace; definite proposals were made yesterday for collective steps to be taken by or on behalf of the Great Powers to overcome these difficulties by representations to the Balkan States and at Constantinople and we agreed to them." The steps indicated by Sir Edward Grey were the declaration that "if nevertheless war breaks out between the Balkan States and the Ottoman Empire they will not admit as the result of the conflict any modifications of the territorial status quo in European Turkey." This was at the time of the commencement of the war. We may reasonably draw the inference from this declaration that if Turkey had been victorious it would not have been allowed to retain any portion of the conquered territory. At the time war was declared, it was generally felt in the Chancelleries of Europe that the Turkish soldiers would sweep over the surrounding territory belonging to the Allies; and if these expectations had been realized, the might of Europe, including the power of England, would have been asserted to deprive Turkey of any territorial expansion as the result of its victories. But the tide of victory went the other way, and the Balkan Allies proved victorious immediately after the conflict had begun in earnest. This completely upset the preconceptions of the Chancelleries of Europe; and they felt that the declaration of the maintenance of the status quo in European Turkey would be prejudicial to the Balkan Allies. Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, took an early opportunity of then declaring that whatever may be the result of the war, the Concert of Europe could not possibly deprive the victorious party from securing the fruits of their victories. Are the Musalmans of India to be blamed if they feel that England was associated with the other European Powers in laying down and enforcing a policy that if the Turks had proved victorious in the combat, they would not have been allowed to obtain any territory belonging to any of the Balkan Allies, but that if the Balkan Allies proved victorious, they would be permitted to annex important portions of the European dominions of Turkey? Is it unreasonable that the Musalmans of India should feel that fair and equitable treatment was not being meted out to their co-religionists beyond the seas, and that England was taking a prominent part in such treatment?

Mr. Asquith and the Peace of London

Well, as you are aware, after the Peace of London was signed and the

Balkan Allies fell out amongst themselves, resulting in a redistribution of the conquered territory, Turkey, availing itself of the opportunity which became so providentially available, recaptured the town of Adrianople and the surrounding country, with which a strong Muslim sentiment was associated. Was it wise, was it statesmanlike for Mr. Asquith to declare that so for as Turkey was concerned, it would be required to lie within the boundary line settled at the Peace of London? In the face of such and similar declarations from the highest ministers of the British Crown, no fault could be found with the Musalmans of India if they concluded that England, far from trying to be just and fair towards Turkey, far from endeavouring to secure fair play to the Muslim Khilafat, was siding against it, and was co-operating with other European Powers who are the declared enemies of the Turkish Empire. Under all this provocation, have the Musalmans done anything which would attach any blame to them? Have they swerved in the slightest degree in their feeling of sincere loyalty towards the British Crown? However painful the episode has been to them, they have exercised full self-control and restraint, and their conduct far from being blameworthy deserves the highest commendation.

The South African Question

I am appealing to you to exercise patience and restraint in criticism. In doing so I have not failed to realize how extremely difficult it is at times to exercise these virtues. The feeling of indignation and horror which has spread throughout this country in regard to the treatment meted out to our fellow-countrymen and women in South Africa has led to the use of language which under the circumstances could hardly be controlled. But in the face of the grave provocation to Indian feelings and Indian sentiments, I cannot help expressing my sense of deep gratification at the masterly pronouncement which H.E. the Viceroy made in Madras. I know that the expression of his sincere feeling of sympathy with the people of this country has laid him open to severe criticism in some quarters. It is a curious anomaly that these very critics, who never forget to preach to us Indians the doctrine of submitting to the views of the man on the spot, who never fail to resent interpellations and criticism in the House of Commons on the plea that men on the spot must be considered to understand the position best, that strictures levelled in England against Indian Officials should be treated with contempt as unknowing and ignorant, are the very persons who have come forward to condemn the views and the suggestions of the man on the spot occupying the highest executive position in this continent. How far-reaching is the effect for good which Lord Hardinge's speech at Madras has been instrumental in bringing about, can only be known to the people in India. Lord Hardinge, whose great merit is to keep himself in close touch with the people of this land, who manaegs to secure first-hand information of the extent of the feeling of indig-

nation and horror that had permeated this country, has done by this pronouncement the greatest service to the Crown of England. Well, gentlemen, in spite of this criticism, the Boer Government has been obliged to announce the appointment of a commission of enquiry. You all know the constitution of this commission and the South African Indian opinion of the men chosen to sit upon it. Our demand was that the commission should be so constituted as to ensure not only that the men chosen in South Africa should be such as would command the confidence of the people, but also that the representatives of this country should find seats upon it. This has not been complied with, and although the suggestion for such representation has been supported both by the official and non-official opinion in India, it has been ignored. Is it any wonder that, under the circumstances, the Indians feel that the enquiry will prove a white-washing one, and the sore will remain unhealed?

Indians in the British Empire

But the question that is facing us to-day is not merely the treatment that our fellow-countrymen are receiving at the hands of the South African Government. It cannot be narrowed down to the present residents in the South African Union. That question is undoubtedly emergent and requires to be dealt with forthwith; but the wider question that can no longer be postponed and must now be faced, that question is: "What is the position of the people of India in the British Empire?" Australia is practically barred against us. Canada is contemplating legislation to prohibit Asiatic immigration. The attitude of South Africa is patent to you. The time is therefore ripe to ask whether we are common subjects of His Imperial Majesty the King, occupying identically the same position as the other subjects of His Majesty, or are we so in theory only? Under the gracious proclamation of Queen Victoria, confirmed by the Royal pronouncements of Queen Victoria's two successors, pledges have been given to us in an unequivocable manner that we are citizens of the Empire. In practice, however, we find that in South Africa, in Canada and in Australia we are regarded in a manner which it is difficult to express in moderate terms. We have therefore every right to ask the British Cabinet, through the Secretary of State, for a declaration of whether they will manage to secure to us the rights and privileges of British citizenship.

If the answer to the question is in the affirmative, England has got to exercise the powers which legally vest in her to ensure to us such rights and such privileges. If we are not, in spite of Royal pronouncements and Royal pledeges, to receive the rights of British citizenship, if we are prohibited from settling in the British Colonies on equal terms with the white races, we are entitled to a clear and definite declaration on the point. It is necessary that we should clearly understand what our position actually is in the British Empire. If we are not entitled, in spite of the pledges already referred to,

to equal rights of British citizenship, if that right on the declared authority of the British Cabinet is to be denied to us, then we shall be free to organize means and measures to protect ourselves against this indignity.

Retaliation is a bad word, but it has been freely used in this connection; and I do not think any one would venture to assert that the use of the word is uncalled for. Our esteemed citizen the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, who has made the cause of the Indians in South Africa his own, considers that retaliation should be applied in the direction of a prohibition to all the South Africans from any employment under the Government of India, and of a restriction against the purchase of South African coal by the railways in India. I am afraid that retaliatory measures confined to these two things would hardly be successful in attaining the object we have at heart in enforcing the recognition of our rights of British citizenship by the Colonies of Great Britain. We will have to consider and devise means which, while being perfectly constitutional, may prove really effective. The intellectual capacity of the Indians is not so meagre as to despair of finding such an effective remedy, but the time for such measures has yet to come. We have thankfully to remember that the Indian Officials are supporting our cause, and that many Englishmen in South Africa appear to be in our favour. A majority of the powerful English press is sufficiently outspoken. We have therefore to wait for the final result of the present *contretemps* before concerting and pressing effective measures in this behalf. There is no Indian who does not regret the necessity of being obliged to start a war of retaliation against a component part of the mighty British Empire, but the fault lies entirely with the British Cabinet. If the British Cabinet is absolutely powerless to secure the rights of British citizenship to the Indian subjects of the Crown, the whole responsibility of the consequences which such a policy will lead to, will be on their heads. I need hardly tell them that the result of such a course, from the Imperial standpoint, will be deplorable.

Who Won the Boer War?

This leads me to ask a question which under existing conditions is of paramount importance. I should like to know who were the victors in the Boer War? Whether England came out victorious and succeeded in conquering the Boer Republics or whether it was the Boers who successfully defeated Great Britain. If Great Britain was in reality the victorious party, it should not be powerless to enforce its wishes upon the Boers. But from recent pronouncements it seems obvious that the British Cabinet is in reality absolutely helpless in the matter. The plea put forward is that in Self-governing Colonies, the British Government can merely use suasion and nothing else. If this argument is carried to its logical conclusion, it means that any legislation affecting the people in South Africa by the Union Parliament shall be accepted, irrespective of how it affects the different sections of the population. Well,

the Union Parliament, as it is constituted at present, contains a large Boer majority. It therefore follows that any Legislation which the Boer majority in the Union Parliament may pass imposing unbearable disabilities upon English residents themselves must receive the assent of His Majesty. England would be obliged, under such circumstances, also to declare that it is powerless to interfere with the domestic legislation of a Self-governing Colony. As a result of such legislation, the English people in Natal may be hounded out of that Colony, and still the British Cabinet, I suppose, would sit with folded arms and declare to the world its utter helplessness to secure justice to their own people. If this is a fact, then it clearly follows that, though nominally Britain won the Boer War, it was the Boers who were really victorious, and as a result of such victory, annexed the British Colony of Natal to the Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Can anything be more absurd? Would Great Britain remain so indifferent if the Boer majority took it into their heads to act in the manner indicated? Gentlemen, it does not require any prescience to know that the whole of Great Britain would be excited from one end to the other, and the might of Great Britain would come down on the recalcitrant Boers, and the might of England would prevail. It is only when the persons affected are the people of India that this helplessness is manifesting itself.

A curious sidelight is thrown on the issue I have raised by the public pronouncement of General Botha, the South African Premier. In the speech which he delivered on November 24, he is reported to have said that their country was part of the British Empire, yet they were as free as if they were an independent State on a footing of equality with the sister States, and they were a sister State of England: "Our first duty in the interest of the Union itself is, in my opinion, to stand on a friendly footing with the British Empire, without in any way departing from the least of our principles." I should like to know what the British ministers have to say in regard to this claim. If they admit it, could they still claim that they won the Boer War?

We are told that it is an economic question which is at the root of the trouble. The Indians are thrifty, they can live more cheaply than the white settlers, and they can successfully compete with them in trade and commerce. The doctrine of the survival of the fittest does not presumably apply to South Africa. When the Indians demand legislative and executive measures for the protection of India's economic and industrial interests, the same school which is preaching economic considerations in British Colonies trot out the principle of the 'survival of the fittest'. They want to have it both ways. May I tell them such a policy can lead to no good?

Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions

The question of the separation of the judicial and executive functions has been so well thrashed out throughout the country that I would not have referred to it here, but for the fact of the recent discussion on the subject in

the Imperial Legislative Council. I do not wish to enter into the history of the question, as it is well-known to you. There is, however, one aspect of the discussion in the Imperial Council which requires to be brought out prominently. When the resolution on the subject was put to the vote, it was found that every Indian member, whether elected or nominated, voted in favour of it. It is a memorable incident in the political progress of India that all the different elements constituting Indian representation unanimously demanded that a beginning should forthwith be made in the direction of separating the judicial and executive functions. The resolution was, of course, negatived by the official majority. Whatever the technical fate of this resolution, it raises constitutional questions of far-reaching importance.

Chosen Representatives of the People

His Majesty the King Emperor, in reply to the loyal address presented at Delhi by the Imperial Legislative Council, called the members of that body 'the chosen representatives of the people of India'. It is an undisputed fact that all the elected members are chosen by such electorates as have been laid down by Government themselves. Many of them represent all the different provinces of India on a territorial basis. Some of them represent the landowners, and some the important Muslim community on a communal basis. Others have been nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy himself. All Indian 'chosen representatives of the people of India' have unanimously asked that a beginning should forthwith be made with this reform. Though the resolution was lost by the vote of the official majority, we are entitled to ask whether that will be the last word on the subject.

I cannot conceive that such will be the actual result. If the united voice of India expressed through their chosen representatives is powerless to secure a reform which has, as in this instance, received the support of many high officials, the recent Council reforms can hardly be regarded as an appreciable advance on previous conditions. We have secured more seats on the Legislative Councils, we have obtained the very valuable privilege of moving resolutions and dividing the house on them, but our function still remains that of a consultative body, who are free to express their views and sentiments, but whose united voice remains inoperative. Gentlemen, I am ready to recognize that under present conditions of the administration of the country, it is necessary that there should be an offiical majority. I do so because the legislative functions vesting in these bodies are of a far-reaching character. A Legislative Council can not only pass or reject fresh legislation, but can repeal and amend existing laws. It is, therefore, right that the power of the majority should remain in the hands of Government. But it is absolutely necessary that adequate safeguards should be provided against the arbitrary exercise of such power.

It is not sufficiently recognized that the non-official members of the

Legislative Councils in India occupy the position of what we understand as the 'Opposition' in Parliament. I do not mean that they always oppose Government or that they work in a party spirit. The career of the Indian members of the Legislative Councils indisputably proves that they have been actuated by a high sense of duty and patriotism and have proved most useful to Government in their legislative and other work. What I do mean is that it is their function to represent the public view and offer suggestions and criticism in regard to measures introduced by Government. They work practically on some basis akin to an 'Opposition'. It is now recognized as an axiomatic truth that the efficiency of Government largely depends upon a strong Opposition. Any measures that would impair the efficiency of the Opposition would unquestionably react on the efficiency of the administration. Such an Opposition is represented by the non-official members in the Legislative Councils. There is, however, a fundamental difference between the 'Opposition' in Parliament and the Opposition in India, and I am sorry to find that this is not adequately realized by Government officials. In England the party in the 'Opposition' to-day may well hope to sit on Government benches to-morrow. The whole attention of the party and its press is directed towards winning the suffrages of the people of Great Britain, so that they may succeed in securing a majority at the next general elections and occupy the Government benches. As I have already said, the party in the 'Opposition' to-day may be the party in power to-morrow. All the power and patronage—and the extent of this is colossal in England—which may vest in the party in power to-day is enjoyed by the 'Opposition' to-morrow. The position of the Opposition in India is quite different. The power and patronage—and it is most extensive even in India—which must necessarily attach to the Government in office remains always in the hands of the officials. Tne Government benches must always remain in their occupation. The Opposition must always occupy the same seats. They can never hope to exercise, under present conditions, the power and the patronage vesting in Government and the telling influence which directly results therefrom.

In spite of this serious disability, men are found ready and willing to accept serious sacrifices in the public cause. They are ready to accept Government displeasure in the honest and conscientious discharge or their duties. Scrutinize the class of men who occupy seats on the Legislative Councils in India, and you will observe what classes they are drawn from. You will find amongst them men engaged in important trades and industries, in agriculture on an extensive scale, in professions in which they coin money. These men whose time is of the utmost value readily come forward at the call of duty to serve their country, without any hope of winning a position which will secure them the power and the patronage inseparable from the Government office. Nay, they have frequently to face official displeasure. I feel strongly that it is necessary in the interests of good government that the

authorities should make every endeavour to rally this class to themselves. Far from regarding them as critics and agitators, it is best to hold them in esteem as men who are materially contributing towards the better administration of the country and who deserve all encouragement possible in their self-imposed task.

The Press Act

The remarks I have made on the question of the general position of the non-official members apply equally well to the liberty of the press. It is through non-official members of the Legislative Councils and through the responsible Indian press that Government stand to obtain direct information as regards the feelings and sentiments of the people. Just as full encouragement is needed to secure the best men to serve on the Legislative Councils, adequate liberty of expression is necessary for the Indian press. I have no sympathy with those newspapers which regard license as liberty, and are habitually transgressing the bounds of liberal journalism. At the same time, it is necessary that no undue restrictions should either be imposed or, by any action of Government officials, be felt to stand in the way of full and free discussion of public matters. The only independent source through which Government can keep itself in daily touch with the feelings and sentiments prevailing in the different parts of India is the Indian press. If the actual effect of any measure of Government leads to a condition under which Governments are themselves deprived of this direct knowledge, it is harmful and mischievous in its results. I have been constrained to make these remarks because I am personally aware of the fact that the Press Act, with the wide powers it confers, is operating directly towards discouraging even well-established and long-standing Indian newspapers from freely expressing their views. I think that the time has come when the question regarding the operation of the Press Act should be carefully and judicially examined and the necessary measures applied in order to remove the disabilities now existing.

Muslim Ideals and Policy

Having touched thus briefly on current events, I should like to say a few words in regard to the question of our policy and our ideals. I do so with considerable hesitation; but I am obliged to deal with it in view of the fact that during recent times much difference of opinion has manifested itself among the Mohammedans of India, and statements have appeared in the press to the effect that the League has been captured by the young hot-heads of the community, that it is tottering and is on the verge of collapse, that leading men amongst us are abandoning the League either openly or quietly. It will strike any one that there must be something radically wrong with the machinery by which the Musalmans have organized themselves to promote their communal interests, if these statements are true.

Before I deal with this question, I should like to place before you my own faith and belief in regard to the political future of India. I do so with a view to removing the slightest chance of my attitude being misunderstood or misconstrued. Looking to the growth of political life in India during so short a period in the life of a nation as the last 50 years, it must strike even a casual observer that the progress made by the country is phenomenal. With the liberal educational policy adopted by the British Government, we have been enabled to come in close contact with Western thought and culture, and with the history of the rise and progress of democratic institutions in the West and their present ascendency. It is but natural that our horizon should be widened and that we should become keenly anxious to move steadily forward on similar lines. I think we would not be true to our motherland if we did not strive to attain a high standard of progress on democratic lines. I am one of those dreamers who firmly belive that given a sufficiently long spell of British rule in India, we are bound to become united as a nation in the real sense of the term. When that time arrives (as it is sure to do), we shall have qualified to rule the country ourselves; and self-government will be absolutely assured to us. It will be the proudest day in the history of England when, having accepted the guardianship of a people over 300 millions in number, belonging to an alien race, divided into innumerable sects and creeds, it has guided their evolution and has successfully carried out a far-sighted policy enabling them to reach a pitch of consolidation and solidarity making them perfectly qualified to govern themselves. The debt of gratitude India owes to the Crown of England for the peace and order prevailing throughout the length and breadth of this vast continent, the safety of life and property, the earnest and humanitarian policy for our welfare and advancement, the studious efforts to train and educate us to the highest standard possible, is nothing to what India will owe when the work for this country is completed and the heritage is handed over to the children of the soil. I have called myself a dreamer, and you are welcome to regard me as such if you like; but this I will tell you that I have profound faith in the realization of my dream, and it depends upon you to exert yourselves to fulfil the destiny which is inevitably yours. No country such as India is can remain for ever under foreign rule, however beneficient that rule may be; and though British rule is undoubtedly based on beneficience and righteousness, it cannot last for ever.

India is our motherland, our proud heritage, and must in the end be handed over to us by our guardians. I regard the connection of England with India in the nature of guardianship over minor children. If I may apply the analogy, I would say that the Hindu and the Muslim are two brothers, sons of 'Mother Hind', and in a state of minority, and that Providence has chosen the British to be the guardians of the minors. I need not remind you that in the hour of our need, two European nations, namely, France and England, applied for this guardianship, and it was granted to England. How well, how nobly,

the obligations so imposed have been discharged by England is evidenced in every direction to-day. The minors are gradually and steadily growing up in health and strength under the fostering care of a people who were the first to fight for democracy, and who have after centuries of travail and application raised it as a system to the present standard of efficiency. India is loyal to the backbone to England, not only for all that it has done for India, but for all which India may well hope to obtain in the future. Loyalty of an alien people, based as it is in India on a firm conviction of self-interest, is bound to be deep-rooted and genuine. Any suspicion of the deep-rooted loyalty of India is unjust and groundless. Constitutional agitation against Government measrues there will be and there must be. We cannot convince our guardians without constitutional agitation; and it is the common failing of all guardians all the world over that it is difficult to convince them of the steady growth of their wards. Such growth is largely imperceptible to them, taking place as it does under their very eyes. As I have said, the minors are in reality steadily growing up and their needs and requirements are multiplying. The wards would be false to the training which the guardian, in the noble discharge of his duties, has himself given, if they did not respectfully ask, nay clamour, for larger allowances suitable to the respective ages to which they may have reached; and the best policy to be adopted towards them is to recognize the fact from time to time and make further grants in a generous spirit.

It will be obvious to you that it depends entirely upon yourselves how early you will realize your proud destiny. It will call for the best in your nature; you will have to be patient and persevering; you will have to be prepared for all calls of self-sacrifice and devotion to your motherland. You will have to rise above petty jealousies and personal considerations; you will have to unite in a bond of Indian brotherhood to make your path easy in the stubborn task that lies before you. You will always have to bear prominently in mind that an early realization of your ultimate hopes and aspirations depends wholly upon retaining in the land the beneficient rule of the Crown of England. During the transition period, the presence of the British in India is absolutely indispensible. You are bound to grow to adult manhood in time and come into your inheritance, but you must in no way be impatient of your guardian. In trying to accelerate the pace, do not retard your progress. We have to remember also that we shall not reach the goal by the use of physical force. Anarchism and bombs never have in the history of any nation ensured progress or helped in attaining their end. Believe me, gentlemen, that when the time arrives, the force of moral pressure will be irresistable and it will absolutely ensure the realization of our proud destiny.

This is fully borne out by the noble message which His Imperial Majesty delivered to you during his recent visit to India. As you are aware, it consists of three words 'Educate, Unite and Hope'. Can any message be more pregnant with far-reaching significance? Can better words be found in the

English language to indicate to you in what direction your future lies? By the word 'Educate' is meant not merely the passing of examinations. It is used in a broader sense, and calls upon you to qualify yourselves for the noble destiny that awaits you. Your leaders during the past generation fully realized the significance of this word, and they advised you to concentrate your attention on educating yourselves before everything else. Their advice to eschew politics at that stage was, as you will now recognize, highly wise. But for that concentration, the Musalman community would not have made that progress in education which we see all around us to-day. Involving the Musalmans community in political strife at that stage would not have been to their interest. They had lagged far behind in the race of education. Concentration on education was essentially necessary. If the Muslim mind had been diverted into different channels, it would have proved highly detrimental to our cause. The community as a whole, following the wise guidance of their elders, devoted all their energies to educating themselves. The fruits which have resulted could not have been attained in any other way. I cannot conceive that the policy of abstaining from political life was meant to be permanent. It was clearly realized that when, as the result of concentrating attention on educational progress, the community had been raised to a sufficiently high standard, politics would come as a matter of course. How well that policy has succeeded, I need not tell such a representative gathering as I find assembled here to-day. Within the short period of six years since the date on which the Musalman community organized themselves for political work, the progress made will be admitted on all hands to be highly gratifying. This is the result of concentration on education, which as you will observe is the first word of the gracious message of His Imperial Majesty. May I ask you whether this experience does not teach us that it is best to concentrate our attention and our energies upon the next word of the Royal message, namely 'Unite'? You are aware that however much you may qualify yourselves by education and other means, you will have to unite yourselves in a common bond of Indian brotherhood before you can hope to reach any form of self-government. Having reached the necessary stage of union, there is nothing you cannot hope to obtain. There is nothing which will keep you out of your heritage. Let every Indian take to heart the gracious message of our King, in his own person and family, and try to live up to it. Every true son of India owes this debt to his country, to act on the principles enunciated; and the future, though far distant, may well be regarded as absolutely assured to you. Well, let me appeal to you and through you to all the people of India to work for your motherland on the lines indicated, and thus contribute to the ultimate fufillment of the proud destiny which inevitably awaits you.

As I have explained, at considerable length, my political faith for the future of India, you will easily understand that I cannot object to the ideals which have been adopted by the two leading political organizations of this

country. The Congress ideal of self-government on Colonial lines has the advantage of being clear and definite. The League ideal of self-government suitable to India appears to me vague and indefinite. You must have had good reasons for adopting it, but I cannot help remarking that I personally would have preferred something which was more definite and distinct. Whatever the ideal, I should like to appeal to you to bear constantly in mind that nothing should be allowed to create a feeling of impatience, a desire to reach it by short cuts, or a tendency to excite the passions of the people. Nothing is more detrimental to advancing the cause of India than impatience and disaffection. Far from accelerating the pace towards the ultimate attainment of the goal, it will undoubtedly have the effect of setting the clock back.

We have recently heard a great deal about a divided feeling amongst the members of our community. It appears to me wholly unwise to fall out and be divided on a point which, even in the opinion of the most enthusiastic amongst us, will not be reached till after several decades of strenuous and united efforts. Whether the final consummation of our highest aspirations takes several decades or several scores of years or some centuries is in the womb of time. It largely depends, as I have already pointed out, upon ourselves. Why then waste our energies in fruitless discussions and dissensions upon the form of government which we should strive to attain at the end of that indefinite period? When a sturdy union amongst all the conflicting elements prevailing in India to-day is a condition precedent to any sound and steady progress, would it not be wise to devise means by which we may be able to concentrate our undivided attention on the problems of the day, and by united exertions ensure steady and solid progress?

Everyone must recognize that no form of self-government is possible in India unless the two principal communities, the Hindu and the Muslim, are closely and conscientiously united. What can be a nobler aim, a loftier goal than to endeavour to secure India united! Once we become sincerely and genuinely united, there is no force in the world which can keep us from our heritage; without such union, the Indians will have to wait indefinitely for the realization of their fondest hopes. Instead of having differences and dissensions amongst ourselves at the present time on matters of remote realization, I would earnestly appeal to all true sons of India to concentrate all their energies, all their talents on the consummation of ensuring a united India. Then we might well leave the future to take care of itself, full of hope, and full of confidence. If the two sister communities devote their energies and concentrate their efforts on the realization of such an ideal, in a spirit of reasoned compromise, all our difficulties will crumble away, and India will rise phoenix-like from the ashes of discord and struggle to a fresh and robust life, full of promise and full of hope.

Muslim Policy

The next question which I must deal with now is what should be the

policy of the League as representing the Musalmans of India. The answer which I would give to the question is briefly this. Our policy towards the British Government should be one of unswerivng loyalty, and towards the Hindus one of brotherly love and regard. I hold that the policy which should guide us should be that of the younger brother in a family towards his guardian and towards his elder brother. While fully maintaining his individuality and remaining keenly alive to his own needs and requirements, he should extend to his guardian his respectful homage and to his elder brother his brotherly affection and sincere regard. My advice to you to offer unswerving loyalty and respectful homage to your guardian does not mean blind or servile submission to all his mandates. Loyalty and homage are in no way inconsistent with representation and agitation. All the constitutional means which are open and available to you should be made use of, both freely and fully, to advance India in every direction, to promote the best interests of our community, and to secure better administration by moderate and sober criticism of Government measures. It is unnecessary for me further to dilate upon this aspect of the question, as I am sure you clearly realize what your constitutional rights and privileges are. Make the best use of these, and notwithstanding all the discouragement you may meet with, persevere in your efforts and thereby make your full contribution towards the better administration of this country.

When I am advising you to extend brotherly affection and sincere regard towards the elder brother, I am not forgeting that you are entitled to reciprocity at his hands. The union of the two brothers cannot stand on a one-sided arrangement. I call the Hindu the elder brother, and I am sure you will agree with me in the view that he occupies that position in the Indian family. He is senior in numbers, in education, in wealth, and in many other ways. His obligations therefore, under the Indian system of family life, are necessarily greater. In order that there should be a sincere and genuine *entente*, each brother must be prepared to discharge his relative duties towards the other in the right spirit. Let us first examine whether the Musalmans have in the past endeavoured to discharge their obligation towards the Hindus. If we have not done so, we ought to be prepared to make amends and rectify our conduct. You are all aware that the birth of organized Muslim political life dates from the day on which a representative deputation from all the parts of India, headed by our acknowledged leader, His Highness the Aga Khan, waited upon Lord Minto, pressing on the attention of what I will continue to call the guardian, the claims of the younger brother to share directly by election in the representative institutions in the country. This was the first sign that the growth of the younger brother had reached a stage when his needs and requirements were keenly felt, that the training which the guardian had provided for the children was having the same effect upon the younger child as it had had upon the elder one, that the flame of patriotism had been

kindled in him also (I trust never to be extinguished thereafter) ; and therefore he solicited those opportunities for the service of the public which had been given earlier for the benefit of the family. It appears that our steady growth was as imperceptible to the guardian as it was to the elder brother. But we could no longer remain passive spectators of the progress taking place all around us; and we desired to share the burden and the responsibility of service to our country. We craved for a part of those opportunities which had been made available to the people of India, and which had been enjoyed by the elder brother during the period of our infancy. The guardian recognized the force of our just demands, and signified his willingness to provide those opportunities which were our legitimate due. How stubbornly the elder brother resisted this recognition of our just rights is now a matter of history.

In view of the cordial relations now subsisting between the two sister communities, I do not wish to dilate upon this point; but I cannot help remarking that the elder brother lost a splendid opportunity of winning the younger one, at an impressionable age, wholly towards himself, by failing to realize the far-reaching consequences of wise statesmanship at that psychological moment. There appears to me nothing wrong or unreasonable in the demand of the Muslim community for those opportunities of serving the public directly by election which have been conceded to the people of this country. The Indian National Congress, which stands for the highest national sentiment in the country, has had to recognize the special representation of the Muslims on the All India Congress Committee. It has also laid down as a part of its creed that, "in any representations which the Congress may make or in any demands which it may put forward for the larger association of the people of India with the administration of the country, the interests of minorities shall be duly safeguarded." May I enquire what difference there is in principle between duly safegauading the interests of the minorities (and the Musalmans form the most importrnt of such minorities) in the political rights and privileges which should be demanded in the future and those which have already been obtained? I cannot conceive that the demand of the Musalmans for adequate opportunities for representation on the public bodies in the country was in any way unreasonable or unjust, or in any way militated against the ultimate realization of the brilliant destiny which awaits the people of this land. Wise statesmanship and sympathetic consideration of each other's needs and requirements are essentially necessary during the period of transition through which every country must pass before reaching its highest destiny. May I enquire whether the Muslim representatives on the Legislative Council have been in any way wanting in public spirit or independence, and whether they have not sincerely co-operated with the representatives of the other communities in promoting the best interests of the country? May I request our friends to consider what a tower of strength the association of Muslim representatives with the representatives of other communities furnishes in

promoting the political cause of India? When both the representatives elected by the Hindu majority and by the Musalmans on the communal basis jointly demand the political and economic progress of the country, do they realize how difficult it would be for the guardian to resist such a united demand?

I should like to call your attention in this connection to an extract from the able speech which Mr. Badrudin Tyabji—who afterwards became the Honourable Mr. Justice Tyabji—delivered in Madras as the first Mohammedan President of the Indian National Congress. He said: "Gentlemen, it is undoubtedly true that each one of our great Indian communities has its own peculiar, social, moral, educational and even political difficulties to surmount; but so far as general political questions affecting the whole of India are concerned, I for one am utterly at a loss to understand why Musalmans should not work shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-countrymen of other races and creeds for the common benefit of all."

May I inquire whether we have not worked in the League on the broad principles laid down by a distinguished co-religionist of ours from the presidential chair of the National Congress? Examine the resolutions which the League has passed from year to year, and compare them with those passed by the Congress: you will clearly observe that on all questions affecting the common interests of the people of India we have readily and sincerely co-operated. Idealists have, however, to remember that the Musalmans of India have their own "peculiar, social, moral, educational and political difficulties to surmount", and that they have therefore to maintain their organized associations and institutions. Remaining keenly alive to our own needs and requirements, we have throughout the existence of the League extended a cordial hand of fellowship and co-operation to the sister communities, and I cannot give better advice than to ask you to continue this line of policy as the most foresighted and wise.

Two years ago, finding that Hindu and Muslim sentiment was becoming estranged and feeling that such a condition was detrimental to the well-being of the country, it was the Muslim community which took the initiative, and under the guidance of their recognized leader, H.H. the Aga Khan, went in the form of a special deputation from Nagpur, the seat of the annual session of the Muslim League, to Allahabad, the seat of the annual meeting of the Indian National Congress, to meet representative Hindus and to discuss means by which more cordial relations might be ensured. It was again the act of the younger brother, making a peace-offering to the elder, declaring in an unequivocal manner how keen and how anxious he was to reach a better understanding between the two. You are all aware that after an important discussion, a representative committee consisting of the leaders of both the communities was appointed for the purpose of discussing the points of disagreement and suggesting means and measures by which, in a spirit of reasoned compromise, more cordial relations might be brought about.

Two years have passed since the date this committee was appointed, and it is to be regretted that not a single meeting has yet been held. Whatever may be the cause for this long delay in meeting for such a laudable object, it cannot be gainsaid that we have always been anxious to discharge our obligation towards the elder brother in the right spirit. It is a matter of regret that such a splendid opportunity has not yet been utilized. If there are any reasons which make it difficult to get this Committee together, I would ask you to appoint another committee for the same purpose. I make this suggestion because I feel strongly that in the interests of India as a whole and those of each of the sister communities, it is pre-eminently desirable that representative men chosen by each should meet from time to time, and discuss points about which any disagreement or feeling may exist. Believe me, gentlemen, if a friendly discussion between the recognized leaders of both the communities takes place periodically, it will clear the atmosphere and bring them both much nearer together.

I have briefly indicated how anxious we have been to discharge our obligations towards the elder brother, and we shall always be ready to consider carefully any points on which he may feel that we have failed to do so. If there are any such points, I trust they will be authoritatively communicated to us, and I need hardly say that they will receive our anxious attention. I have already said that the brotherly relations between the two cannot stand on a one-sided arrangement. We are therefore entitled to ask that the elder brother should indulge in a little introspection and examine, for his own guidance, whether he has discharged his obviously greater duties towards the Muslim. I am sure we shall all be very interested to learn the directions in which this has been done. For a thorough understanding between the two, I think it is necessary that the suggestion which I have already made—viz., to appoint a representative committee—should be acted upon, and that it should meet periodically and discuss all the points affecting the interests and relations of each with the other. It is because I feel that far-reaching results for good will accrue from such a course that I have referred to the matter once again.

The London Branch of the Muslim League

I am sure you will all appreciate the reasons which have induced me to keep any reference to the recent happenings in London to the concluding part of my address. You will recognize how delicate the matter is. The Musalmans of India have a high regard for Syed Ameer Ali, who has during the period of nearly half a century rendered yeoman service to the cause of Islam. His great achievements in the field of literature, his masterly exposition of the faith of Islam, his active co-operation with our distinguished leader, H.H. Sir Aga Khan, in promoting our political advancement are a few of the directions in which he has conferred lasting obligations upon the Musalmans. On the

other hand, we have Syed Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohammad Ali, two of our foremost workers in the interests of Islam. During the comparatively short period of their career, they have proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, their sterling worth and their whole-hearted devotion to the Muslim cause. The singleness of purpose with which they have identified themselves with the best interests of Islam has justly earned them high appreciation. It would, under the circumstances, have been most unfortunate if the differences of opinion which manifested themselves in London should have had any permanent effect. At a time like the present, we could ill-afford to lose the services of such a veteran as Syed Ameer Ali, whose presence at the head of our political organization in the centre of the vast British Empire is of great value. I am sure, gentlemen, you will have learnt with a feeling of relief and gratification that through the kind offices of our esteemed leader, H. H. Sir Aga Khan, the prevailing difficulties have been overcome, and that the London League is again a united whole ready to work strenuously and zealously for the promotion of our best interests.

There is, however, one point in connection with the recent discussion which requires to be laid down emphatically. The London League must be regarded as a branch of the Parent League, as its very name indicates, and must work on the line of policy laid down in India. Differences of opinion must be welcomed, but differences of principle cannot be allowed. Constitutional means are open to each Branch of the League to raise questions of principle, but in that case the required procedure must be implicitly followed.

Gentlemen, you must have been amused at the criticism which has recently been levelled against what are termed the educated young Musalmans of India. Sedition and disloyalty appear to be the stock in trade of some critics. Need I tell them that there is not even the shadow of disloyalty or sedition amongst the Musalmans of India, whether young or old? Need I add that His Majesty's Musalman subjects in India are as thoroughly loyal to-day as ever they were before? It is perfectly true that the vivifying influence of education is having the same effect upon them as it has had upon the sister communities. They have become politically articulate and have organized themselves for the purpose of promoting the best interests of their community. They are availing themselves of the constitutional means open to every section of the Indian people. Can a single instance be quoted in which they have gone in the slightest degree beyond the accepted limits of constitutional agitation? Not only have we not overstepped its legitimate bounds, but I will unhesitatingly declare, on your behalf, that nothing is further removed from our minds than to engage in any movement or action which has in it the least tinge of disloyalty or sedition. It would be to the advantage of every one concerned if people would talk a little less of Indian disloyalty and sedition.

In conclusion, I beg to tender to you my grateful acknowledgments

for your indulgence in bearing with me for so much time. I am deeply touched by your kindness and consideration, and beg to tender to you once again my sincere thanks for the high honour you have conferred upon me by inviting me to preside at your deliberations.[1]

Second Sitting

The second sitting, which began at 2:30 p.m., was devoted to the consideration of resolutions. The first of these was moved by His Highness the Aga Khan, and ran as follows:

RESOLUTION I

> The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that in view of the growing political needs of the community, it is necessary to take steps to establish, in accordance with Section 24 of the League's Constitution and Rules, a permanent fund to be called 'The Muslim National Fund', for furthering the objects laid down in the Constitution of the All-India Muslim League and the general political advancement of the community. The League hereby appoints a committee consisting of the following gentlemen from each province, with powers to add to their number, and authorizes the said committee to take all necessary steps to appeal for and raise the 'Fund'.

In a terse and pithy speech, His Highness said that this was one of those self-evident propositions which did not require any arguments to commend it to their acceptance; but like so many self-evident things its necessity was ignored in practical and daily conduct. For all these years there had been a crying need for an independent fund which was absolutely necessary for the political progress and advancement of Musalmans. If they did not like to support the League, he asked them to dissolve it. It was necessary to raise five or six lakhs of rupees for the National Fund, the absence of which was a national disgrace. Their greatest need was their political education in the best sense of the term, to teach them self-respect and self-discipline, and they would not have self-respect unless they were self-supporting. The sum required could be easily got together, but it must come from every province, every district and every section. It could not be called national until it was collected from the people at large.

The Raja of Mahmudabad seconded the resolution. He said that their political organization was mainly supported by His Highness the Aga Khan. If they failed to realize their obligation to raise a National Fund they would be lost. The resolution was carried by acclamation.

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1. *Presidential Address of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, Kt.*, Bombay, Times of India Press, 1913.

RESOLUTION II

The next resolution, which was as follows, was moved by Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan.

> The All-India Muslim League enters its emphatic protest against the provisions of the Immigration Act passed by the South African Union Government, in that they violate promises made by the ministers of the South African Government, and respectfully urges the Crown to veto the said Act.
>
> The League further requests the Imperial and the Indian Government to adopt such measures as would ensure the Indians in South Africa just and honourable treatment as citizens of the Empire.
>
> The League expresses its abhorrence of the cruel treatment to which Indians were subjected in South Africa during the recent passive resistance movement and strikes, and disapproves of the personnel of the Committee appointed by the South African Union to enquire into the matter.
>
> The All-India Muslim League tenders its most respectful thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for his statesmanlike pronouncement of the policy of the Government of India on the South African question. The League requests the Imperial and Indian Government to take the steps needed to redress the grievance relating to the question of the £3 tax, indentured labour, domiciled educational test, the validity of Indian marriages and other questions bearing on the status of Indians in South Africa.

The speaker, in the course of his speech, reiterated the demand for the repeal of the three-pound tax and the removal of other disabilities under which the Indians were suffering. He said that the personnel of the Commission appointed by the South African Government had given satisfaction to none in India, as it did not have the confidence of Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues, who were immediately affected by it. He eulogized the services rendered in this connection by Mr. Gokhale, a distinguished patriot, whom all sections in India claimed as belonging to their own. He said Indians in South Africa demanded nothing that was not due to them, and their demand was that they should be recognized as subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor and not be treated as so many helots. If the British Government had taken up the matter seriously, the affair would have been settled long ago. That public opinion in England could exercise adequate influence on the affairs of colonial governments was evident from the fact that, after the storm of indignation raised in India and England, the Union Government lost no time in appointing a commission. He appealed to all sections to demand justice until justice was done. The speaker, in conclusion, expressed the obligation of all India to Lord Hardinge for his most generous pronouncement in Madras

and thanked him for deputing Sir Benjamin Robertson to put the Indian side of the case before the Commission.

Mr. Abdul Rauf, supporting the resolution, said that the time had come when the promises which were made by the rulers—that Indians would be treated as British subjects and that no difference would be made on account of race, religion or colour—should be fulfilled. The resolution was carried unanimously.

The next resolution on the programme laid down that the All-India Muslim League was of opinion that the Press Act be amended in the light of the recent decision of the Calcutta High Court. The discussion of this resolution was postponed till the next day.

Abul Kalam Maulvi Syed Abdul Wadood, the Secretary of the Bareilly District Muslim League, rose at this stage and said that he had brought a special message from Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, who was to Mohammedans what Mr. Dadabhai Nauroji was to India. He lived in retirement like Mr. Dadabhai, but he had sent a message that he had faith in Syed Wazir Hasan and Mr. Mohammad Ali, and recognized their self-sacrificing services in proceeding to England to place their case before British statesmen. The Nawab had sent floral garlands for the two gentlemen, which the President put round their necks amidst loud and continued cheers of the assembly.

RESOLUTION III

Khan Bahadur Mian Mohammad Shafi moved the following resolution:

> The All-India Muslim League urges the separation of judicial from executive functions, placing the judiciary under the control of the highest court in every province.

In an eloquent speech which evoked great enthusiasm, Mr. Shafi urged that it was time that the state of affairs which made an officer a prosecutor as well as a judge was put to an end.

Mr. Sami-ul-lah Beg seconded and Mr. Mohammad Ali supported the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned until the following day.

Third Sitting

The last day of the Seventh Session of the League opened with a large attendance of members and visitors. It was anticipated that the day's discussions would be rather lively, owing to the fact that there had been considerable difference of opinion in the previous night's meeting of the Council in discussing the draft resolutions on the Press Act and on communal representation. The president arrived at the *Pandal* punctually at eleven o'clock and took his seat on the dais amidst deafening cheers. The proceedings were again marked by orderly conduct of business. The fixing of a time limit on speeches proved to be a salutary measure and greatly facilitated

the despatch of business. The President appealed to the members not to introduce personal matters in the consideration of the resolutions, and this was greatly responsible for the unanimity that prevailed. However, on the question of the representation on local boards, even the President was unable to prevent a division. This question evoked a great divergence of opinion which found expression in two amendments. The discussion threatened to be acrimonious and bitter, but this was prevented by the strong and firm attitude of the President, staunchly supported by His Highness the Aga Khan, who sat by his side and supported his authority and ruling. The discussion was characterized by warmth of feeling, and leading men from various provinces took an active part in it.

RESOLUTION IV

The fourth resolution, which was moved by Mr. Abul Qasim, ran as follows:

> The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the Press Act be now repealed, especially in view of the recent judgment of the Calcutta High Court, which has declared that the safeguards provided in the Act are illusory and incapable of being enforced.

Mr. Qasim said he was not asking Mohammedans to accept the resolution because it was adopted by the Council of the Muslim League, which was their subjects committee, but because the Act stood condemned on its merits. It not only defiled the Indians tatute-book, it had defiled the Indian national character. As soon as a man entered the profession of journalism he had to acknowledge that he was a criminal of some kind, and his mouth was gagged. It was through the press that Government knew the people and were informed of what was happening in the country; and it was more in the interest of Government than the people that the Act should be repealed.

Muslim papers had been persecuted, and the speaker instanced the case of several papers, particularly *Al-Hadis* of Amritsar, which had suffered, he said, for no offence. The present measure was enacted to take care of papers like the *Juganter*, which, however, ceased to exist before the Act came into being. The penal laws of the land were quite adequate to deal with such crimes as the Press Act was intended to cover.

Dr. Nazir-ud-Din Hasan, seconding the resolution, said that Government provided safeguards, but they were not sufficient, and the Act gave a powerful weapon to irresponsible officials, who frequently misused it.

The resolution was supported by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Editor of *Al-Hilal*, who made a strong speech in Urdu demanding the immediate repeal of the Act.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

RESOLUTION V

The fifth resolution was moved by Maulvi Rafi-ud-Din, and ran as follows:

> The All-India Muslim League once again records its deliberate opinion that in the interests of the Musalman community, it is absolutely necessary that the principle of communal representation be extended to all self-governing public bodies, and respectfully urges that a provision for the adequate and effective representation of Musalmans on municipal and district boards is a necessary corollary of the application of the principle to the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, and at the same time essential to the successful working of those public bodies.

The speaker said the resolution was very important, yet it should be passed without much discussion, as for the last six years it had been unanimously passed at every sitting of the League. Lord Minto acknowledged the justice of the demand long ago.

The resolution was seconded by Shaikh Zahur Ahmed.

The President said that notice had been given of an amendment to the resolution, and he wanted to give ample opportunity for its discussion.

Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman moved the following amendment: The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that in order to protect the rights and safeguard the interest of Musalmans, it is absolutely necessary that they should be adequately and effectively represented on all local self-governing bodies, and urges upon the Government to make provision for such representation, and the League is further of opinion that the proportion of elected members on local bodies should be increased.

Mr. Abul Qasim, seconding, said he was as anxious as his co-religionists for effective representation in councils and local bodies. He explained the difference between the original resolution and the amendment. He did not attach so much importance to separate representation as to effective representation. The Government had reserved the right of increasing the number in council or local bodies to itself, which was a sufficient safeguard.

At the conclusion of Mr. Qasim's speech, the President said he had received notice of a second amendment, which he would also like to place before the League.

Mr. Mohammad Ali moved the second amendment, which ran as follows: The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the consideration of the question of communal representation in self-governing bodies should be postponed for a year.

Mr. Mohammad Ali said that in India there were two communities, the Hindus and the Musalmans, and it would be impossible for either of them to eradicate the other. It would be to the ultimate interest of India for the

two communities to merge together. He said the Hindus had always opposed separate representation in the Congress; but this year, out of regard for Muslim feeling, they had not passed the resolution. This clearly showed that the Hindus were convinced of the good intentions of the Mohammedans. He wanted the two communities to unite, and it was for Musalmans to move forward in the matter. They must show that they were prepared to meet the Hindus half-way. He urged this, not because the Hindus wanted reconciliation, but because the procedure he suggested was in perfect keeping with the teachings of the Prophet. Both communities were at fault, and both must excuse each other.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, in seconding the amendment, strongly appealed to Musalmans not to press the question this year. The question was of the utmost importance and the proposal that it should be postponed till next year was a responsible one.

He urged them to consider the question dispassionately, not from the point of view of present gain, but of lasting advantage in the future. He assured his co-religionists that by demanding special representation they would get only two watertight compartments. The position was extremely difficult. They had begged the Indian National Congress to drop the question, which they did; and it should not be too much to ask Mohammedans to postpone the question for one year. In politics expediency was of the utmost value. There were many other reasons why he asked his co-religionists for a postponement, but he could not give any of these reasons in public. He finally begged Musalmans not to press the question, for if they did they would get the shadow and not the substance.

There being some show of feeling in the auditorium at this stage, His Highness the Aga Khan came forward and made a stirring appeal to those present to consider the question dispassionately. He said the question was not whether Mohammedans would renounce what they had got. The question was whether the time was propitious to pass a resolution this year. In his opinion it would be better to concentrate on more important problems like that of South Africa. Time should be allowed to the leaders of the two communities to arrive at a settlement. If no compromise were arrived at, they could take up the question next year. It would promote the cause of Islam if they showed their good intentions to their neighbours.

Syed Raza Ali said it did not require much display of enthusiasm to convey the urgency of the demand for communal representation. In the Punjab and the United Provinces, Musalmans were nowhere as far as representation on local bodies was concerned.

The speaker then referred to Mr. Mohammad Ali, and the President, intervening, said that personalities should not be allowed.

Mr. Raza Ali concluded by urging the League to pass the resolution.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque said that he was alone when he had made similar

proposals at Lucknow the previous year, but now some leading Mohammedans held similar views to those he held. Their amendment might be lost, but the discussion showed who was right and who was wrong. The object of Musalmans should be to keep good relations with other communities. The welfare of India depended on the union of Hindus and Mohammedans. He all along held that separate representation was harmful to the interests of Musalmans. He entreated his co-religionists not to press the resolution this year.

Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan observed that the Musalmans could not, at present, do without communal representation on local bodies, and stressed the necessity of passing the resolution.

Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan and Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami contended that nothing would be lost by postponing the resolution for a year.

Mr. Abdul Rauf said the original resolution must be passed, and he was supported by Khan Bahadur Alay Nabi and several others.

The President said the question had been amply discussed both by supporters of the resolution, and by supporters of the amendments. He had only one alternative left and that was to decide the adoption of the original resolution or the amendments by votes.

There was a prolonged discussion on how votes should be recorded (amidst shouts of "Order"). Ultimately it was decided by a ruling from the Chair that the original resolution and the two amendments would be put to the vote separately in accordance with Rule 32 of the Rules governing the Muslim League. This Rule laid down that the votes should be recorded according to the allotment of the number of members to the Council of the League by provinces.

After the votes had been recorded, the result was declared as follows:

For the original resolution, 89 votes; for the amendment for postponement moved by Mr. Mohammad Ali, 40 votes.

The President said that in view of the result obtained, he asked whether it was necessary to put Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman's amendment to the vote.

Mr. Abul Qasim said it would be better if it were declared that the amendment was lost.

The President appealed to Mr. Abul Qasim to withdraw his amendment.

Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman's amendment was withdrawn, and the original resolution was declared passed.

The sitting adjourned for lunch at 3 p.m.

Fourth Sitting

On the resumption of the Session in the afternoon, Mr. Abdul Wali Khan moved the following resolution:

RESOLUTION VI

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that as the highest civil offices in the State have been thrown open to Indians, the time has now arrived when the Government should give them a real share in the defence of their country by appointing qualified Indians to higher posts and commissions in the British army, for which Europeans alone up till now are eligible.

He said it was unnecessary to recount the feats of valour performed by native troops in various campaigns on many a battle-field. It had been seen how much the Indians could be trusted in military affairs. The resolution, being duly seconded by Dr. Nazir-ud-Din Hasan, was carried.

RESOLUTION VII

The next resolution, moved by Mr. Gul Mohammad, ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the status of the Punjab Chief Court should be raised to that of a chartered High Court.

Being duly seconded by Mr. Hamid Hasan, the resolution was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION VIII

Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League records its deliberate opinion that the present status of Zanzibar should not be changed, and that the present rights, privileges and status of the Indians in British East Africa and Uganda should remain intact.

The mover said the whole world was watching what was happening in South Africa, and he had no doubt that the people of India were anxious that their fellowmen should not suffer in any way in any part of the world.

The resolution, being duly seconded by Haji Mohammad Musa Khan, was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION IX

The following resolution was moved by Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan:

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that prohibition against immigration resulting from the operation of Privy Council Order No. 920, generally known as the continuous journey clause, has practically the effect of preventing any single native or citizen of India from going to Canada, inasmuch as there is no direct passenger service between the two countries and steamship companies refuse through booking; it not only stops immigration altogether from India to Canada, but has the effect of placing the present Indian settlers in Canada to great hardship by precluding them from calling over their

wives and children; that the order in question thus operates most unjustly towards the loyal Indian subjects of His Majesty, and that this League urges upon the Imperial Government the advisability of repealing it, or exempting the people of India from its operation.
The resolution, being seconded by Mr. Abdul Aziz, was carried.

RESOLUTION X

Mr. Mohammad Ali moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that in view of the formation of Executive Councils in Bengal and in the new Prrovince of Bihar, the remaining major portion, i.e., the United Piovinces and the Punjab, should be granted the same privileges to wh ch they are equally entitled to secure administrative efficiency and the general progress of those provinces.

The speaker said the population of the United Provinces was no less than 48 million, which was more than that of Great Britain, where the sole right of Government was vested in a Parliament in which the voice of the people was predominant. The benefit of such a system was that if one man had done wrong, his action could be checked or rectified by others. In the administration of local governments in India, secretaries in charge of departments were engrossed in their own work, and the people's work could not be done well unless it was entrusted to such a body of men as an executive council.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Fazl-ul-Haque, and was carried.

RESOLUTION XI

Mr. Fazal Husain moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League respectfully reiterates its prayer that the Government may be pleased to institute a thorough inquiry into the general purposes and manner of administration of existing Musalman endowments designed mainly for the public benefit.

Being seconded by Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan, the resolution was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION XII

Mr. Fazl-ul-Haque moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League, while recognizing the necessity of respecting the legitimate sentiments of the Hindu population regarding the manner of offering cow sacrifices on the occasion of the *Bakrid*, protest against the action taken by the local authorities of Fyzabad and other places in the said matter, which in the opinion of the League, constitutes an unwarranted interference in the religious rights of the Muslim community.

Both the mover and the seconder, Mr. Abdul Rauf, said that all differences between the communities at the time of a religious festival should be settled by the communities themselves, and the authorities should not be allowed to interfere. Mr. Abdul Rauf asked the respective communities to devise methods to avoid all causes of trouble, and to respect each other's feelings. The British Government were loved because of their promise of non-interference in the religion of the people, and on that account they would protest against any official interference in their religious ceremonies.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION XIII

Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri moved the following resolution:

> The All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government the imperative necessity of taking all legislative and other steps necessary to safeguard the existence of and to keep intact all public places of worship and other sacred places in India.

In a brief speech, the mover urged that to give effect to the resolution, the Land Acquisition Act should be amended.

Munshi Ehtisham Ali seconded the resolution.

Maulvi Mohammad Akram Khan moved an amendment to the effect that the words 'and sanctity' should be inserted after the word 'existence'. The mover accepted the amendment and the resolution was then passed unanimously.

RESOLUTION XIV

Mirza Sami-ul-lah Beg moved the following resolution:

> The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the Permanent Settlement be extended to such parts of the country as are now ripe for it, in accordance with the condition laid down in the Secretary of State for India's despatches of 1862 and 1867 on the subject; and that where Government may still deem it inadvisable to introduce the Permanent Settlement, judicial restrictions be imposed on overassessment.

The mover eulogized the services of the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, who had rendered admirable services to India on questions of the land revenue policy of the Government. He said the agrarian trouble of India would be settled once for all if the Permanent Settlement were extended all over the country.

There were some dissentient voices against the resolution, and Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman were among the opposers. The resolution was, however, carried by a majority.

RESOLUTION XV

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah moved the following resolution:

> That the Council of the Secretary of State be reconstituted on the

following lines: (a) That the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the English estimates. (b) That with a view to the efficiency and independence of the Council, it is expedient that it should be partly nominated and partly elected. (c) That the total number of members of Council should be nine. (d) That the elected portion of the Council should consist of not less than one-third of the total number of members who should be non-official Indians chosen by a constituency consisting of elected members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils. (e) That no less than one-half of the nominated portion of the Council should consist of public men of merit and ability unconnected with the Indian administration. (f) That the remaining portion of the nominated Council should consist of officials who have served in India for not less than ten years and have not been away from India for more than two years. (g) That the character of the Council should be advisory and not administrative. (h) That the term of office of each member should be five years.

The mover urged that the salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the English estimates. He also urged that the Council should be advisory and not administrative. The Secretary of State was, at present, playing the Great Mughal more than any Mughal ruler of India.

Mr. Abdul Rauf said that if the salary of the Secretary of State were placed on the British estimates, English people would have a firm grip on his action.

Mr. Rafi-ud-Din Ahmed moved an amendment to the effect that the following words be added: That Mohammedan representation should be duly safeguarded in any extension or modification of the Council of the Secretary of State.

The amendment being accepted by Mr. Jinnah, the entire resolution was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION XVI

The last resolution was moved by His Highness the Aga Khan, and ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League begs to place on record its warm appreciation of the wise and courageous statesmanship with which His Excellency the Viceroy dealt with the Cawnpore[1] Mosque case and expresses its deep sense of gratitude for his bringing peace to Cawnpore and the Muslim community in a manner which has enhanced the faith of the people of India in British Justice.

His Highness, who spoke in Persian, said the truth was with the Musalman community, and it was upheld by His Excellency the Viceroy, who

1. Alternative spelling of Kanpur.

set aside the order of the Lieutenant-Governor. He restored the Mosque, and Musalmans got back their right. It was now their duty to thank the Viceroy and he asked Mohammedans to pass the resolution unanimously. Although on some occasions the Government had to resort to harshness, the British Government was always just.

Raja Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan of Mahmudabad, supporting in Urdu, related the history of the Mosque affair. He said that those engaged in the Cawnpore affair had to bear great suffering. Every kind of appeal that was made had been refused. After all, justice had been done. The hundred and five prisoners, who suffered immensely, had all been released, and His Excellency had not only restored the Mosque, but also restored the national honour of Musalmans.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said justice was not obtained from the local government from whom the public expected justice, but from the heights of Simla. Though he knew that justice could not always be expected from officers in this country, he knew for certain that justice would ultimately come from the British Crown.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque said no one was more grateful to the Viceroy than himself. No better settlement could have been arrived at, and he gave a brief account of what happened at Cawnpore, and how much relief he now felt. He thanked Mohammedans for their liberal support. In conclusion, he said he knew how much Lord Hardinge was abused by the Civil Service in this country, but he had maintained the highest traditions of British rule.

The resolution was received with great acclamation and carried unanimously.

ELECTIONS

On the motion of Syed Wazir Hasan, Honorary Secretary, All-India Muslim League, the election of the following office-bearers for the All-India Muslim League was carried through:

1. The Hon'ble Raja Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan, K.C.I.E., of Mahmudabad
2. The Hon'ble Raja Sir Tasadduq Rasul Khan, K.C.S.I., of Jahangirabad
3. Nawab Abdul Majid, C.I.E., Bar-at-Law
4. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur
5. Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qazalbash, C.I.E.
6. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Mohammad Shafi, Bar-at-Law
7. Nawab Khwaja Sir Salim-ul-lah Khan Bahadur, K.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
8. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri
9. Prince Ghulam Mohammad
10. The Hon'ble Captain Malik Umar Hayat Khan, C.I.E., M.V.O.
11. Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Bart.

12. The Hon'ble Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy Ibrahim, K.C.I.E.
13. Khan Bahadur H.M. Malak
14. Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law
15. Mr. Abdul Karim Abd-us-Shakur Jamal
16. Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Hafiz Mohammad Ajmal Khan
17. His Highness Sir Sultan Mohammad Shah Aga Khan,[1] G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Mr. Wazir Hasan announced that His Highness the Aga Khan had resigned the Presidentship of the All-India Muslim League. He had not read the letter which he received from His Highness in London. He thought it would be a calamity for Mohammedans when His Highness resigned.

Sir Ibrahim Rahmitulla said that, however painful the decision of His Highness the Aga Khan was, it was irrevocable and they had to accept it. He, however, appealed to His Highness not to place his resignation in their hands to-day and to continue as President till the rules of the League were altered.

His Highness said he would remain President for the time suggested. He said that in no case would he severe his connection with the League as Vice-President. In conclusion, he thanked the Chairman and Members of the Reception Committee and volunteers for the way they had discharged their duties.

Raja Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan of Mahmudabad proposed votes of thanks to the Chair.

The President, in replying, said that when he accepted the invitation to be President he did it with full knowledge of his responsibility. Somebody had told him that he would find members of the League fighting among themselves, but on coming to the meeting he found the Muslim community as healthy and as vigorous as ever. Differences of opinion were a healthy sign. In conclusion, he wished long life to the League.

With cheers for the President, His Highness the Aga Khan, and the Raja of Mahmudabad, the Seventh Session of the League concluded at 7:30 p.m.[2]

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1. A Meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League was held on February 25, 1914, and His Highness the Aga Khan was elected Vice-President.
2. *Proceedings of the Annual Sessions of the All-India Muslim League Held at Agra.* Compiled by Syed Wazir Hasan, Hon. Secretary, All-India Muslim League. Published by the All-India Muslim League, Lucknow, 1914.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

EIGHTH SESSION

BOMBAY, DECEMBER 30, 1915—JANUARY 1, 1916

First Sitting

The Eighth Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League was held at Bombay on December 30, 1915, at 2 p.m. It was memorable in every way—in good attendance, the great enthusiasm that prevailed and the dignity and devotion with which the proceedings were carried on. The picturesque and magnificent *pandal*, specially erected in the Marine Lines just by the side of the sea, held more than 5,000 people.

After prayers had been said, Mr. Abdul Husain Adamji Peerbhoy, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the guests, said:

It is with the greatest pleasure that I rise on behalf of the Musalmans of Bombay to welcome so many distinguished representatives of our community assembled here to-day, who have come from every part of India to attend the annual session of the League. Many of you have travelled long distances and borne considerable personal sacrifice in response to your keen sense of public duty; and your presence in this great communal gathering is, to my mind, the best guarantee we could have that the interests of our community and country are at heart. I thank you most deeply and sincerely, in the name of those whom I am privileged to represent, for the honour you have done us, and for the right counsel and judgment that you have brought to the service of the great ends we all have in view.

Gentlemen, the task that lies before us is rendered heavier and more anxious by the peculiar circumstances in which we meet to-day. The gigantic conflict in which more than half the world is engaged affects, in a greater or

lesser degree, the fortunes of almost every section of mankind; but the fate of India is in a very direct and intimate sense involved in the tremendous issues that are being fought out amongst the great nations of Europe. As an integral part of the British Empire, India stands or falls with Great Britain; and it is a bold and frank recognition of this fact that, in the supreme crisis, has evoked the profound attachment and devotion of the Indian people to the British Crown and moved them as one man to bear all possible sacrifices in defence of the honour and stability of the Empire. The remarkable unity of purpose to which all classes in this country have given expression by word and deed can have but one meaning, that India recognizes to the full the benefits she has hitherto derived through her connection with Great Britain, and that it is only in the continuance of this connection that she sees the promise of a new resurrection and the ultimate realization of our supreme aim to raise her to her full stature as a free and self-reliant member of the British Empire.

In this unity of purpose, the Musalmans of India have freely and thoroughly shared ever since the outbreak of the war. What they owe to England in her hour of need they have cheerfully and ungrudgingly offered. They will not hesitate to do their duty by King and country as long as this terrible struggle lasts. In circumstances of extreme delicacy and in moments of the sorest trials, they have held firm to the faith that binds them to England.

I refer to this mainly because of a few apprehensive souls amongst us who considered the holding of this Session of the League as undesirable on account of the war. If the action of the Council of the League had been influenced by the baseless fears which found expression in some quarters, it would have compromised the position of our community, and the most important political organization of the Indian Musalmans would have been reduced to impotence. I am thankful to think that saner counsels prevailed and the Council of the League was guided in its decision by wisdom and common sense.

I need hardly refer to the unfortunate differences of opinion which manifested themselves in Bombay about the meeting of the League in the city. Those differences are now happily over, and nothing remains of them, I trust, that should mar the success of this Session.

This is the first time that the All-India Muslim League meets in Bombay. I regard it as an event of happy augury for the future of Bombay Musalmans that they should have the benefit of the counsel, sympathy and advice of so many of their co-religionists of light and leading from other parts of the country in matters relating to their welfare and in all questions of the public weal. My only hope is that the meeting of the League here will leave some tangible and abiding result behind, which would lead to a better organization of our efforts for the amelioration of the affairs of our community and country.

Gentlemen, as I have already said, we meet under the shadow of a

devastating and terrible struggle in which our King Emperor is engaged. This necessarily imposes circumspection on us, but we are not surely debarred from the consideration of the vital problems of our destiny in India on that account. The war will not last for ever; it may, for aught we know, end before many months are over. It has already raised pressing problems for the internal organization of the British Empire which cannot wait long for solution. It has thrown the whole relationship between India and England into a new perspective. A new understanding has dawned on the British mind in regard to Indian affairs, and a new spirit of sympathy for the Indian people has been kindled in the heart of the British nation. The old horizons are shifting, and we stand at the threshold of a new era that will at last witness the fruition of India's hopes.

Could it be wise, could it be reasonable, could it be patriotic for us to have remained passive specptators while all the rest of the Indian people are stirring to new life, and the programme of India's immediate future is fast undergoing the process of formulation? If we are to lead the life of a self-respecting and self-reliant community, we must resolutely shoulder our part of the burden and actively and whole-heartedly assist in the task of reconstruction. No individual or community has ever deserved anything that it has not striven to achieve. Only fools and imbeciles trust to luck or happy accident in politics. To me, as indeed to every self-respecting Musalman, it would be a humiliating spectacle if our community shirked its duty to participate in the stress and toil and the heat and burden of the day, and quietly walked up at the last moment to demand a share in the fruits of achievement with a large beggar's bowl in its hand. No such easy method would do now. We have to rely on ourselves, on our own efforts, and with our own energy shall we have to rough-hew the path of our destiny.

I rejoice to think that the spirit of self-reliance is growing fast in our community, and it is one of the happy results of this spirit that we see the rapid disappearance of distrust which has hitherto kept the Indian communities apart, and the birth of a new desire for mutual understanding and co-operation. The future of India is bound up with the continued unity of aim and purpose of her entire people.

Gentlemen, I would not anticipate in every detail the work that you have met to do. I have briefly indicated the spirit that I am sure will inspire your efforts, and trust to God that your labours may be crowned with success. I thank you once again for the trouble you have taken to be here to-day. You will please accept the poor hospitality that we have been able to offer you in Bombay. Our shortcomings are many but you will kindly take the will for the deed.

In conclusion, I beg the distinguished President of this Session to take the Chair.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque then delivered his Presidential Address:

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. MAZHAR UL HAQUE

Please accept my sincere and heartfelt thanks for the great honour you have done me by electing me the Presesident of the All-India Muslim League this year. It is a proud privilege to preside over and guide the deliberations of this distinguished gathering, where representatives of 70 million of His Britannic Majesty's Indian Muslim subjects are assembled in conference for the betterment of their condition, and for counsel and consultaion together on the affairs of their country. Happy is the man who has secured this privilege and is placed by the suffrage of his people in such a proud position. I feel the honour the more deeply, as it has come to me unsolicited. I am not presumptuous enough to take it merely as a personal compliment, but I take it as a tribute to the high ideals and new aspirations which are pulsating through the Islamic society of India.

Times are most unpropitious for expressing views and convictions which, in normal times of peace, there woud have been no harm in frankly and unreservedly putting before our community and our Government. The present terrible conflict of nations enjoins upon us the paramount duty of saying or doing nothing which may embarrass or weaken the hands of our Government by producing undesirable excitement in the people, or lead to any impression upon foreign nations that we are in any way inimical or even indifferent to the best interests of the Empire. But I see no harm in reiterating our old demands and trying to put our own house in order. I am addressing you under a deep and heavy sense of responsibility, and with your help and co-operation, in the performance of my difficult and delicate task, which I am sure will not be denied to me at this supreme moment, I hope to bring the deliberations of this meeting to a successful conclusion. Nor am I unmindful of my own unfitness for the great task you have entrusted to me. I am no orator and am not accustomed to speak in a style full of sonorous phrases and rounded periods; I can only speak to you as a man of ordinary intelligence who has given some thought to the questions of the day. It was when the invitation of our Secretary, my dear and esteemed friend Mr. Wazir Hasan, reached me that the difficulty of my position and the delicacy of my task flashed into my mind; but I could refuse such a request only at the risk of being charged with deserting my people at a critical juncture; so I decided to come here at your urgent call, and you must take me with all my limitations as you find me.

Tribute to the Dead

My next duty is to refer to some of the grievous losses that India has suffered during the past year. I am not going to make any distinction between Muslims and Hindus—Indians and Europeans. All those who have worked for the improvement of India are entitled to our grateful and affectionate remembrance.

To begin with our own community, the loss sustained by us in the death of that philosopher-poet and historian, Shams-ul-Ulema Maulana Altaf Husain Hali, is irreparable. His great poetical work, the *Musaddas*, electrified Muslim India. It opened our eyes, roused our sleeping energies, and infused into the minds of our countrymen a life, the effect of which we see before our eyes to-day. Indeed, the mission of the great Sir Syed himself would have remained half-unfinished, had it not been for the revivifying and rejuvenating character of the works of Hali. Sir Syed himself used to say that if God asked him on the judgement-day what work he had done in this world, he would produce a copy of the *Musaddas* and reply that he had induced Hali to write that immortal work. So high was the value placed upon Hali by perhaps the greatest judge of Muslim worth and character in modern times.

Then we have lost in Shams-ul-Ulema Maulana Shibli Nomani a research scholar of subtle intellect and unrivalled erudition, an ardent patriot and nationalist to the very backbone, ever untiring in rousing the Muslim community from its deep slumber of ages.

In Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, we have lost one of the dearest and most lovable personalities that could be imagined. He was a sincere and bold advocate of our cause, and the last few years of his life he devoted to the practical solution of many knotty problems of Islamic education, and made Aligarh his home and centre of many-sided activities.

The Hon'ble Khwajah Ghulam-us-Saqlain was a finished product of our Aligarh College, that great seat of Muslim learning in India, and we have lost him in the very flush of youth and the hey-day of his life. It is sad to contemplate that a career so full of promise should be cut short so soon. He was a bold social reformer, a tenacious and determined worker, a ripe and laborious scholar, a man who showed his profession in his practice, one who dared to live the life he preached.

Outside the pale of Islam, India mourns the loss of two of her greatest sons, Gogal Krishna Gokhale and Sir Phirozeshah Mehta, both from this Presidency of Bombay. The time is not yet come to judge of the noble services performed by them in the cause of their motherland, nor yet is it the time fully to appreciate the magnitude of the loss sustained by the entire country. They were giants of their generation. Their life-long and selfless services to India will remain as principal landmarks in the reformation of India. They stand as a class by themselves. The whole history of India's reawakening is bound up with their lives. It is with awe and reverence that I refer to these towering personalities; and with a last respectful and silent bow I step aside, with full heart and the deepest sorrow.

Let us not forget the love and devotion of an Englishman to the cause of India. Sir Henry Cotton was an Anglo-Indian, belonging to the Civil Service; but he ever fought and worked and suffered for us. Till his dying day his thought was with India. He was not of us; yet he was ours.

Gentlemen, I have referred to these sad deaths in some detail, and my object in doing so has been to remind you of the sacrifices that these sons of India underwent in the cause of their native land, and to beg of you, and of the whole country, to bear in mind the character of their work and to draw inspiration from their great lives, so that our own may follow the lines they have marked out for us. If we follow their examples, we may be sure our endeavours will blossom into the choicest fruit.

The Annual Session—Its Imperative need

Brethren, before I enter upon what I consider as the constructive part of my address, let me dissipate some apprehensions which have been exercising the minds of some people regarding our Session this year. In the first place there has been a minority amongst us opposed to the holding of any assemblage of the League, whilst there have been others who have been against holding it in Bombay. This minority contains leaders whose views and opinions are entitled to a respectful hearing from us because of their position, influence, ability and past services. Those holding the opinion that the Session of the League ought not to have been held at all, did so on the following grounds: first, that a world-wide war is raging and, secondly, that Turkey, an Islamic country, is ranged against the British Empire; hence any expression of views regarding the war or the general condition of India would inevitably lead to the embarrassment of the Government in its attempts to prosecute the war successfully. To my mind, this view is based upon nervousness, which entirely misappreciates the present situation. I believe we all fully realize the seriousness of this situation, and are united in our firm determination not to add one iota to the present difficulties or anxieties and, also, in our sincere effort to help our Government, both materially and morally, in every possible way. Nor do I believe that the Muslims of India have so far taken leave of their senses, and are so little capable of exercising control and prudence or are so willing and ready to jeopardize the best interests of their country, as to utter wild and irresponsible words for the mere satisfaction of hearing their own voices. Such a belief in any one would be highly unjust to the great community, to which we have the honour to belong. Have the Muslims alone, of all the other communities inhabiting this ancient land of Hindustan, the monopoly of wild talk and foolish ideas? When I see that the sister communities are holding their congresses and conferences in this great city, I ask myself: Are the Muslims alone to shut their mouth, sit with folded hands and keep themselves aloof from all activities? I fail to see any sound and valid reason for their silence at this time. If the prophets are to be believed, the war is going to end next spring, a new India is to arise under new conditions, and her problems are to be solved by the adoption of a new angle of vision. Are we alone to take no share in this reconstruction of our country? Are we alone to be left behind in this race for a nobler, larger and

higher life? Are we alone to remain torpid and lifeless? I refuse to contemplate such an abject and degraded life for the followers of Islam in India. This is shutting one's eyes deliberately to the signs of the times. This is preferring suicide to an existence of activity full of promise, an inglorious death to a glorious life. Further, our silence in these times would have been liable to ugly and mischievous interpretation. It would have been said that, of all the communities inhabiting India, it was the Muslims alone who did not raise their voice on behalf of the Empire, and who refused to stand by its side in the hour of its need and anxiety. Our past would have been entirely forgotten, and our present silence would have been flung into our face. I am glad to believe that in deciding to hold the Session of the League by an overwhelming majority you have acted with prudence and foresight. Remember, this world is a world of struggle, and struggle for existence is an immutable law of nature. Those who avoid it are doomed to destruction and final extinction. There is no such thing as standing still in this world. Either we must move forward or must go backward. Upon our right choice depends our very existence. What we must do is to go on in the right direction, otherwise we are never likely to reach the goal. If, because of our ignorance of the right path, or want of proper guidance or for any other cause, we are tempted to take the wrong direction, we shall be faced with two alternatives: either we shall have to retrace our steps, if we can, traverse the same ground over again and lose much valuable time, or we shall be doomed to destruction. These are truisms, but truisms well worth remembering, especially at this juncture. Obstacles we shall find in plenty on our way; perhaps they will at first appear to be insurmountable, but wisdom, tenacity of purpose, strength of will and self-sacrifice will surmount them all.

The other class of critics who do not approve of our holding the meeting in Bombay is, I understand, neither so influential nor so numerous as the first class. They belong to, and are the remnants of, the old school who had made a bogey of the Congress. They think it dangerous that the Hindus and Mohammedans should come together and unite for the progress of India and, therefore, they want to keep them as far apart as possible. These views have long since been exploded, and I do not think it worth while to refute them at this late hour of the day. Now every thinking man fully realizes and is thoroughly convinced that, unless the whole country unites and strenuously works for the advancement of the motherland, no isolated effort can gather that momentum which is requisite for our regeneration. However, I was glad to learn that the unfortunate controversy that arose over these matters was settled.

Gentlemen, there is another misapprehension which is making some people unnecessarily anxious and which I think should be removed. It is said that our object in holding the League contemporaneously with the Congress in the same city is to deal a blow at the independence of the League,

and to merge its individuality with that of the Congress. Nothing could be further from the truth. Communities like individuals love and cherish their individuality. Every race and creed has its own particular features and characteristics developed in its own special way, which, in my opinion, are the chief source of its strength. It is when all combine and bring their individual characteristics into the common stock, that they contribute their quota towards the formation of a strong and united nation. The Bengalis have their own grand characteristics, so have the Sikhs, Marhattas and Parsis. Hindus of Madras have some lively strains of character. So have we, the Muslims of India. In my opinion, we are distinguished from others by a peculiar virility of character, derived from our brilliant historical traditions, and a solidarity which binds the highest to the lowest with a common and indissoluble tie, easily attributable to the principles of our religion. Differentiation is at the bottom of evolutionary progress. When unity is evolved out of diversity, then there is real and abiding national progress. Muslims as well as Hindus have to solve their own particular problems. The Haj question is peculiar to the Muslims and affects them most nearly, whilst the problem of caste does not press us so closely as it does our Hindu brethern. Well, it may be objected that these are religious and social questions and have nothing to do with politics and the propaganda of the League. True, but these are, after all, questions which have to be solved separately by the different communities in their own ways and according to their own feelings and requirements. As a matter of fact, and speaking personally, I go further and think that even in such questions there are factors involved, such as the economic and sociological, which interact, however remotely, upon all communities and thus affect the Indian people as a whole. Under such conditions, who would assert that there is no necessity for the separate maintenance of such an institution as the All-India Muslim League, able to present an authoritative exposition of Muslim views on all questions affecting our community? What is most objectionable is that there should be an unyielding antagonism between the principal communities of this country, such as to retard its common progress, and that, instead of an honest attempt to understand each other's views, there should be an unreasoning hostility which has produced nothing butirreparable injury to our cause. It is quite time for different communities to realize fully that they are like so many limbs to the body-politic, and any attempt by one to aggrandize itself at the expense of the other must result in injury to the whole body. But those reflections, in the present happy state of feelings, have become out of date and need not be referred to in any detail. All communities are now united in sinking their so-called differences for the common good, and that this state of feeling may continue long and develop to its uttermost limits must be the prayer of every lover of India.

Islam in India

Before I proceed further, I should like the Muslims of India to realize

their true position in the country. It is then and then alone that they can understand their rights, duties and responsibilities. Races, classes and creeds without number inhabit this ancient land. In this wonderful medley of peoples where do we come in? Have we any real place or not? Some people are influenced by ideas engendered by the teachings of history, often I fear, not very authentic or reliable history. The fact is that most historians, when dealing with nationalities and peoples other than their own, are obsessed either by political bias or religious prejudices. One hardly ever comes across any modern history which is free from such defects. If we desire to know the truth, we must go back to our own histories and read them in the light of modern methods.

The first advent of the Muslims in India was along these very coasts in the form of a naval expedition sent by the third Khalifa in the year 636 A.C. This was more than four hundred years before William the Conqueror defeated the Saxons at the battle of Hastings. After many vicissitudes, into the details of which it is unnecessary to go, the Muslim Empire was firmly established in India. These invaders made India their home and did not consider it a land of regrets. They lived amongst the people of the country, mixed with them freely and became true citizens of India. As a matter of fact, they had no other home but India. From time to time their number was strengthened by fresh blood from Arabia, Persia and other Muslim lands, but their ranks were swollen mainly by additions from the people of the country themselves. It is most interesting to know that out of the present 70 millions of the Muslim population, those who have claimed their descent from remote non-Indian ancestors amount only to 8 million. Whence have the remaining millions come, if not from Indian ranks? The Muslims enriched the hoary civilization of India with their own literature and art, evolved and developed by their creative and versatile genius. From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, the entire country is studded with those gems of art which remind one of the glorious period of Muslim rule. The result was a new civilization which was the outcome of the combined efforts of all the peoples of India and the product of the two greatest civilizations in the history of the world. During Muslim times, all offices were equally open to all, without any distinction of class, creed or colour. The only conditions were fitness and efficiency. So we have the spectacle of a Hindu prime minister, a Hindu commander-in-chief, a Hindu finance minister and a Hindu governor of Kabul. The ethnology and folklore of India speak eloquently of manners and customs showing the influence of one people upon the other.

The only link which the Muslims kept with the countries outside India was the spiritual link of their religion. This, under the circumstances, was inevitable. Islam enjoins a brotherhood which, in my humble opinion, is much wider and more catholic than the modern European notions of nationality. It embraces peoples of different races, colours and countries

within its fold, whilst it does not exclude the binding forces of nationality. Arabian history is full of instances when Musalmans and Christians fought side by side to defend their country from the attacks of foreign foes. These are the facts of history written in large letters, which he who runs may read. This short historical retrospect may be succinctly expressed in two words which fully and clearly describe the elements and conditions of our existence in India. We are Indian Muslims. These words, 'Indian Muslims', convey the ideas of our nationality and of our religion, and as long as we keep our duties and responsibilities arising from these factors before our eyes, we can hardly go wrong.

The Duties of Indian Muslims

Now let us find out the duties that our nationality and religion require of us. Everyone in this assembly—and for all I know everyone outside it—will agree with me that our first and foremost duty is to our God, the King of Kings and the Ruler of the destinies of all countries and nations. We Muslims, who believe in the Divine Message—the Holy Quran—and the great Prophet of Arabia can reply to the Divine interrogatory, اليس الله باحكم الحاكمين in one way and one way only. The Quran is all-embracing in its character and scope, and has not left out the important questions of a Muslim's duties to his earthly sovereign and his non-Muslim neighbours. Our loyalty and patriotism are sustained by the motive-power of our faith, and in my estimation a bad Muslim could never be a good subject or a good citizen.

Next to God, we owe duties to our sovereign, our country and our community. Our duty to our sovereign is plain and clear. Our loyalty as subjects of our King Emperor is unquestioning and unquestioned. We have proved it fully in the past and, if occasion arises, and if we are given the chance, we are prepared to prove it again. In these days of anxiety, the entire community has given its support to the utmost limit of its power, and is willing to give every help to and co-operate with the State in its gigantic task by every available means. No deed, action or speech of ours has ever hampered, or is likely to hamper, the Government in its obvious duty of maintaining the prestige and power of the great Empire to which we are privileged to belong. Nor have we ever failed in giving our best support to the Government of India in its legitimate function of carrying on the administration of the country. Of course this does not mean abstinence on our part from all criticisms of Government measures where we feel convinced that they militate against the best interests of the country or the Empire; but all such criticisms must be honest, sincere and dignified, and never couched in intemperate language or offered in a carping spirit or tinged with malice. Ideas are in the air which have no relation with the actualities of Indian conditions and, if persisted in, can bring nothing but misery and disappointment. The fact should be clearly realized that providence has joined the destiny of India with that of

England and there is no fighting against providence. For better or worse, we have to live and work together. If I thought our destiny called for a complete separation and that it would be for the good of my country, I would not hesitate in saying so, though the penal and repressive laws might crush me afterwards. But I have no doubt in my mind and have no scruple in saying that this union is for the good of India and England, and we cannot do without the comradeship and guidance of England for a long time to come. We have derived numerous benefits and certainly more are to come in the fulness of time. But even if Indians wished it, they could not drive England out of India, nor could Englishmen, if they so desired it, leave India. If England left India to-morrow, what would be our fate? Any nation with a small army could take possession of the country, and we should have to begin over again the work of 150 years. This is on the assumption that the newcomer would treat us exactly in the same manner as England has treated us up to this time. Would this be an advantage? Decidedly and emphatically, no. Self-interest is the foundation upon which the intentions and actions of nations are based; and we are no exception to the rule. We must realize the actual facts and make no mistake about them.

About what we owe to our non-Muslim fellow-subjects, I have never concealed my opinion before, and I can only repeat here what I have often said. I am one of those who have never taken a narrow and sectarian view of Indian politics. When a question concerning the welfare of India and of justice to Indians arises, I am not only an Indian first, but an Indian next and an Indian to the last, an Indian and an Indian alone, favouring no community and no individual, but on the side of those who desire the advancement of India as a whole without prejudice to the rights and interests of any individual, much less of any community, whether my own or another. But whenever any question arose on which there was a clear and unmistakable divine injunction conveyed to me by my God through my Prophet, I could not even consider, let alone accept as correct, anything conflicting with that injunction, no matter on what mundane authority it was based. With divine authority as my only guide I will be not only a Muslim first, but a Muslim next, a Muslim to the last and a Muslim and nothing but a Muslim. People may scoff and laugh, but I hold firmly to these convictions. In the affairs of my country, I stand for goodwill and close co-operation between all communities, with a single eye to the progress of the motherland.

If we look sufficiently deeply into the different questions affecting India, we should find hardly any which does not affect all equally. Are we less heavily taxed than are our Hindu or Parsi brethren? Do the repressive measures passed during recent times weigh less heavily upon the Musalmans than upon the Sikhs or the Marhattas? Are the newspapers of Muslims more free than those of the Hindus? Does the administration of justice produce different effects upon the different communities of India? Are the rigours

and invidious distinctions of the Arms Act reserved only for the martial races, and are the non-martial free from them? No. The truth is that in all essential matters such as legislation, taxation, administration of justice, education, we are all in the same boat, and we must sink or swim together. No doubt, there are occasions when differences arise which lead to heated discussions, and in the excitement of the moment hard words are said on both sides, which are regretted afterwards. Take, for instance, the question of special electorates. We all remember the bitterness of feeling produced by the controversy, and, I am afraid, this still rankles. You all know my views on the question, views which, I am afraid, have not found favour with the vast majority of my community; but, in my humble opinion, and I say it with due deference to the opinion of others, there is no reason why such questions should not be solved by the trusted leaders of all communities at a round-table conference, discussing matters in a friendly spirit. There are a few other questions of temporary interest which do not in any way affect the essentials of our corporate life as citizens of a common land and could be easily solved by a little sobriety of judgment, based upon the principle of give and take.

As to the duties that we owe to ourselves, the first place I give to self-reliance. For too long have we relied upon others. It is quite time that we got rid of unreliable and temporary props, stood upon our own legs and became a self-reliant people. For too long has our policy been regulated by distrust and dominated by fear. We have unnecessarily feared and distrusted the Hindus. We have had an unholy awe of authority; and we have never placed any faith in ourselves, but have made ourselves dependent on others. All this must be changed. This policy has kept us from enjoying our rightful share in the public life of our country, to the great detriment of our best interests. We must have independence, and open our eyes in the fresh air.

Then, I am afraid, I see dissension even within our own community. This must be fought with all our strength and by every fair means within our grasp. The tendency to disunion ultimately ends in disruption. These are times when new forces are coming into play and new ideals are convulsing Muslim society, ideals which have to be carefully nursed and fostered and must not be frittered away in senseless dissensions. True organization is the secret of the strength of a society, and we must be so organized that our voice will command and compel respect, and the country and the Government recognize in it the well-considered and unanimous opinion of the entire community, which it would not be easy to ignore. We cannot go on dissipating our strength in fruitless and harmful attempts at compromises that only hamper us in our onward progress. Our League has done most useful work. It is a progressive body and is ready to adapt itself to the necessities of the times; but unfortunately that sense of discipline, which would place the considered opinion of the majority over that of the minority, is sometimes

lacking. I do not advocate that anyone should give up his independent views; but bickerings should cease and submission to the opinion of the majority must be insisted upon. A little self-control and sense of proportion is all that is wanted. We have numerous other duties to perform, but the time and space at my disposal are limited and you must excuse me if I do not deal with them.

What Others Owe Indian Muslims

I have dealt with the duties of the Muslims of India in their different phases; but we have corresponding rights which entail certain duties upon others. We expect from our non-Muslim fellow-countrymen the same consideration and co-operation which we are offering to them. It takes two to make a compact. A one-sided compact is no compact and can never be lasting. If we all bore this principle in mind, there could never be any serious difficulty.

Duties of Government

Brethren, just as we owe duties to Government, similarly the Government owes duties to us. It would be ungrateful on our part not to acknowledge the innumerable advantages that India has derived from her contact with England. England has given India the inestimable blessing of peace. She has maintained order amongst us. She is protecting us from external invasion and internal anarchy. She has given us a settled Government. She has brought the inventions of science to our very doors. Lastly, she has freed the intellect of India from its cramped prison, wherein it was able to rise no higher than a blind adherence to rather out-of-date authorities. To my mind, this is the greatest blessing that British rule has brought in its wake. After all, the brain rules the world; and when once it has become free and begun to perform its proper functions, without let or hindrance, progress is bound to follow as a natural consequence. England brought with her rule her noble literature, with its fine teachings of freedom and liberty. That is a real gift to India, and she can never sufficiently repay it. I freely confess all these boons and am sincerely grateful for them. But much more yet remains to be accomplished, and, from an Indian point of view, the things that have been left unaccomplished are the things that really matter in the life of a nation. England has borne the burden of India, but has not prepared her to bear her own burdens. She has not made her strong, self-reliant and self-supporting. She has not made her a nation respected by the other nations of the world. She has not developed the resources of the country, as it was her duty to develop them. She has not helped the Indian people to live a life of the greatest possible fulness. She has failed to bring out the capacities of the people of Hindustan to their fullest extent.

England's connection with India has lasted for about a century and a

half, and most parts of the country have been under her direct rule during this period. But the progress India has made with all her vast resources, martial, moral and economic, is comparatively very small. Compare her with other countries. Compare her with Japan. Within 40 years Japan, from being one of the weakest and most backward countries of the world, has advanced to the position of one of the foremost and the most highly developed nations, and is counted among the great powers. But in the case of India, the government of the country has been conducted on lines which were not conducive to any better result. The children of the soil have no real share in the government of their own country. Policy is laid down and carried on by non-Indians, which oftener than not goes against the wishes of the people and ignores their sentiments. Remember, I do not attribute motives. I believe the administration of the country has been carried on by conscientious, hard-working men, who have honestly done their work according to their best lights, but their work has degenerated into a mere routine. People who have spent their lives in carrying out details can hardly ever rise above their surroundings and view things from a broader outlook.

Principles and Performance

Policies and principles of a nobler kind may be laid down by higher authorities, but their value is determined by those who have to carry them out. Thus it has often been the case in India that noble intentions have degenerated into pious wishes and even into harmful actions. If the Indian peoples were real partners in the actual governance of the country, the Indian point of view would have prevailed, much that is now admitted to have been mistaken would have been avoided, the country would have progressed and the ruling classes would have been spared the bitter, and sometimes undeserved, criticisms hurled against them. Unless and until India has got a national Government and is governed for the greatest good of the Indian people, I do not see how she can be contented. India does not demand 'a place in the sun' in any aggressive sense, but she does require the light of the Indian sun for her own children.

Gentlemen, let us descend a little from generalities into details and see how the policy of the past has worked not only to our detriment, but to the positive weakening of the British rule itself. Let us see what small share we have in the larger life of the Empire. I have already said that we have no share in laying down the policy upon which India is ruled. Have we any share even in the different services of the country? Are we allowed to serve our own land and the Empire to the best of our capacity and ability? In every country the three premier services are considered to be the military, the naval and the diplomatic.

Indians in the Services

Let us begin with the military. In spite of the numerous martial races

who inhabit India in millions, no Indian can rise above the non-commissioned ranks. We cannot hope to gain a higher position than that of a Subedar-Major or a Risaldar-Major. Every position that would give them an independent command is closed to them. The regular army is limited in number, no volunteers are taken from our ranks, and the general population is rigorously disarmed. The Arms Act perpetuates invidious distinctions on grounds of colour and creed—distinctions most humiliating to the people of the country. Going about their ordinary daily occupations, our people may be attacked by dacoits and evilly disposed persons or even by wild beasts, but they cannot defend themselves. Even lathis have been held by some judicial authorities to be dangerous weapons. Newspapers and official communiques tell us that ordinary Naiks of our Indian Army have on the battle field conducted themselves most bravely, and have led their companies with conspicuous gallantry and ability at times when all the English officers were either killed or disabled. If our men are capable of such initiative and valiant deeds on the actual field of battle, why, Indians naturally ask, should they not be trusted in the piping times of peace? Had they been only trained and allowed to serve, millions and millions would have sprung up by the side of England at her slightest call in this, the hour of her need. Indeed, no other nation of the world has such an inexhaustible source of strength as Great Britain has in the teeming masses of India; but India has been so maimed and crippled in her manhood that she can help neither herself nor Great Britain.

The idea is galling and humiliating that, if a time came when India was in danger, her own sons would not be able to save their hearths and homes, the honour and lives of their wives and children, but would have to look on foreign nations like Japan and Russia for help and succour. Peace and order are the first requisites of a settled Government, and without them there would be mere chaos; but unlimited and long-continued peace has a tendency to enervate and emasculate people. To make a living nation, higher qualities are required. A spirit which will not bow before any adverse wind, an internal strength which will brave every threatened danger, a capacity which will bear all toils and troubles, a determination which will flinch from no task, however impossible it may appear, a discipline which will love and be happy in the service of the country and the Empire, are qualities necessary for the attainment of that life which I call a full life. These moral forces can only come into play when people are free and unrestricted in the exercise of all their faculties. The profession of arms is perhaps one which breeds this spirit and brings out these potential forces more than any other. To close it to any portion of humanity is to turn them into lifeless machines.

In the Navy, we cannot rise above the rank of a Laskar. Attempts are often made to keep us out even of this lowly position. India has a vast sea-board, peopled by sea-faring nations. To refuse them their birthright is to waste so much good material which would have gone to increase the

strength of the Empire. Why not have a few Indian dreadnoughts and cruisers manned by Indians and commanded by their own countrymen? It is said that the Indians are not fit for the Navy. Having not trained and tried them, it is not fair or just to say so. Try them first and, if found wanting, then you have a right to reject them. As yet Indians have never failed in offices of trust and responsibility where they have been tried. Open up new fields for them, put them in fresh positions and trust them; and I am sure that they will never be found wanting. The history of ancient India proves that the naval capacity is there; but it lies dormant for want of sufficient opportunity.

Now I pass on to the diplomatic service. Here we are conspicuous by our entire absence from it. What prevents the Government from utilizing the intellect, the ability and the energy of our people in this direction, I fail to understand. Why should not some of the numerous posts of political residents and agents of India be opened to them? Indians, if trained, are, in my opinion, and must, from the very fact that they are Indians, be in a better position than Englishmen to perform those duties which appertain to Indian diplomacy. Their intimate knowledge of the conditions of India and of the feelings and sentiments of the people must place them in a better position than the members of the Civil Service in negotiating those difficult and delicate matters which fall to the lot of diplomats. They must be in a better position to understand the different shades of views and opinions obtaining in the Native States and avoid giving any cause for unnecessary irritation and suspicion. The paths of diplomacy would be smoothed; and the difficulties which arise from ignorance of customs, manners and ways of thought would be avoided. Further afield, I see no reason why picked Indians should not be accredited to the courts of countries outside India, as ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, and why should the post of consuls be reserved for Europeans only? It is merely an unwillingness to allow Indians to share in the burden of the Empire prompted by mistrust and suspicion. And here, too, I am afraid, the great strength inherent in Islam, which counts nearly 100 million followers amongst His Majesty's subjects, has been thrown away, and not utilized in the political interests of the Empire. As a matter of fact, this strength has never even been realized, nor has it received that attention which it deserved from the politicians and statesmen of Europe.

Gentlemen, believe me that when I speak about these services, I have not in my mind the salaries and emoluments which such posts carry with them. To me, this is as nothing compared with the fact of our participation in the larger life of the Empire. My standpoint is that every possible source of strength should be organized and every particle of it should be brought into play in the service of our motherland and the Empire.

In India, the Civil Service is considered to be the premier public service of the country. Here, too, we are circumscribed and hedged in by rules and regulations which make it, if not altogether impossible, at least very difficult

for us to enter. The examination which is the only possible way of entry for an Indian is held in London, several thousand miles away from his home. Those educated youths who cannot bear the cost and expenses of such a journey, are entirely debarred from it, however brilliant they may be. The fortunate few, who can afford to compete with Englishmen, have to do so in a language absolutely foreign to them. Why the examination should not be held both in England and in India to give the youths of both countries equal chances is an anomaly which passes my comprehension. For a number of years the country has been loudly demanding this much-delayed justice, but instead we get the recent Indian Civil Service Act, which has entirely abolished the competitive system. No doubt the operation of the Act is temporary, but a wrong precedent has been created, and no one knows to what further developments it will lead.

In the minor services of the country, such as police, forest, education, the higher places have been reserved for Europeans, and the children of the soil have been told that the doors have been shut against them. One would have expected that at least in these minor places Indians would not have failed, but all our protests and entreaties have been of no avail so far.

Poverty of the Masses

I pass on now to the economic development of the country. Let us see what progress we have made in this direction. Admittedly India is an agricultural country, and its real life and strength is in the teeming millions of humanity who live in the villages, principally by agriculture. Has anything really been done to raise them from their poverty-ridden and helpless condition? In spite of the jugglery of figures in which the hearts of statisticians delight, what is the state of the country and its peasantry? Statistics are supposed to prove every theory advanced by men anxious to prove their case; but our eyes are our best witnesses and cannot deceive us. India is a country rich in natural resources—resources which are not inferior to those of any other country in this wide, wide world. Her land bears every variety of crops from cotton and jute to wheat and mustard. Her mines produce every kind of metal from gold and iron ores down to the best coal, and not excluding numerous precious stones. She has a climate ranging from the bitterest cold to the intensest heat. Her rivers and forests are full of life and materials useful to man. In short, India is a self-contained, miniature world. In such a country what is the state of things for her inhabitants? No toil or trouble is spared for the cultivation of their fields by the wretched and over-worked peasantry. All that manual labour can do is done, but because of the want of scientific methods and other causes beyond their control, the profits which ought to have been theirs are lost to them. Side by side with green, minutely and industriously cultivated fields, we find tiny and dilapidated mud hovels thatched with old and rotten straw. In these hovels there are neither windows

nor floor cloths, and the only furniture that they boast of are a few earthen vessels and perhaps a *chatai*. Human beings and cattle herded together with no arrangements for sanitation. Such are the conditions in which the great majority of our people pass their miserable existence.

In commerce and industry we are no better off. Our old indigenous industries have been killed by foreign competition; and new attempts are crippled in the interests of other peoples than those of India. The instance of the cotton excise duties is before us—duties which have been imposed in the interests of Manchester and Lancashire. Before the war we were in the tentacles of the Teuton octopus, now we are in those of America and Japan. The Indian Government, with its vast and costly organization, has not been able to help India, but has allowed foreign countries to capture her trade and commerce and to dump their heavily subsidized goods in our markets. This was the psychological moment for helping our industries and commerce, but precious opportunities have been allowed to slip away from our hands.

Education

These are instances of questions from which we were rigidly excluded and upon which we were not allowed to have our say. Now, I come to some of those questions where we raised our voice in protest, when measures affecting our well-being were carried into effect in the teeth of our severe opposition. Foremost of these was the question of education. Even here vain attempts are being made to cramp and confine the intellect. It is considered that the ideas of freedom and liberty derived from the literature of England have produced disquieting symptoms in the educated youths of the country, and English education must be officialized. But I fail to see how liberal ideas can be suppressed, unless English trade in books and newspapers is altogether stopped and the entire Indian press is forbidden to reprint European books and their translations. In fact, they will have to go further and ban all Oriental books of any liberal tendency, and, I am afraid, most of them are saturated with such tendencies. Indeed, I do not understand how we can manage it, unless we transform India, to use Lord Morley's phrase, "into an ignorant, illiterate and gagged India", obliterate its ancient civilization, wipe out the good work done by England, and make it of no use either to itself or to others. It is in the nature of education to rouse self-consciousness; and when people begin to compare their own conditions with those obtaining in other countries and discover their own backwardeness, they naturally begin to try to better their condition. Education breeds a sense of patriotism and love for country, which are nowadays called by some people by a different and an opprobrious name. Instead of finding out the true causes of evils, a hasty and ill-considered remedy is applied which inevitably fails, as it is bound to fail. When Indian leaders saw the horrible state of illiteracy prevailing in India and the evil effects of it on the masses, they pro-

posed the remedy of free and compulsory education. That great man, the late Mr. Gokhale, brought in a Bill, which in details was the most moderate measure; but the Government refused to accept it, and to this day the Anglo-Indian press misses no opportunity of misrepresenting its provisions. If the Bill had been accepted, India would have become literate not immediately and not at once, but in 40 years, and the people themselves would have borne the expenditure. The measure was so moderate that it was to be introduced in only those localities where a majority of the people consented to its introduction. One would have thought that the Government would have embraced this opportunity of doing a good turn to the people and gaining their affection and gratitude, but curious ideas prevailed and the Bill was rejected to the regret of the entire country.

Repressive Legislation

I now pass on to two of the recent repressive measures, the Press Act and the Defence of India Act. These Acts have worked harshly and told heavily upon the persons and properties of some leaders of our community. Musalmans are intensely agitated, and I should be grossly negligent in the discharge of my duties as the spokesman of Muslim India, if I failed to give voice to their feelings on the subject. On principle and by sentiment, I object to repression and coercion, be it from the Government or from any section of a disaffected people. Fear is the motive force in both cases. From the first dawn of human polity, there have been two methods of dealing with people. You can rule them through fear or rule them through love. It cannot be denied that coercion and terrorism, whether that of rulers or of rebels, do occasionally succeed. But its success is temporary; the reaction is terrible and follows swiftly. These short cuts to a solution of political difficulties, whether they be undertaken by the rulers or by their disaffected subjects, only end in disaster. Terrorism is a *cul-de-sac* leading nowhere, and sooner or later the terrorist must retrace his footsteps. The only lasting bond is that of love. The road is long, but never wearisome. This is a time of great crisis in the life of the British Empire, and, therefore, there is all the more reason to subject the people of India to the compelling force of love, and not to the fleeting force of fear. Repression generally defeats its own purposes. To the terrorists among our own people, I can say with confidence that they can never hope to terrorize a powerful nation like the British. To the coercionist among our rulers, I can say with equal confidence that they can never hope to repress the rising hopes and aspirations of 315 million people. The policy of repression is an insult to God, Who surely could not have created one-fifth of humanity in His own image and yet made dumb driven cattle of them all. But it is no less an insult to the country-men of Shakespeare and Milton to think that repression could ultimtely and finally succeed in cowing down those whose only crime was that they fear-

lessly 'spake the tongue' that Shakespeare spoke and held 'the faith and morals' that Milton held.

I remember well, how and under what conditions the Press Act was passed. The members of the Imperial Council gave their consent to the passing of the Bill on the express understanding that the law was intended for the anarchists, and would never be applied in the case of peaceful citizens anxious to enlighten Government officers as to the sentiments and feelings of the people. But what is the result? All the independent Muslim papers have either been wiped out or are dragging on a lifeless and miserable existence. The *Comrade* is gone. The *Hamdard* has been strangled to death. The *Muslim Gazette* ceased to exist long ago. *Al-Hilal* is no more. The *Zemindar* is carrying on its colourless existence with a sword of Damocles always hanging over its head. Who ever thought that the Press Act would be applied in this fashion? Is it possible for the people not to resent such treatment, and are their feelings to be treated so lightly? Feelings and sentiments are not made to order, but they easily respond to kindness and sympathy.

Internment of Muslim Leaders

Under the Defence of India Act, Muslim leaders like Mohammad Ali, Zafar Ali and Shaukat Ali and some other Muslims have been deprived of their liberty and interned. Please do not misunderstand me. It is my honest conviction that no Government in the world could, without betraying its trust, dispense with such protective legislation as might prove necessary in the difficult times we are now passing through. Every Government is bound to protect itself and the people over whom it rules by laws which save them from external and internal trouble. What I object to is the manner in which these laws have been worked to the injury of Muslim leaders of great influence and popularity. No reasons have been given for their internment and people are left to indulge in their own guesses and surmises. In my opinion the right procedure would have been to take the people into confidence, give them full, frank and straight-forward reasons for these extraordinary internments, and then have left the whole matter to the sanity of their judgement. Provided the reasons were sufficient and justifiable, I cannot conceive of the possibility of the vast majority of Muslims objecting to the Government action in spite of the great services of these gentlemen to the cause of Islam and India. But an opposite course, that of secrecy, resulting in irritation and excitement, was adopted. Musalmans feel that their leaders have been the victims of that unholy spy system which has wrought so much mischief and has created bad blood in the country. At this juncture, I can with justice say that no Indian community has had its loyalty put to a greater test during this war than the Muslims, and we have every cause to complain that Muslim loyalty has not been appreciated by the powers that be. Musalmans have given ample expression to their desire to remain peaceful and law-abiding

members of the British Empire, and in deference to non-Muslim and official susceptibilities have left much unsaid to which they might with justice have given free expression. This self-restraint and self-abnegation deserved better treatment. The best way to create trust is to trust others, for mistrust begets nothing but mistrust. Knowing the feeling of the community on this point as I do, I think it is to their great credit that so little has been heard of public demonstrations. Their sense of responsibility prevented them from venting their feelings in public; Government should not remain under the false impression that the Musalmans of India approve of its actions. No, they do not; and if there be a real desire to soothe their ruffled feelings, it is high time that these leaders were restored to freedom at an early date.

Mr. Mohammad Ali, with that great and venerable leader, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, now to our deep sorrow lying on a bed of sickness, was one of the principal founders of our League, and both are greatly missed in our Session to-day.

Protection of Religious Buildings

Another urgent demand of the country has been shelved, on the ground that it is of a controversial nature—I mean the measure for the safety of religious buildings. Our leader, the Hon'ble the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, has told us that his attempts in this direction have not succeeded. Really, my mind fails to grasp who the people are who contest the measure, and on what grounds? Surely no opposition can possibly come from the Indians themselves. They are all united. Does it come from the officials? Our Indian religions have been protected by Parliamentary Statutes and Royal pledges, and no interference can be tolerated by any authority in matters religious. It is a profound pity that such golden opportunities for reconciling the people and gaining their affections are so lightly thrown away.

Men of Blood and Iron

Although I have critized the Indian administration, I have also indicated the lines upon which reforms are urgently called for in the government of the country. If we are to be counted among living nations, these reforms must be achieved. To be a self-respecting nation and one respected by others is the aspiration of Indian people. But unfortunately, opposition comes from a certain number of officials who do not believe in Indians thinking for themselves. They tell us that, as we are properly governed, we need not trouble ourselves about the other good things of this world and must not clamour for them. Unfortunately amongst them there are men who belong to the party of 'powder and shot and no damn nonsense'. They do not recognize that Indians have any right. To them, any act of clemency or

justice tempered by mercy is what they call 'killing by kindness'. They believe in administering the law with extreme rigour and showing no consideration for the feelings of the people. Even when a good, kind and statesman-like Viceroy like Lord Hardinge saves 14 human beings from the gallows, they raise their voice the loudest, and say that such an act of mercy must presage the downfall of the British Empire, as if English rule were based upon such insecure supports and unstable foundations. They do not realize that it is the personality of this great Englishman and his popularity amongst Indians, and not the repressive measures, that have largely contributed towards the solution of many vexed questions and have kept India peaceful and quiet. It is not possible to co-operate with such people, unless their frame of mind is altered. These are men of blood and iron and refuse to concede any little point in favour of Indians. They are too short-sighted to look into the future and safeguard the interests of the Empire. But fortunately the race of great statesmen has not become extinct in England. There are men who see far ahead and can read the future with a clearer sight.

The present dreadful world cataclysm has brought about new conditions; and mighty transformations are in progress. We are on the eve of eventful changes, and the East is moving towards its inevitable destiny; but no one knows what lies behind the loom of time. New ideas are springing up, and questions are being looked at from new points of view. A new bond has been cemented between the two races by the blood of our people on the battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa. India has refrained from no sacrifices which were asked of her and which it was in her power to give. She could give much more and supply the needs of England out of her own resources, if she were freely developed. And mind, India has shed her blood and undergone sacrifices, not in the hope of favours to come, but of her own own free will and accord. Surely, all this cannot go for nothing and must be taken into account and must influence the re-adjustment of the fabric of Empire about which we hear so much. Some say, whatever you may gain, you cannot get self-government for India. They state that our country is not prepared for self-government, and the best form of rule that she can have in the present circumstances is benevolent despotism. True, but where to get the despot who would rule such a vast country with benevolence? What we find is that instead of one benevolent despot we have a number of despots who are anything but benevolent. No, gentlemen, the only form of government which is possible for India is that embodied in the Constitution of our League, and that is self-government suitable to the needs and requirements of the country under the aegis of the British Crown. Then and then alone will india be contented and a *camaraderie* spring up between the two races which will cement the bonds of fellowhip. Instead of a policy of mistrust and suspicion, we must have a policy of trust and confidence. Let there be no misunderstanding about these essentials in the government of the country.

Reconstruction

Gentlemen, our demands are neither immediate nor peremptory. We can wait and must wait till the end of the war, when the whole Empire will be reconstructed upon new lines; but there is no harm in postulating our demands now and informing the British people of the unity and the intensity with which the reforms are insisted upon. When the affairs of the Empire are taken into consideration, our views should be before the English nation. Of course, we cannot expect that India will change in the twinkling of an eye by some magical process, but we do hope that a new policy will be initiated which will end in self-government and give us the status and power of a living nation. The reforms must come steadily, but surely. Hope deferred maketh the heart sick, and delay deprives reforms of all their grace. If you ask me to give you indications of reforms which are immediately needed, I would say that the first step towards self-government must be taken by abolishing the packed official majority in the Imperial Council. We must have a sure and safe elected non-official majority, which would discuss and deal with all-India questions from the Indian standpoint. The late Lord Minto was quite right when he recommended this very reform which I am placing before you now. Next, we must free the Executive Council of the Viceroy from the incubus of the bureaucracy. Then fierce light would be thrown into the dark corners of Indian administration. We must have more Indians in the Executive Council, which is really the chief source from which policies emanate. In England members of the Cabinet are not drawn from the official classes, but from the non-official. Again, a great reform that is needed is what has been called 'Provincial Autonomy'. Provinces are now working within the circumscribed limits allowed by the Government of India. In domestic affairs and finance they should have the fullest liberty of action. Local self-government should not be a mere sham, but based on real foundations as contemplated by that noble Viceroy, the Marquis of Ripon. The Arms Act must disappear from the Satute Book, and no limitation should be laid on the entry of Indians into any Public Service as I have clearly indicated in my speech. Volunteers should be enlisted freely from all classes. Agriculture must be improved and commerce and industry helped. Education will have to be free and compulsory. These are the points which come to my mind at present. I have not tried to be exhaustive, nor is it possible for me to be so. I have refrained from laying down any cut-and-dried scheme of self-government. I suggest that there sould be unanimity on these questions amongst all the people of India, and I can conceive of no better agency than that of a joint deputation of the Congress and the League, which would place our demands before the British public and the British Government. Of course, before such a deputation is formed there must be a joint conference of the trusted leaders of both these organiza-

tions in which a general agreement must be come to, and the interests of all safeguarded. Such an agreement should be placed before public meetings of the recognized political institutions of the different communities for confirmation. I have no doubt that such a representation would command a sympathetic hearing from the British nation.

A Cherished Desire of Muslims

Before I conclude, there is one other matter which is deeply felt by our community; and I know that it is the desire of a vast majority of Musalmans that I should speak on it. It is a rather delicate subject; but it is better that our feelings and sentiments should be expressed frankly, although with a proper sense of responsibility. It is a sore point with us that the Government of our Caliph should be at war with the Government of our King Emperor. We should all have been pleased to see our brethren-in-faith fighting side by side with the soldiers of the British Empire. Whatever view one may take of the policy adopted by Islamic countries in the present war, Indian Muslims never desired, nor ever can desire, hostility between British and Islamic Governments. That the hostility should have come about is the greatest misfortune that could possibly have befallen Indian Muslims. But this the fates decreed. I have no desire to enter into details; but a vast majority of my co-religionists and, for the matter of that, numerous Englishmen, too, attribute it to the past foreign policy of Great Britain and to the failure of British diplomacy. However that may be, it is the cherished desire of the followers of Islam that when peace comes, and pray God that it will come soon, the Muslim countries should be dealt with in such a way that their dignity will not be compromised in the future. There are 400 million of Musalmans in the world, bound together in common brotherhood, whose feelings and sentiments should not be ignored in any settlement which may be arrived at. There is a living force and a great potential strength in this vast human brotherhood which, if properly realized, would be an immense asset.

Conclusion

Brethren, I have finished. I have said what I had to say without any reservation and without any *arriere pensee*. I have indicated the lines upon which our country should work and have abstained from going into details. My concluding words to you are: Have faith in our own selves and trust in God above. With an undaunted heart and unflinching determination march forward towards that irresistible destiny which has been reserved for you in your Sacred Book. Halt not, falter not. Amen!

The following resolutions were put from the Chair and carried, the whole assembly standing:

RESOLUTION I

The All-India Muslim League records with profound sorrow its

deep sense of the loss that the Muslim community in particular and the country in general has sustained by the deaths of Nawab Sir Khawaja Salim-ul-lah Khan Bahadur of Dacca, Sir Adamji Peerbhoy, Maulana Khawaja Altaf Husain Hali, Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami and the Hon'ble Khawaja Ghulam-us-Saqalain and begs to convey its respectful condolence to the bereaved families.

RESOLUTION II

The All-India Muslim League records its great sense of loss at the deaths of the Hon'ble Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, whose great and varied services in the cause of India shall ever live in the grateful recollections of every class and creed of the Indian people.

The League then adjourned till 2 p.m. on the following day.

Second Sitting

December 31, 1915

The anxiety and fear entertained in various quarters regarding the Bombay Session of the All-India Muslim League were partly realized this afternoon when the League resumed its adjourned sitting to get through the brief programme before it, though what threatened to be a very serious disturbance was averted by the tact, coolness and great presence of mind displayed on the occasion by the President and other distinguished leaders who were in attendance. By 2 p.m., the time appointed for the meeting, almost all the members of the League were in their seats, but the portion reserved for visitors was mostly unoccupied. About half an hour before the meeting, Mr. Edwardes, the Commissioner of Police, had sent a force of about 50 Policemen armed with lathies who were kept in readiness in an enclosure just in front of the *pandal*; while half a dozen European police officers under Superintendent Walker were patrolling the grounds. Later, however, Mr. Edwardes, accompanied by his three Deputies, also arrived at the spot. The acting Chief Presidency Magistrate, Rai Bahadur C. H. Setalvad, was seen in company of the Commissioner of Police at a later stage. Inside the *pandal*, several C.I.D. officers, both European and Indian, had taken seats as visitors by payment of fees. When the President stepped up to the dais, he was loudly cheered, and just then the visitors' seats which had been unoccupied were filled by a large number of men who came in a body.

The business before the meeting was very brief. The first resolution expressed the loyalty of the Musalmans and the second prayed for an extension of Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty. The third related to the formation of a committee for drafting a scheme of reforms. The agenda also contained a resolution urging communal representation on all self-governing public bodies. This seems to have found no favour with Mr. Hasrat Mohani, who

had before the commencement of the proceeding, given notice of his intention to move an adjournment, for, as he said subsequently, according to the compromise arrived at in the presence of the Governor of Bombay, no other resolution, except that of loyalty and for the appointment of a committee on the question of self-government and a few on other formal matters, was to be brought forward.

The proceedings commenced with the President declaring that the first resolution of loyalty was to be moved from the Chair. Mr. Hasrat Mohani thereupon raised a point of order, and said that his motion for adjournment must be discussed first. The President said, "Please sit down". The ruling of the Chair was obeyed. The President, in putting the resolution, remarked that he had said all that he had to say on this subject in his speech the day before, and asked if there was any dissent. There were cries of "No, no". The President thereupon declared the resolution passed. The second resolution about the extension of Lord Hardinge's viceroyalty was also moved from the Chair, and carried by acclamation.

The two resolutions referred to above were as follows:

RESOLUTION III

The All-India Muslim League notes with deep satisfaction the steadfast loyalty of the Musalman Community to the British Crown during the present crisis through which the Empire is passing, and it assures the Government that the Government may continue to rely upon the loyal adhesion to and support of the Imperial cause by the Musalmans of India, and pray that this assurance may be conveyed to H.M. the King Emperor.

RESOLUTION IV

The All-India Muslim League desires once more to place on record its deep and grateful appreciation of the great and valuable services rendered to India by His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge of Penshurt, during the past five years, and the feelings of regret with which it has received the intimation that his terms of office is, as at present arranged, to cease in March next. The League, while recognizing the arduous character of the strain that had been placed on His Excellency during the past few years, under circumstances which have made his continuance in office an act of high sacrifice, venture, none the less, in view of the affection in which Lord Hardinge is held by the people of India, and the trust that they repose in him, and the important questions which will arise for consideration after the war, to urge upon His Majesty's Government the desirability of asking His Excellency to agree to a further extension of his viceroyalty.

The President next called upon Mr. M. A. Jinnah to move the next resolution. Mr. Mohani said, "I rise to a point of order. My motion is for adjournment, and it must be discussed first." The President said: I have already informed you that your motion is out of order. (Cries of "Sit down. Do not dictate to the Chair".)

At this stage, Maulvi Abdul Rauf Khan, Secretary of Anjumane-Zia-ul-Islam of Bombay, who was occupying a seat among the visitors, rose and shouted, demanding that Mr. Mohani should be allowed to speak. He said that the meeting was of Mohammedans and not of Hindus. Then followed some confusion, but peace was soon restored. The President appealed to the audience to believe that he was not acting in a despotic manner. He said that he firmly believed in the word of his God, and quoted a verse from the Quran. He asked them to put faith in His words if they were Mohammedans. At this another Mohammedan, from a visitor's seat, got up and said, "If you are a Mohammedan, you ought to appear like a Mohammedan. The Holy Quran asks you to dress like a Mohammedan. You must speak the Mohammedan tongue. You pose to be a Mohammedan leader, but you can never be a Mohammedan leader." Wild scenes of disorder then ensued, when a number of men began to shout and became rowdy.

In the midst of disorder and confusion, Abdussamad Khan, head of the Pathan community of Bombay, Maulvi Abdul Rauf and several other Mohammedans, followed by Sirdar Suleman Haji Qasim Mitha, C.I.E., who was in the beginning against the Muslim League holding its Session at Bombay, but who subsequently was party to the compromise, rushed towards the dais and began to speak vehemently. The Pathan leader said that he objected to the proceedings being conducted in any language but Urdu or Farsi. As the proceedings of the meeting affected the Mohammedans, he said that he wanted to follow what was being said there, and pointed out that besides himself many others present at the meeting did not know English. How were they to know that nothing against Mohammedan interests was being said, he asked. A voice from behind shouted that the President yesterday had spoken of a Hindu governor of Kabul. The Pathan leader was then called up to the dais by some Mohammedan leaders, and the President shook hands with him. They pacified him and assured him that the remainder of the business would be conducted in Urdu. These leaders succeeded in restoring order temporarily, and further decided to allow Mr. Hasrat Mohani to address the meeting.

Speaking in Urdu, Mr. Hasrat Mohani said that he belonged to no party, and that he did not want to say anything against the President. He urged that they had arrived at a compromise to pass only three resolutions, and that they ought to adjourn after passing the self-government resolution. This was followed again by shouts, asking what guarantee there was that the same resolution, with the terms agreed upon at the compromise meeting, would

be moved.

Mr. Qasim Mitha said that he could not yet understand why they had conducted the proceedings in English on the previous day. He reminded the audience that on the first day they brought Congress leaders to the meeting and lustily cheered them, and said that they were transacting business in the name of the All-India Muslim League, but they were a Congress body.

Maulvi Abdul Rauf said that at all meetings the loyalty resolution was put first, and asked the reason for passing the two condolence resolutions on the first day.

The President assured every one that they would not alter the self-government resolution as drafted and settled at the compromise meeting even by one letter. At this, the same gentleman who had taken objection to the dress and appearance of the President said that they could not rely on a *Kafir* Musalman who did not dress like a Mohammedan and keep his beard. Maulvi Abdul Rauf said that they had not come there to hear from the President that his word was God's word. Mr. Qasim Mitha then became more excited and said that they were merging the League into the Congress, and were acting as dictated by the Congress leaders, that they had upset the object with which he and other Mohammedan leaders had established the League. They had sunk the League in darkness, he said, and were wiping it out of existence and were converting it into the Congress.

Tumultuous and wild scenes continued for some time, the dissentients blocking the passage and making it impossible for business to continue. The leaders on the dais preserved great coolness; and while the disturbance grew greater, they managed successfully to send all the ladies away in motor cars through the back entrance. Thinking it impossible to proceed with the business, the President after consulting the leaders, adjourned the meeting, remarking that it was his great misfortune that he had to adopt such a course; but he and all his Muslim friends believed that was the wisest course to take under the circumstances that then prevailed. The leaders retired to the President's room and stayed there nearly an hour until the rowdy element had dispersed. No further disturbance occurred, and the President was cheered when he left.

The question whether the Session would be continued, and if so when, where and under what restrictions, was decided immediately at an informal meeting convened at the residence of the President.

Third Sitting

January 1, 1916, 10 a.m.

The All-India Muslim League resumed its sittings on Saturday at the Taj Mahal Hotel. Only members of the League and representatives of the press were admitted. This adjourned meeting will be recorded as an historic meeting in the annals of the political progress of the Muslim Community

and the country...The very circumstances that brought about the adjournment of the second day's meeting, contributed in a great measure to make the conduct of this adjourned meeting a model of sobriety, dignity and determination. All were animated by the spirit of unshakeable unity. This was indeed a gathering of earnest men, resolved to discharge grave and responsible functions.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, the President, opened the meeting by a speech in which he said that before the members proceeded with the business of the day, he thought it was only right that he should make a few remarks as to the conditions under which they met there that day. He wished to emphasize that the attendance at the Annual Session of the League was confined principally to members of the League, and at that day's meeting nobody else but members of the League would be allowed there, members of the press being excepted. He reminded them that since the League had been started, it was their custom to admit other members of the public merely as a matter of courtesy, otherwise they had no right to attend the meeting, much less to vote. At the first day's sitting of the League they admitted them only as a matter of such courtesy and also because the League was conducting a sort of educative propaganda for the good of the country. He remarked that that was the first occasion in the life of the League that some rather undesirable incidents had occurred... When at the second day's meeting men came determined, as far as he could see, not to proceed in a constitutional manner, but to create a disturbance, he had to adjourn the meeting. Of course, they could not *use force*, and the only possible thing to do, therefore, under the circumstances, was to disperse like gentlemen. Islam enjoined dignity, and anything undignified was against the Mohammedan religion. He said that at the meeting on the second day, he had appealed to the people as gentlemen and in the name of God. He had quoted verses from the Holy Quran. But the word of God was not listened to. Any opposition ought to have collapsed immediately on his quoting the sacred verses. But they would not listen and his appeal was infructuous, as they were prepared to create a disburbance. They did not resume their sittings in the *pandal*, because there might be a repetition of the undesirable incidents of the day before...Continuing, he said that he personally refused to take any outside help to quell the disturbance on the second day; but his friends of Bombay thought it would be well to speak to the authorities on the matter. His friend, Mr. Jinnah (cheers), went to the authorities and spoke to them, but the help he asked for was denied him (loud cries of "Shame"). He concluded by expressing the hope that they would conduct the proceedings that day with the dignity which Islam enjoined upon them, and he called upon Mr. Jinnah to address the assembly.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who was received with loud cheers, then addressed the assembly. He said that they all knew the incidents which took place on December 31, 1915, in the *pandal* at Marine Lines. After consulting his

friends, he thought the proper course for him was to go and see the Commissioner of Police, who was standing outside the *pandal.* He went to the Commissioner of Police and told him that the meeting of the All-India Muslim League had to be adjourned. He also informed him that it was the desire of most of the members of the League that the meeting should continue its deliberations in the *pandal*, and that under the Constitution of the League nobody but members were entitled to come into the *pandal*, and certainly none but members could take part in the deliberations. He further told him that they had admitted the public only out of courtesy and by ticket. In view of what had taken place, it was their desire to exclude the public entirely from the meeting, and to confine their proceedings to members of the League only. He asked the Commissioner to help him to carry out their desire. Members of the public who had come to the *pandal* on payment of a fee would be refunded the money they had paid, and he had already ordered his men to refund the money instantly. Under the circumstances, he asked the Commissioner of Police to clear the public from the ground of the *pandal*, and to keep a certain number of policemen outside, to prevent any member of the public from forcing himself into the *pandal.* But the Commissioner refused to do so (cries of "Shame"), and said if Mr. Jinnah apprehended any disturbance he (the Commissioner) was prepared to take charge of the *pandal* and clear it of every one. He (Mr. Jinnah) came back and told the President and others what had happened, and after that it was decided informally that the matter would be considered further. An informal meeting subsequently took place at the bungalow of the President, when all the leading members of the League were present. It was decided to hold the adjourned meeting of the League at the Taj Mahal Hotel, and to admit only members and nobody else.

Mr. A. Rasul said that he had also been present, and heard the Commissioner say that in his opinion the meeting should not be held in the *pandal* at all.

Mr. Jinnah corroborated the statement.

The President then called upon Mr. M. A. Jinnah to move the following resolution:

RESOLUTION V

The All-India Muslim League resolves that a committee consisting of the following gentlemen* be appointed to formulate and frame a scheme of reforms, and that the said Committee is authorized to confer with political and other organizations or committees if any, appointed by such organizations as they may deem fit, provided always that due regard is paid to the needs and interests of the Musalmans of India in the formation of the aforesaid scheme of reforms.

* Listed on pp. 354-356

The Committee shall submit its report and scheme to the Council of the All-India Muslim League to be presented to the League at its next Annual Session.

Mr. Jinnah said that in view of the present situation, when questions of the readjustment and reconstruction of the Government of India would soon be taken up, it was desirable that a committee consisting of responsible leaders of the Mohammedans should be appointed to formulate a scheme of reforms. He did not want to go into details, and would content himself by saying that the object of the resolution was to formulate a scheme of reforms. As to the second part of this resolution, it empowered this Committee, whilst formulating a scheme of reforms, to confer with other political organizations of the country, such as the Indian National Congress. The Congress and the League were the two chief representative political organizations of India; and the Committee of the League should, without the slightest prejudice to Mohammedan interests and with due regard to Mohammedan needs, formulate a scheme of reforms, and do it as far as possible in conformity with the scheme to be formulated by the Indian National Congress. After the scheme had been formulated by the League and the Congress, they could go to the authorities and say these were the reforms which they demanded in the name of United India (loud applause).

Mr. Wazir Hasan then read out the list of the names of proposed members of the Committee, and several names suggested by those present were added to it. The names of the members are given below:

United Provinces of Agra and Oudh

1. Raja Sir Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan Bahadur, K.C.I.E. of Mahmudabad, (President).
2. Maulvi Abdul Majid, C.I.E., Bar-at-Law, Allahabad.
3. Syed Nabi-ul-lah, Bar-at-Law, Lucknow.
4. Khan Bahadur Syed Alay Nabi, B.A., LL.B., Agra.
5. Syed Raza Ali, Moradabad.
6. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Bar-at-Law, Aligarh.
7. Shaikh Shahid Husain, Bar-at-Law, Lucknow.
8. Dr. Nazir-ud-Din Hasan, M.A.,LL.B., Bar-at-Law, Lucknow.
9. Mr. M. A. Khwaja, Bar-at-Law, Aligarh.
10. Munshi Azhar Ali, Vakil, Lucknow.
11. Mr. Zahur Ahmad, Bar-at-Law, Allahabad.
12. Mirza Sami-ul-lah Beg, Advocate, Lucknow.
13. Munshi Sakhawat Ali, Lucknow.
14. Syed Zahur Ahmad, Vakil, Lucknow.
15. Syed Wazir Hasan, Advocate, Lucknow (Honorary Secretary).

Punjab

1. Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, C.S.I., Lahore.

2. Khan Bahadur Mian Mohammad Shafi, Lahore.
3. Syed Mohsin Shah, Pleader, Lahore.
4. Mr. Barkat Ali, Editor, *Observer*, Lahore.
5. Mr. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, Pleader, Kasur.
6. Mr. Fazle Husain, Bar-at-Law, Lahore.
7. Khan Bahadur Shaikh Ghulam Sadiq, Amritsar.
8. Chaudhri Shahab-ud-Din, Vakil, Lahore.
9. Babu Nizam-ud-Din, Amritsar.
10. Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan, Lahore.

Bengal

1. Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri, Khan Bahadur, Dacca.
2. Mr. Mohammad Ismail, Barisal.
3. Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman, Editor, *The Musalman*, Calcutta.
4. Mr. M. A. Rasul, Bar-at-Law, Calcutta.
5. Nawab Nasir Husain Khan, Khial, Calcutta.
6. Mr. A. K. Fazal-ul-Haq, Calcutta.
7. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Editor, *Al-Hilal*, Calcutta.
8. Maulvi Mohammad Akram Khan, Editor, *Mohammadi*, Calcutta.
9. Maulvi Najm-ud-Din Ahmad, Calcutta.
10. Chaudhri Ali-uz-Zaman, Landlord, Belgachi, District Faridpore.
11. Mr. Abul Qasim, Bardwan.

Bombay and Sindh

1. His Highness the Aga Khan.
2. Sir Ibrahim Rahmat-ul-lah, Kt, Bombay.
3. Mr. Abdul Husain Adamjee Peerbhoy, Bombay.
4. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Bar-at-Law, Bombay.
5. Mr. Bhurgari, Bar-at-Law, Hyderabad (Sindh).
6. Mr. Faiz B. Tyabji, Bar-at-Law, Bombay.
7. The Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Husain, Hyderabad (Sindh).
8. Nawab Ghulam Jilani Khan of Vai District, Satara.
9. Mian Mohammad Haji Jan Mohammad Chotani, Bombay.
10. Mr. Mohammad Hafiz, Bar-at-Law, Hyderabad (Sindh).
11. Mr. Ghulam Ali Chagla, Hyderabad (Sindh).
12. Mr. Omar Subhani, Bombay.
13. Mr. Sheriff D. Kanji, Bombay.
14. Mr. A. M. Jiwanji, Bombay.
15. Mirza Ali Mohammad, M.A., Solicitor, Bombay.

Madras

1. M. Yaqub Hasan Seth, Madras.
2. The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mohammad Sahib, Madras.

3. Nawab Ghulam Ahmad Sahib, Kalami, Mysore State.
4. Khan Bahadur Walji Lalji Sahib, Madras.

Bihar and Orissa

1. Sir Syed Ali Imam, K.C.S.I., Bar-at-Law, Bankipore.
2. Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, Bar-at-Law, Bankipore.
3. Mr. Wasi Ahmad, Bar-at-Law, Bankipore.
4. Maulvi Fakhr-ud-Din Khan Bahadur, Bankipore.
5. Nawab Sarafraz Husain Khan, Khan Bahadur, Patna.
6. Maulvi Ahmad Husain, Vakil, Mozaffarpore.
7. Maulvi Akhtar Husain, Vakil, Mozaffarpore.
8. Dr. Syed Mahmud, Bar-at-Law, Bankipore.
9. Syed Mohammad Naim, Bar-at-Law, Bhagalpore.

Central Provinces

1. Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak, Nagpore.

Burma

1. Haji Mohammad Abdul Shakur Jamal, C.I.E., Rangoon.
2. Haji Ahmad Mulla Daud, Rangoon.

Delhi

1. Dr. M. A. Ansari, Delhi.
2. Mr. Mohammad Ali (Chindwara, C.P.).
3. Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan, Delhi.

North-West Frontier Province

Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, Peshawar.

Mr. Fazl-ul-Haque, seconding the resolution, said whatever difficulties there had been in their path had disappeared during the last few hours, and with the new year would be ushered in a new era in the history of the progress of the Mohammedan Community. If he had any lingering doubt that had been dispelled by the incidents of the day before. He had great pleasure in seconding the appointment of the Committee, because the men who were to formulate a scheme of reforms should be men chosen, as these men were, not only for their political foresight, but also for the courage of their convictions. Because they had to confer with other committees, it should not be said that questions of popularity or other considerations prevented them from saying what was in the best interest of the community. The National Congress and the Muslim League between them represented the views of united India.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad seconded the resolution.

Mr. A. Rasul, supporing the resolution, said he was glad that resolution was to be passed by the Muslim League; but self-government meant self-

help, and he was glad his co-religionists had learnt that lesson at last.

Mr. Ghulam Husain, Nawab Ghulam Mohammad Kalami, and Mr. Jafar Lalji further supported the resolution.

Mr. Hasrat Mohani rose to move what he called a 'verbal amendment', adding the words "a scheme of self-goverment and steps leading to self-government" instead of the words "a scheme of reforms". He said they had been talking for the last thirty years of reforms and it was time they talked of self-government.

Babu Nizam-ud-Din moved another amendment asking the Committee to frame a scheme of reforms "keeping in view the objects of the League".

Mr. Abbas Ali supported the amendment.

Mr. Jinnah asked the two gentlemen not to press their amendments.

Both the amendments were then withdrawn, Mr. Hasrat Mohani declaring that he had only moved his to assert his right of moving an amendment (loud laughter).

The President said he was very pleased at the withdrawal of the amendments. There was no split in the League. It showed the true Islamic spirit (cheers). They were not going to move one iota away from it. They were all honourable men (cheers).

The resolution moved by Mr. M. A. Jinnah was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION VI

Syed Alay Nabi moved the following resolution:

> The All-India Muslim League, once again, records its deliberate opinion that in the interests of the Musalman Community, it is absolutely necessary that the principle of communal representation be extended to all self-governing public bodies, and respectfully urges that provision for the adequate and effective representation of Musalmans on municipal and district boards is a necessary corollary of the application of the principle to the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, and at the same time, considers it essential to the successful working of those public bodies.

Syed Alay Nabi said that the principle of communal representation, the Mohammedans belived, was a necessary factor in their national development. It was an anomally and an irony of fate that, while the principle of communal representation was recognized in regard to the Legislative Council, it had been ignored with regard to local bodies. The Mohammedans did not want to pass this resolution in a spirit of racial or religions animosity, but only with a view to be able to march forward with other communities to their final goal.

Mr. Yaqub Husain Seth, seconding the resolution, said that there was no question more misunderstood than this, but now that the atmosphere of mutual distrust had cleared away, there was a greater chance of their case

being given an attentive hearing. As their Hindu brethren now viewed this question from a different angle of vision than before, the Mohammedans should reciprocate. The Mohammedans should ask that instead of having Government nominees who were not always of a desirable type, the Mohammedans should be allowed to elect their representatives. Local self-government was a mockery and a farce under the present circumstances. Harmony between the two great communities of India could be better secured by having separate channels of election, for then there would be no rivalry for the common seats.

Mr. Mohsin Shah, supported the resolution. He said that wherever their principle of communal representation was recognized, a better spirit prevailed. If Mohammedans insisted on separate representation, it was only because they desired that their relations with Hindus should be better still.

Mr. Hasrat Mohani opposed this resolution. He said that in the first instance it was a superfluous resolution. Secondly, in view of the fact that the committees of the League and the Congress were to meet, this resolution might do harm and might prove a stumbling block to those committees in their consideration of the question of reforms on higher grounds. Besides, according to the compromise, no other resolutions than those they had already passed were to be brought forward.

Mr. Jinnah explained the circumstances under which the compromise meeting was held under the presidency of H.E. Lord Wellington. Certain points were discussed, and an agreement was arrived at between the two parties in Bombay. Not everything was discussed, but eventually some points were agreed upon, and then he drew the attention of the Governor to the fact that there was a very strong opinion and feeling among the Mohammedans about the question of communal representation. He (Mr. Jinnah) personally had not agreed with the overwhelming majority of his co-religionists in the matter, but liberty should be preserved to discuss the question. So far as the terms of the agreement were concerned, they were not going against them at all.

Mr. A. M. Khwaja moved an amendment deferring the consideration of this question until the Committee appointed by the League and the Congress had deliberated together. At the same time, he thought that they should not let the Mohammedan public think that this meeting was opposed to separate representation. There were others who believed that separate representation was simply a toy (*sic*).

Mr. Abbas Ali supported the amendment.

Mr. Hamid Hasan thought that they would be doing a great disservice to the community by dropping this resolution. An apprehension prevailed among some in this city, and the rest of the country, that the League was trying to surrender to the Congress (cries of "No, no."). He admitted the apprehension was untrue, but they would be encouraging that belief by dropping the resolution. In any scheme of reforms, the principle of

communal representation should be the sheet-anchor of their policy.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah said that if they insisted on putting the amendments to the vote, the voting would, according to the Constitution, be by Provinces, and it would be a tedious process. The amendments were sure to be lost, and he therefore requested the movers to withdraw them.

The amendments were withdrawn.

The President then put the resolution to the vote, and declared it carried by a majority.

Syed Alay Nabi said the resolution should be declared as having been carried by an overwhelming majority.

It was eventually declared carried by a large majority.

ELECTIONS

Sir Ibrahim Rahmat-ul-lah moved that the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad be elected President of the Muslim League (loud cheers). Since H.H. the Aga Khan had resigned this position, they had had no President for two years because it was only at their annual sessions that they could elect their President, and last year there had been no session of the League. He thought that their rules should be so amended that they might not be without a President in the future. Some years ago, when he read the names of prominent members of the League and he came across the name of the Hon'ble Raja Sahib, he had come to a hasty conclusion that probably the Raja Sahib was one of those Nawabs of the old school, with plenty of money, either their own or borrowed (laughter), involved in an atmosphere of pleasure, surrounded by sycophants and flatterers. But about three years ago, when he came to know the Raja personally, he was completely disillusioned. The speaker had a genuine feeling of admiration for the Hon'ble Raja Sahib, for his independence of character, his great gifts and his sterling worth, his great love for the country, and his desire to serve it. He said this out of all sincerity and not merely with a view to paying an empty compliment.

Mr. Nabi-ul-lah seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mr. Sheriff Devji Kanji and others. It was carried unanimously amid loud and prolonged cheering.

Mr. Wasi Ahmad of Bankipore then moved the re-election of Mr. Wazir Hasan as Honorary Secretary of the League. He said that had it not been for Mr. Wazir Hasan and three prominent citizens of Bombay, Sir Ibrahim Rahmat-ul-lah, Mr. M. A. Jinnah and Mr. Abdul Husain Adamjee Peerbhoy (loud cheers), who assisted him, the League could not have held its session in Bombay.

Mr. A. M. Khwaja seconded the resolution, which, also supported by Mr. Abdul Hamid Hasan, Mr. Mohsin Shah and others, was carried by acclamation.

Mr. Wazir Hasan briefly replied, and said that it was an honour of

which he would be proud for ever.

On the motion of Syed Wazir Hasan, seconded by Mr. Sami-ul-lah Beg, Haji Musa Khan and Mr. Azhar Ali were re-elected Honorary Joint Secretaries of the All-India Muslim League.

On the motion of Syed Wazir Hasan, seconded by Mr. Azhar Ali, Mr. Ihtisham Ali and Mr. Nabi-ul-lah were re-elected Vice-Presidents of the All-India Muslim League.

OTHER BUSINESS

Maulvi Abdul Wadud then wanted to move certain resolutions. The President said he had just handed him a couple of resolutions. They were out of order because, under the rules, previous notice shoud have been given to the Secretary about them. He would, however, put it to the house to say whether the resolutions should be allowed to be moved or not.

Mr. Jinnah said that the President did not want to be despotic. He could, with justice, have said that the resolutions were out in order as no notice had been given. He, however, put it to the meeting to say whether they should be allowed to be placed before the meeting. It was a serious matter and he wanted them to rise to the occasion.

Mr. Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad said that they should adhere to the compromise and not allow any other resolutions.

The President then put the question to the meeting, and there were loud cries of "No" against the resolutions being put. The President declared that the sense was against the resolutions being put.

Mr. Hasrat Mohani: This is exactly what I wanted.

Mr. Faiz B. Tyabji moved a vote of thanks to the Chair. He said that no words were necessary to commend this propostion to their acceptance, as they had all seen how ably Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque had conducted the business of the League (cheers).

Mr. Mirza Ali Mohammad, seconding the resolution, said that this was no mere formal vote of thanks. It was their President's tact and heroic conduct that had saved the situation, which might easily have been disastrous. Was there anybody here, or anywhere in the city of Bombay, or in the whole country, who claimed to be an educated person, who could say that they were not stronger that day than they had been the day before ("Hear, hear!"). And they owed that result to the tact and ability of their President (loud applause). At the time of that unfortunate incident, there were only two courses open to them, the first was rejection and the second adjournment. And they all agreed that the wiser of the two was the course they eventually took. They hoped to be stronger and more united in the future. Even if they had not been able to meet, they would have risen phoenix-like from their ashes, having got rid of the undesirable exigencies of the past few years (loud cheers).

The resolution was carried amid loud and continued cheering.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque in reply said that the day before yesterday he had considered that as the proudest day of his life, but he now found that he was mistaken. For, this day was the proudest day of his life (loud applause). They had risen Phoenix-like from the ashes. Opposition stiffened them; with the result that they were much stronger now than before. He thougsht that he would fail in his duty, if he did not refer to the great work done for the League by his friend Mr. Jinnah (loud and continued applause). The entire Mohammedan commuity of India owed him a deep debt of gratitude, for without his exertions they could not have met in Bombay. The President knew what Mr. Jinnah had undergone in this matter. Turning to Mr. Jinnah, the President said, "Mr. Jinnah, we the Musalmans of India thank you" (loud cheers).

Continuing, the President thanked the members of the Reception Committee. He could not describe the hearty character of the reception they had given him. He had been so well treated by his co-religionists of Bombay that he would never forget it. There might be a few people who had their own axes to grind, but the heart of Mohammedan Bombay was with the League (loud applause). He also praised the work of the volunteers who had performed their duties right royally. Referring to the presence of the Congress volunteers at the railway station and the meetings of the League, the President said this was the first time in his long public life that he had seen the volunteers of the two great bodies working together, and he hoped the work of the volunteers would be carried on on the same principle in the future. It was no use fighting for small things, and they had got to realize it. The Mohammedans, Hindus, Parsis, and all the other communities of India should work hand in hand. He did not see any Congress volunteers at the meeting, and he asked the League volunteers to kindly inform the former that the Mohammedans were grateful to them. He again thanked the assembly, and hoped that the next time they came to Bombay they would have only one party there.

In conclusion, he said their best thanks were due to Mr. Abdul Husain Adamjee Peerbhoy and the other sons of Sir Adamjee Peerbhoy for the magnificent reception they had given to the members of the League and the Congress delegates on Friday night, and thanks were also due to Mr. Abdul Husain for the trouble he had taken as the Chairman of the Reception Committee (loud cheers).

The meeting then dispersed.[1]

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1. *Proceedings of the Annual Sessions of the All-India Moslem League held at Bombay on 30th, 31st December, 1915, and 1st January, 1916.* Compiled by the Hon. Syed Wazir Hasan, Advocate, Honroary Secretary, All-India Muslim League, Lucknow, 1916.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

NINTH SESSION

LUCKNOW, DECEMBER 30-31, 1916

ADDRESS OF MR. NABI-UL-LAH

Chairman of the Reception Committee

It is my proud and happy privilege to offer you on behalf of the Musalmans of Lucknow, a most cordial welcome to this historic city. Many of you have travelled long distances at considerable personal discomfort to take part in this great and representative assembly of your community. I need not say how valuable an asset in our public life is the sense of public duty that scorns distances and grudges no sacrifice of money and time that is demanded of our public men in the service of communal causes. The presence here to-day of so many distinguished Musalmans from every part of the country, great leaders of thought and opinion, men who in their respective spheres have contributed to the growth and success of all modern movements for the regeneration of their people, some of whom are, indeed, the architects of the fortune of Islam in India—the presence of such public workers in this great gathering is the surest pledge we could have that our deliberations at this eventful stage in the history of India will be fruitful and conducive to the ultimate welfare of our community.

Gentlemen, to the modern eye, the place where we are holding this annual session of the All-India Muslim League must seem to be singularly barren of interest. Lucknow is not a modern city, alive with the hum and bustle that are characteristic of a roaring trade centre or a busy hive of industry. It has none of the push and go of Bombay, none of the intellectual energy and up-to-datism of Calcutta, none of the unconventional, aggressive ways of towns of humbler origin and lesser dignity, but not less pretentiousness, where the

spirit of modernity has found a dwelling and reared its dominant symbol in the shape of smoking chimneys of factory and mill.

Lucnkow is still wedded to its old ways of life and seeks its intellectual and spiritual nourishment in visions of the past. Please do not be led away by the vast green spaces and the trim beauty of its parks into imagining that such bribes can induce it to emerge from its populous and wonderous dreamland. The city 'improvements' which are the costly fruits of the garrulous reforming zeal of the city fathers, with their geometrical precision and their passion for right angles and straight lines, have scared old Lucknow and driven it to cling still more tenaciously to itself. It is living its life serenely and with a vengeance in strongholds where no town-planning reformer or sanitary inconoclast can hope to penetrate, in an environment which retains its old-world features in unimpaired outline and which the Cook's tourist on a brief holiday in the East loves to describe as 'picturesque'. Well, gentlemen, we are old-fashioned and 'picturesque' people, living picturesque lives and luxuriating in picturesque fancies, and though we have little to offer you by way of suggestion or stimulous in your quest for things that are progressive and up-to-date, we can at least furnish a rich and dainty feast to your sense of the archaic. If those of you who have come from far busier and more animated scenes of present-day enthusiasms and endeavours, carry back the persuasion that all that is past is not dead, and that the poet who still sings of *gul* and *bulbul*, or the elaborate-mannered gentleman to whom social life is one long scheme for receiving and imparting pleasant sensations, are but the expiring spirits of an ampler and more leisured conception of life that may well bring a breath of fresh air to the pent up and high-pressure intensity of modern existence—if you can take this persuasion back with you, even our easy-going conservatisms and polite inanities would not have been altogether in vain.

Lucknow was once famous for its hospitality. Times have, however, changed, and what was once a power and a joy in its social life, remains as a mere pious aspiration. If our distinguished guests find anything lacking in our efforts to make their stay among us comfortable and pleasant, I would beg them to overlook our undoubted shortcomings and take the will for the deed. Of one thing, however, I wish to speak with frank assurance. Lucknow has been disinherited of many of its priceless gifts, but still retains its dowry of good manners. Happen what may, it would never permit that unspeakable outrage on its sense of hospitality, which a few hooligans organized last year at the instigation of the enemies of Islam in Bombay. How and why that outrage came to be perpetrated and what were its instruments are now matters of common knowledge. Need I say, that the whole of Muslim India was filled with deep indignation at that shameful incident. Its only result was to increase still further the determination of the Musalmans to tread the path of duty fearlessly and with unfaltering steps, undeterred and uninfluenced by the

intrigues of reactionary cliques and vested intersts, or the vulgar escapades of their hirelings.

The War

From these somewhat personal explanations due from the host to the guest, I now, with your permission, pass on to matters of general public concern which will no doubt engage your undivided attention at the sittings of the League. The first thing that must naturally strike anyone interested in public affairs is the abnormally grave character of the circumstances in which we meet to-day. The greatest war in history, which began more than two years ago, is still going on with unabated fury of destruction and carnage, and no one can as yet set limits to its duration. I need not set about to detail the causes that have brought about this unparalleled catastrophe in the affairs of the world. They are well-known to you all. It is enough for us to realize that our King Emperor and his allies are fighting for the complete vindication of international right and justice, that it is a life-and-death struggle for the British Empire, and that all the resources of this vast Empire, in men, money and material will have to be mobilized and thrown into the fight, if the stubborn, determined and resourceful enemy is to be completely and finally crushed. In this gigantic task, the whole of the Empire, of which India forms a part, is absolutely of one mind and one resolution. There can at this stage be no turning back from the stern path of duty, no temporizing and no contentment with half-measures. The arch-enemy of human peace and civilization, the evil spirit that flourishes the mailed fist and has raised militarism to the dignity of a high spiritual cult, must not simply be scotched but killed outright. For this purpose, all parts of the Empire are firmly united and are prepared for all manner of effort and sacrifice that they may be called upon to bear. India stands no less firm than Canada, New Zealand, Australia, South Afirca or even the British Isles. At the outbreak of the war, she pledged, of her own free will, all the help that she could give in the successful prosecution of the struggle. She has been redeeming that pledge in no niggardly spirit. Her soldiers have borne their full share of the fight for the safety and honour of the Empire on the battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa; and had not the invidious bars of colour and race stood in the way, millions of her sons would have sprung forth joyously at the first call to arms and rallied under the banner of the Empire. The contributions of her princes and people in money and material have been free and generous. And let me assure the representatives of our King Emperor in India that they can count in full confidence on steadfast Indian devotion and support to the Imperial cause till it is triumphantly vindicated on the field of battle.

Through the supreme and searching test of this war, the loyalty of India has emerged untarnished and proved to be one of the greatest and most precious assets of the Empire. I need not dwell on the character and quality

of its widespread manifestation. It has shown itself in a variety of ways and through acts and deeds in which all classes of His Majesty's Indian subjects have shared with equal enthusiasim. In such an atmosphere it may be a piece of irrelevance to talk of Muslim loyalty. However, in this great Muslim assembly, it may not be wholly out of place to note, with deep satisfaction, the unswerving fidelity with which the Musalmans have borne their part of the Imperial burden. The sense of this satisfaction is immeasurably enhanced when it is borne in mind that Muslim soldiers have cheerfully gone into the fight against the forces of their Caliph in defence of the cause of the Empire to which their destinies are linked.

India and the Peace to Come

At a time when all efforts and energies are concentrated on the conduct of the war, it is natural that all schemes of normal and peaceful development and advance should be held in abeyance. At the beginning of the war, a sort of political truce was declared in India, and the voice of controversy has since been hushed. All public activities have been suspended that could even remotely have the effect of distracting the mind of the Government in its task of organizing victory. Even some of the most urgent needs of the country have been allowed to wait till peace comes to restore to the affairs of mankind their true proportion and balance. This does not, however, mean that we are to remain in a state of suspended animation while the hammer-blows of fate are fashioning the framework of a new and we trust a better and a freer world. The organization of peace after the war is, in the opinion of most thinking men, a more complex and anxious problem than the winning of the war itself. In Great Britain and the countries of her Allies no less than among the people of the Central Alliance, strenuous thought and energies are being applied to the discovery of stable foundations for a new political, economic and social order. Is India alone to stand still and take no thought for the morrow, when that morrow is to usher in a new era in the history of the world and the nations, saved from the perils of militarism, are to undertake the replanning of their lives with the freedom and joy of a new resurrection? The war is not to last forever. I would not be surprised if 1917 brings the end definitely in sight. Are we to wake up one fine morning, when the peace has been signed, to collect our scattered thoughts hastily together and start a wild, academic discussion about the future of our country? The Indian public man who has grasped the psychology of the existing conditions, and yet helps to waste, through a policy of masterly inactivity, the all too brief interlude for planning and preparation, is a traitor to the cause of India.

Substantial changes in the administration and governance of India have become inevitable, and it is the duty of the intellectual and political leaders of the Indian people to participate actively in the evolution of the new order of things and determine what those changes should be. If solemn

public declarations count for anything, we may take it that the British nation and responsible British statesmen have discovered the true heart of India in this great crisis of their history. The scales of ignorance and prejudice have fallen from their eyes, and in the stress of common sacrifice and common emotion there has come to birth in England a genuine movement of sympathy for the aspirations of our people. Early in the war we were definitely assured by an Under Secretary of State for India that 'a new angle of vision' would henceforth be applied to Indian affairs. As a recognition of the need by a responsible British Minister to broaden the basis of Indian governance, nothing could be more explicit. It must, however, be remembered that 'a new angle of vision' cannot be picked out at will from a textbook on political science. It is an intellectual process, an adjustment of policy and principle to new aspects of a case. In the case of India, it will be a mere empty phrase, if it does not mean the introduction of a policy of trust, of allowing Indian opinion steadily and increasingly to assume the ultimate control and direction of the affairs of this country.

The Need for Unity and Patriotism

Now, with this broadening of the intellectual horizon of India's responsible rulers and with the goal clearly set before our eyes, it now rests with the Indian people themselves to take heart of grace, close their ranks and shrink from no effort and sacrifice that may be needed to bring the coveted prize within their grasp. Gentlemen, with all the sympathy and goodwill that may come to us from quarters where a short time ago we used to meet with indifference and cold reserve, the path that lies before us is neither easy nor smooth. The temper of 'the man on the spot' in India is yet an incalculable factor in the situation. And you are well aware how formidable 'the man on the spot' is and what tremendous weapons he can employ, if it is his whim and pleasure to thwart the will of the people. Then, there are other forces, representing interests of alien origin, and frequently hostile to the needs of Indian nationalism, which we have to take into full account. These forces are controlled by a section of the Anglo-Indian press, and all of us know how easily they can be set in motion against the forces of Indian progress. These and a host of other difficulties we have to overcome, and you can well imagine what patience, cool-headedness, clear thinking, organisation of will and effort—above all, that sustained inspiration for public which patriotism and unity alone can give—are needed if these difficulties are to be effectually removed before India attains to its ideal of a self-governing nation. But unity and patriotism are the sovereign remedies for the ills that afflict our body politic at this critical period of our history.

This brings me to the central point that lends exceptional value and significance to the session we are holding to-day. The affairs of the country, which we Muslims are proud to call our motherland, have reached a stage where

they call for the sinking of all petty differences of race and creed and demand united action. An overwhelming responsibility lies on the shoulders of every community in India at this juncture. Their patriotism and sense of duty to the generations yet unborn are on trial. The future of India hangs in the balance. If their lives are touched with the divine spark that moves men to vaster planes of common duty and service, the petty anxieties and perversities of self will be burned to ashes and the dream of the Indian patriot will become a glorious reality. But if these groups of human beings have never known the light of a common purpose, nor has the reality of a common ideal ever entered their lives, if they are so many diverse atoms held together by the accidents of geography and political subjection and the narrowness of little creeds, then there is absolutely no future for India, and all this sterile din and clamour of politics should cease. Need India wait for an answer from the followers of Islam in this great crisis of her fate? We know what our answer ought to be and will be. Let me assure our fellow-countrymen of other creeds, that a Musalman cannot betray the cause of India without betraying his whole past. He shall, God willing, be in the vanguard of the forces that are to fight the battles of constitutional freedom. His active political life is of a short duration, but during this brief period he has traversed the ground that the great Hindu Community took about a quarter of a century to cover. The history of the All-Indian Muslim League is a faithful reflex of the political growth of Indian Musalmans. Within six years of its birth, this great Muslim political organization emerged from its primeval shell, and set before itself a goal towards which the rest of India was gradually moving. This widening of purpose and out-look was not due to the fiat of any masterful personality, but was the result of the strong pressure of popular opinion. If the League had not adapted its policy and programme to the self-reliant and liberal spirit of the Muslim democracy, it would have probably ceased to exist. To-day it embodies the dynamic force and vitality of a living movement. It works in close touch with Muslim opinion and is, in the widest sense, the representative of the will of the community.

Two Principal Objects of the League

The All-India Muslim League stands to-day for two principal objects, namely, for the safeguarding of the political position of Musalmans and for co-operation with the other communities for the attainment of self-government or home rule. The realization of the first object is, as all fair-minded persons would be ready to admit, an essential condition of the success of the second. It would be idle to talk of co-operation if the Musalmans did not feel a complete sense of security as regards their communal future. They are a 'minority', and in all political developments tending towards a democratic form of State organization, a minority must have

certain definite, statutory safeguards. The Muslim demand for such safeguards is, therefore, natural and legitimate; and the 'majority', which in any case holds the balance of power, cannot oppose this demand without laying itself open to the charge of selfishness and political insincerity. Let our Hindu brethren remember that an adequate and effective separate representation of Musalmans in the self-governing institutions of the country can in no case deprive them of the decisive power of the majority. When such power is guaranteed to them by their number, I fail to see why some of their communal enthusiasts should deny the Musalmans the right to secure the basis of their political existence. Opposition of this character breeds distrust, and the good faith of those who justify such opposition on the overworked pleas of 'unity' and 'nationalism' comes to be questioned by the Muslim rank and file. Let me take a recent unfortunate episode by way of illustration. Some months ago the Legislature of this Province passed an Act relating to municipalities in which the Musalmans were given the right of separate representation slightly in excess of their numbers. The Hindu majority on the muncipal boards was in the aggregate complete and decisive. And yet some of the Hindu leaders, with a strange lack of the sense of proportion and with a painful disregard of the infinitely vaster issues confronting their country, took up the cry of 'Hindus in danger' and rushed the whole Province into the throes of a bitter and violent agitation. This exhibition of uncompromising temper had scared a considerable section of the Musalmans, and there was a serious danger of the new-born movement for Hindu-Muslim co-opertion being strangled at its birth, if the Muslim leaders had also lost their heads and allowed a counter-agitation to grow up with sectarian cries to match. It would have been a bitter irony of fate indeed, if the whole of India were to be punished for the sins of a few unbalanced individuals.

It has given considerable relief to all of us to find that the responsible Hindu leaders in all parts of India realize the Muslim standpoint and are ready to offer all reasonable guarantees for the safety of the Muslim political position. With the settlement of this fundamental question involving the fate of India's future, nothing else should remain in the way of a complete Hindu-Muslim co-operation for the supreme end we both have in view. That end, I need hardly say, is United India, alive to her destiny and recoiling from no toil and sacrifice to rise to the summit of her aspiration, i.e., to the position of a self-governing member of the British Empire. Is there a single Indian in and outside of this hall, born of Indian woman, whose heart fails to warm up and whose pulse does not beat faster as he gives even a moment's thought to this glorious conception? If there is such a miserable wretch in existence, he is a freak and a monstrosity. For such an ideal, no effort can be spared, no sacrifice can be too great.

The Task of Reconstruction

Our task to-day is essentially a task of reconstruction. In concert

with the rest of our fellow-countrymen, we have to prepare a scheme of reforms for the administration and government of India, to be introduced as soon as possible after the end of the war, which would go a long a way towards securing an effective voice to the Indian people in the conduct of public affairs. Your best energies will not doubt be directed to the framing and consideration of such a scheme, and I need not, therefore, waste your time by trying to anticipate you, and evolving *obiter dicta* of my own. I need not in these circumstances, embark on along recital of the customary grievances that have been the stock-in-trade of the Indian political reformer ever since he took to constitutional agitation. Nor need I undertake a detailed review of the administrative sins of ommission and commission from the point of view of an Indian and a Musalman. These grievances, like the poor, have always been with us. For the present, we have a far bigger and more essential task in hand, and on its satisfactory accomplishment all our energies should be bent.

The Press Act

I cannot, however, close without referring to the administration of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act and the grave feelings of anxiety and alarm to which they have given rise. I need not argue at length to demonstrate the lawless character of the Press Act, or set forth the nature of the circumstances under which it was forged. It is enough to remember that it has proved to be a singularly harsh and drastic measure. The highest tribunals in the land have shown its provisions to be of a nature that have reduced the freedom of the Press to a farce. It confers arbitrary and absolute powers on the executive, and public opinion can be expressed only on sufferance. Many of the most influential and independent Muslim newspapers like the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* have succumbed to the operations of this Act. Free and independent journalism in the country has become a most hazardous and risky undertaking. The whole of educated India has been demanding, with one voice, its removal from the statute book, and the sooner it is done the better it would be for the peace and contentment of the country.

The Defence of India Act

The Defence of India Act is an emergency measure which confers extraordinary and exceptional powers on local governments with the object of preserving public safety during the period of the war. No Indian public man has ever questioned the right and the duty of the State to arm itself with exceptional weapons in a crisis like the one through which the Empire is passing. However, the administration of this measure, which was primarily intended to deal with the enemies of the State, has become a matter of growing concern to the public. The Defence of India Rules have been used with alarming frequency throughout India, and some of the most distinguished and

popular Muslim leaders, like Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali, have been deprived of their liberty and interned. No definite charges have been brought against them, there has been no public trial for any known offence under the law, and they have been given no opportunity to explain the grounds on which the order for their internment may have been based. It is, therefore, no fault of the people if they regard these gentlemen as innocent victims of some cruel misunderstanding or suspicion. I need not speak of the great hold that Mr. Mohammad Ali has on the esteem and affections of his people. Within his comparatively short but crowded career as a devoted servant of his community he has won his way to the heart of Muslim India. The feeling for him and his brother is one of deep sorrow and sympathy, and if this feeling has not found an organized public expression, it is because the Muslim community has excercised wonderful self-restraint, and has refrained from embarrassing the Government at such a time as this. May we hope that the Government will be pleased to take the Muslim sentiment into consideration and restore these Muslim leaders to liberty, thereby earning the deep and abiding gratitude of the entire Muslim community?

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have done. It only remains for me to step aside and make way for my distinguished and able friend, whom we have summoned to preside over our deliberations at this important session of the League. The Hon'ble Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah stands in no need of introduction to an assembly of Indian Musalmans. Though comparatively young in years, he has already made his mark in the public life of this country. His clear gaze and ripe judgement, his cool, imperturbable temper, his sweet reasonableness, his fearless courage and devotion to duty have stood the test through serious crises in public affairs and have helped to save many an awkard situation. I have no doubt that under his guidance the work of the Ninth Session of the All-India Muslim League will be crowned with success.[1]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

No mere conventional words are needed on my part to express my deep thanks for the great privilege you have conferred on me by selecting me as President of the Ninth Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League. The honour is the highest in the gift of the Muslim community, to which those alone may aspire who have given freely of their thought and time to the service of the communal cause. I am fully sensible of how little I have done to deserve such distincton, nor could I have the presumption to desire it with such a clear sense of my own unworthiness. This choice, however, has come to me in the nature of a mandate from my community, and in such cases individual considerations cannot and must not stand in the way of the larger will.

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1. Published as part of the *Proceedings of the Ninth Session of the All-India Muslim League* by the All-India Muslim League, Lucknow, 1917.

I accept the great and heavy responsibilities of the position only in the belief that I can unreservedly count on your sympathy, zeal and ready co-operation in the great task that lies before us.

As President of the Bombay Presidency Provincial Confernce, which was held at Ahmedabad only a few weeks ago, I have had to make a pronouncement; but at the time I accepted the honour of presiding over the Conference, I did not know that I should have this unique honour and responsibility of expressing my views as your President again within so short a time. Much of the ground was covered by me in that speech of mine. I do not now wish to repeat what I said then, nor do I wish to deal with many great and burning questions and problems that affect India in its internal administration. They will, no doubt, be placed before you in the form of resolutions which will be sumbitted by the speakers in charge of them for your deliberation and consideration. At the present moment the attention of the country at large is entirely concentrated and solely rivetted on the war and what will happen after the war. I have, therefore, decided mainly to deal with the situation in my Presidential Address on those lines, and I will endeavour to place before you my humble views for your consideration, at the same time hoping and trusting that my feeble voice may reach those who hold the destinies of India in their hands.

Annual Stock-Taking

In this great annual meeting of representative Musalmans from all parts of India, who have come to deliberate and take counsel together on the large and important issues that govern our destiny in this land, it will not be out of place to take a wide survey of the conditions in which our lot is cast. This is primarily the time for annual stock-taking, for testing our position in the light of the experience of the past year, for an intelligent preparation of ways and means for meeting the demands of the future, and above all, for refreshing, so to speak, the ideals that feed the springs of our faith, hopes and endeavour. This I take to be the fundamental object for wich the annual sessions of political bodies like the All-India Muslim League are held. The circumstances, however, in which we meet to-day, are exceptional and mark a new epoch in the history of our country. All that is great and inspiring to the common affairs of men, for which the noblest and most valiant of mankind have lived and wrought and suffered in all ages and all climes, is now moving India out of its depths. The whole country is awakening to the call of its destiny and is scanning the new horizons with eager hope. A new spirit of earnestness, confidence and resolution is abroad in the land. In all directions are visible the stirrings of a new life. The Musalmans of India would be false to themselves and the traditions of their past, had they not shared to the full the new hope that is moving India's patriotic sons to-day, or had they failed to respond to the call of their country. Their gaze, like that of their

Hindu fellow-countrymen, is fixed on the future.

But, gentlemen of the All-India Muslim League, remember that the gaze of your community and of the whole country is at this moment fixed on you. The decisions that you may take in this historic hall, and at this historic session of the League, will go forth with all the force and weight that can legitimately be claimed by the chosen leaders and representatives of 70 million Indian Musalmans. On the nature of those decisions will depend, in a large measure, the fate of India's future, of India's unity, and of our common ideals and aspirations for constitutional freedom. The moment for decision has arrived. The alternatives are clear and unmistakable. The choice lies in our hands.

The War

The future historian, while chronicling the cataclysms and convulsions of these times, will not fail to note the conjunction of events of boundless influence and scope that have made the fortunes of India so largely dependent on the united will and effort of this generation. These events have, of course, flowed from the worldshaking crisis into which Europe was plunged in August 1914. What this dark period has meant in accumulated agony, suffering, destruction and loss to mankind, is beyond any standard of computation known to history. With the unfolding of this appalling tragedy have emerged into light, stark elemental forces of savagery that lay behind a bright and glittering mask of *Kultur*, which threaten to sweep away the very foundations of civilized life and society. The issues which are in death grips on the battlefield of three continents, go to the roots of the principles on which the fabric of modern civilization has been reared by the energy and toil of countless generations. Freedom, justice, right and public law are pitted against despotism, aggression, anarchy and brute force, and the result of this deadly combat will decide the future of mankind, whether the end will come with a stricken and shattered world, lying bleeding and helpless under the iron heel of the tyrant, with the whole of humanity stripped bare of its hope and faith and reduced to bondage, or whether the hideous nightmare will pass away and the world, redeemed by the blood of the heroic defenders of civilization and freedom, regains its heritage of peace and reconstruction.

These are tremendous issues and the blood of every Indian, with his usual gift of quick moral perception, is stirred by the feeling that he is a citizen of an empire which has staked its all in a supreme endeavour to vindicate the cause of freedom and of right. What India has given in this fellowship of service and sacrifice has been a free and spontaneous tribute to the ideals of the great British nation, as well as a necessary contribution to the strength of the fighting forces of civilization, which are so valiantly rolling back the tides of scientifically organized barbarism. In this willing service of the people of India, there has been no distinction of class or creed. It has come from

every part of the land and from every community with equal readiness and devotion. In this service there has been no cold, calculating instinct at work. It has sprung from a clear compelling sense of duty and moral sympathy and not from any commercial desire to make a safe political investment. India's loyalty to the Empire has set no price on itself.

After such colossal upheavals as this War, the world cannot quietly slip back into its old grooves of life and thought. Much of what the existing generations have known in social and political arrangements is visibly passing away under a deluge of blood and fire. The thick crust of materialism and pampered ease, the inertia of habit, the cramping weight of convention and of institutions that have outlived their use, have fallen off from the lives of the great Western Democracies under the stress of this great struggle for their existence. They have been thrown back on themselves. In the hot furnace of elemental passions, the trifles are being burnt to ashes, the gold is being made pure of dross; and when the terrible ordeal has passed, the liberated soul will feel almost primeval ease and power to plan, to build and to create afresh ampler and freer conditions of life for the future. The range of choice would be unlimited and the need for bold constructive efforts in various directions vital and urgent. Europe after the war will call for statesmanship of a new order to undertake the gigantic tasks of peace. The greatest victory for freedom will have to be conserved. Free nations will have to learn to live freely and intensely. Freedom itself will have to be organized, its bounds made vaster and its powers of self-preservation strengthened and increased.

The Indian Problem

These tasks have a peculiar urgency and significance in the case of the vast and various communities comprising the British Empire. And among the complex series of problems relating to the Imperial reconstruction awaiting British statesmanship, none is of more anxious moment than the problem of reconstruction in India. I need not set about to discuss in detail the Indian problem in all its bearings. It has been discussed threadbare by all manner of men from every conceivable angle of vision. However, there are two cardinal facts about the Indian situation which practical statesmanship will have to take into account while addressing itself to the study of the problem and its adequate solution. There is, first, the great fact of British rule in India with its Western character and standards of administration, which while retaining absolute power of initiative, direction and decision, has maintained, for many decades, unbroken peace and order in the land, administered evenhanded justice, brought the Indian mind, through a widespread system of Western education, into contact with the thought and ideals of the West, and thus led to the birth of a great and living movement for the intellectual and moral regeneration of the people. Here I may quote from the speech of H.E. Lord Chelmsford delivered in Calcutta the other day: "The growing self-

respect and self-consciousness of her (India's) people are plants that we ourselves have watered." Secondly, there is the fact of the existence of a powerful, unifying process—the most vital and interesting result of Western education in the country—which is creating out of the diverse mass of race and creed a new India, fast growing into unity of thought, purpose and oultook, responsive to new appeals of territorial patriotism and nationality, stirring with new energy and aspiration and becoming daily more purposeful and eager to recover its birthright to direct its own affairs and govern itself. To put it briefly, we have a powerful and efficient bureaucracy of British officers responsible only to the British Parliament, governing, with methods known as benevolent despotism, a people that have grown fully conscious of their destiny and are peacefully struggling for political freedom. This is the Indian problem in a nutshell. The task of British statesmanship is to find a prompt, peaceful and enduring solution of this problem.

If it were possible to isolate the tangled group of social and political phenomena and subject it to a thorough investigation by reason unalloyed by sentiment, it would be infinitely easier to find a safe and sure path for Indian political development and advance. But, as you know, pure, unalloyed reason is not the chief motive power in human things. In the affairs of our common secular existence, we have to deal not with angels, but with men, with passions, prejudices, personal idiosyncrasies, innumerable crosscurrents of motive, of desire, hope, fear and hate. The Indian problem has all such formidable complications in its texture. We have, for instance, the large and trained body of English officials who carry on the administration of the country and exercise power over the well being and happiness of the teeming millions of this land. They are most of them hard-working, efficient and conscientious public servants, and yet they are beset by the prejudices and limitations that mark them as a class apart. They are naturally conservative, have a rooted horror of bold administrative changes or constitutional experiments, are reluctant to part with power or associate Indians freely in the government of the country. Their main concern appears to be to work the machine smoothly, content to go through their common round from day to day; and they feel bored and worried and upset by the loud, confident and unsettling accents of New India. All this is eminently human; but it also means an enormous aggravation of the difficulties in the path of final settlement. It means in actual experience, the growth of a tremendous class-interest, the interest of the governing class as distinct from, if not wholly opposed to, the interest of the governed. It is, in fact, the existence of this vast, powerful and by no means silent 'interest' that explains the origin and wide currency of certain shallow, bastard and desperate political maxims, which are flung into the face of Indian patriots at the least provocation. They are familiar enough to all students of Indian affairs. As a sample, we may take the following:

1. Democratic institutions cannot thrive in the environment of the East. (Why? Were democratic institutions unknown to the Hindu and Mohammedans in the past? What was the village panchayet? What are the history, the traditions, the literature and the precepts of Islam? There are no people in the world who are more democratic, even in their religion, than the Musalmans.)

2. The only form of government suitable to India is autocracy, tempered by English (European) efficiency and character. (All nations have had to go through the experience of despotic or autocratic government at one time or the other in the history of the world. Russia was liberated to a certain extent only a few years ago. France and England had to struggle before they conquered the autocracy. Is India to remain under the heel of a novel form of autocracy in the shape of bureaucracy for all time to come, when Japan and even China have set up constitutional governments on the democratic lines of Great Britain and America?)

3. (a) The interests of the educated classes are opposed to those of the Indian masses; and

(b) The former would oppress the latter if the strong protecting hand of the British official were withdrawn.

(This astonishing proposition beats all reason and sense. It is suggested that we who are the very kith and kin of the masses, most of us springing from the middle classes, are likely to oppress the people if more power is conferred; that the masses require protection at the hands of the English Officials, between whom and the people there is nothing in common; that our interests are opposed to those of the masses—in what respect, it is never pointed out—and that, therefore, the monopoly of the administrative control should continue in the hands of non-Indian officials. This insidious suggestion, which is so flippantly made, is intended to secure the longest possible lease for the bureaucracy and to enjoy their monopoly. But it can neither stand the light of facts, nor the analysis of truth. One has only to look at the past records of the Congress for more than a quarter of a century, and of the All-India Muslim League, to dismiss this specious plea. The educated people of this country have shown greater anxiety and solicitude for the welfare and advancement of the masses than for any other question during the last quarter of a century.)

4. Indians are unfit to govern themselves. (With this last question, I propose to deal later in my speech.)

These are a few of the baseless and silly generalities in which the advocates of the existing methods of Indian governance indulge freely and provocatively when the least menace arises to the monopoly of the bureaucratic authority and power.

Again, if we turn to the internal situation in India, we meet with a set of social, ethnological and cultural conditions unparalleled in recorded

history. We have a vast continent inhabited by 315 million people sprung from various racial stocks, inheriting various cultures, and professing a variety of religious creeds. This stupendous human group, thrown together under one physical and political environment, is still in various stages of intellectual and moral growth. All this means a great diversity of outlook, purpose and endeavour. Every Indian Nationalist who has given close and anxious thought to the problem of nation-building in India, fully realizes the magnitude of his task. He is not afraid of admitting frankly that difficulties exist in his path. Such difficulties have no terrors for him. They are already vanishing before the forces which are developing in the new spirit.

India for the Indians

Well, these are the broad aspects of the Indian problem and they will give you a fair idea of the obstacles that stand in the way of a full and speedy realization of the ideals of Indian patriots. We have a powerfully organized body of conservative 'interest,' on the one hand, and a lack of complete organization of the national will and intelligence, on the other. There is, however, one fundamental fact that stands out clear and unmistakable, which no sophistry of argument and no pseudoscientific theories about colour and race can disguise. Amid the clash of warring interests and the noise of foolish catchwords, no cool-headed student of Indian affairs can lose sight of the great obvious truism than India is in the first and the last resort for the Indians. Be the time near or distant, the Indian people are bound to attain to their full stature as a self-governing nation. No force in the world can rob them of their destiny and thwart the purposes of Providence. British statesmanship has not become bankrupt or utterly bereft of its faculty of clear political perception; and its is, therefore, bound to recognize that the working of the law of national development in India, which came to birth with the British rule itself, and is daily gathering momentum under the pressure of the world-forces of freedom and progress, must sooner or later produce a change in the principles and methods of Indian governance. It is inevitable. Then why fight against it, why ignore it, why should there not rather be honest, straightforward efforts to clear the way of doubts, suspicions and senseless antagonisms to that glorious consummation? Leaving aside the hair-brained twaddle of the tribe of scientific peddlers who love to sit in judgement on the East and ape political philosophy, no man with the least pretensions to common sense can affect to maintain that the Indian humanity is stamped with a ruthless psychology and cramped for ever within the prison of its skull. If the Indians are not the pariahs of nature, if they are not out of the pale or operation of the laws that govern mankind elsewhere, if their minds can grow in knowledge and power and can think and plan and organize together for common needs of the present and for common hopes of the future, then the only future for them is self-government, i.e., the attainment of the power to apply, through pro-

perly organized channels, the common national will and intelligence to the needs and tasks of their national existence. The cant of unfitness must die. The laws of nature and the doctrines of common humanity are not different in the East.

Official Attitude

It is a great relief to think that some of the responsible British statesmen have definitly pronounced in recent years that India's ambition to attain self-government is neither a catastrophe nor a sin. Indeed, that great and sympathetic Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, whose memory will always be cherished with affection by the people of this country, for the first time recognized the legitimacy of that vital Indian aspiration. Other indications have not been wanting of late, which go to show that our national dream and purpose is gaining the stamp of even official approval. There is, however, a world of difference between a theoretical approval of an ideal and its practical application. The supreme duty of the men that lead the forces of Indian progress is to insist that India's rulers should definitely set the ideal before them as the ultimate goal to be attained within reasonable time, and should accelerate the pace accordingly. All our difficulties now arise from the steady reluctance on the part of Indian officaldom to keep this end definitely in view and move faster. Mere sympathy divorced from resolute and active progressive policy can hardly ameliorate the situation. Honeyed words alone cannot suffice. We may congratulate each other about a changed 'angle of vision' and yet remain where we are till doomsday. The time for definite decision and a bold move forward has arrived. The vital question to-day is: is India fit to be free and to what extent? There can be no shelving of the issue at this juncture. It has to be settled one way or the other. If she is not fit to-day, she has got to be made fit for self-government. This, I maintain, is no less a duty and responsibility of the Government than of the people themselves.

Is India fit for freedom? We who are present here to-day know full well that from the Indian standpoint there can be but one answer. Our cirtics would probably challenge our conviction. Our only reply to them would be to go forward and put the matter to the proof. After all, what is the test of fitness? If we turn to history, we find that in the past, only such people have been declared to have been fit for freedom who fought for it and attained it. We are living in different times. Peace has its victories. We are fighting and can only fight constitutional battles. This peaceful struggle is not, and will not, be wanting in the quality of vigour and sacrifice, and we are determined to convince the British Empire that we are fit for the place of a partner within the Empire, and nothing less will satisfy India.[1]

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1. Official Pamphlet.

Second Sitting

When the All-India Muslim League resumed its session on the morning of December 31, the attendance was as large as of the day before.

Mr. Wazir Hasan, Secretary of the League, presented the following report of the Reform Committee appointed at Bombay on January 1, 1916.

I have the honour to lay before you a brief summary of the work of the League during the year 1916. We are still under the shadow of the great war. Contentious matters could not be dealt with. There can, however, be no doubt that work of great value in our national life has been accomplished during the year. The minds of the Musalmans have been familiarized with the idea of a united India. There is a general perception now of the goal towards which Musalmans have to strive and a clear recognition of the arduous character of the struggle. The Muslim League has brought together the scattered units of the community during the year, and has in conjunction with the National Congress, asserted and demanded the legitimate rights of the Musalmans.

At the last session of the All-India Muslim League, held at Bombay in 1915, a resolution appointing a Committee to formulate and frame a scheme of reforms was adopted.

In pursuance of this resolution a meeting of the Reform Committee was called at Lucknow on August 21, 1916 to consider and discuss a tentative scheme of reforms. Under ordinary circumstances, I should have hesitated to take upon myself the great responsibility of drawing up a scheme of reforms, but my task became materially lightened by the keen interest which the members of the Reform Committee took in the matter. In this meeting of August 21, I placed before the committee a draft scheme which was intended to serve as a basis for discussion. The members of the Committee, after making necessary alterations, adopted the scheme, which was then printed and circulated among the members of the Reform Committee, as well as the members of the Council of the League.

Another meeting of the Reform Committee to reconsider the draft scheme was held at Calcutta on November 16, 1916 (i.e., a day before the proposed Joint-Conference of the Congress and the Muslim League). In this meeting also the draft scheme was discussed at length and changes made in it. This draft scheme was reprinted and placed before the Joint-Conference held under the presidency of Mr. Surendranath Banerji at the British India Association in Calcutta on November 17-18. The proceedings of the Conference were prolonged over two days ; the discussions were animated but friendly; the spirit of compromise was conspicuously in evidence, and the conclusions arrived at were almost unanimous on all points. Only on two points did a difference of opinion remain. But it was hoped that the adoption of the policy of give and take would induce the fair minded

leaders in both the Committees to arrive at a settlment. The draft scheme was again circulated among the members of the Reform Committee and the members of the Council of the League who mustered strong to take part in the Joint-Conference af the League and the Congress held at Lucknow on December 25-27, 1916.

The pick of both the communities, the recognized leaders of the Hindus and the Musalmans assembled to discuss again the post- war scheme of reforms on December 25, 1916. The exact numbers of population and of representations were considered, but this was a small matter compared with the vitally important matter of the national life which both the communities inhered, and the supreme interests of India as a nation were recognized as that before which all else must yield. In this spirit, the representation of the various provinces was considered and decided, and all other details were, after prolonged sittings of three days, discussed and disposed of. The result of the Joint-Conference marks the birth of a new era of brotherhood between the Hindus and the Musalmans, pregnant with immense potentialities for the future.

The following recommendations of the Joint-Conference of the Congress and the League were adopted.[1]

RESOLUTION I [2]

The Raja of Jahangirabad, in moving the adoption of the Scheme, said that it satisfied the minimum demands of India. The time had now come when the two great communities of India should co-operate with each other and actively work to attain the goal in view. They had talked for years, but what they wanted now was active work.

Mr. Sheriff Devji Kanji of Bombay seconded the motion, which was then carried.

RESOLUTION II

Mr. A. Rasul moved the following resolution:

> The All-India Muslim League, while adopting the Scheme of Reforms prepared by the Reform Committee of the League and approved by its Council, submits it in conjunction with the Indian National Congress to the Government for its introduction after the war as the first necessary step towards the establishment of complete self-government in India.

He said that he was connected with the Congress for many years, and self-government or home rule was a subject discussed in many places. Self-government, as said by the President yesterday, was not unknown in

1. Given, after the report on the Ninth Session, on pp. 392-397.
2. The actual wording of this resolution is not available.

India, and in the very early days of Islam they had had republics. It was no new thing to them; they wanted to manage their affairs and to know their grievances and apply remedies. Foreign rulers who did not understand the language of the people could not appreciate the grievences of the people. Some interested parties said that through self-government educated Hindus and Mohammedans wanted to drive away the British. The speaker assured the audience that this was far from their intention. It was well known that England was the most freedom-loving country in the world, and it was also well known that England advocated the cause of freedom of other nations. When England advocated the cause of the Balkan States, did she think that India was less educated than the Balkan States? He did not think England could deny freedom to India. Even Negroes had got self-government. The wording of the present resolution was most moderate, and the reforms prepared by the League and the Congress were only a stepping stone to self-government. The people were only asking for a larger share in the government of their country. It had been said in certain papers that after the war the Colonies would have a larger share in their administration. The speaker said if that was a settled fact, Indians ought to have a share in the administration of India. . . Mr. L. Curtis, who was present on the platform, had written many books, and the speaker had gathered that his view was that India ought to have a voice in the administration of the Empire, and if that was his object, the speaker said, it was certainly a laudable object.

Moulvi Fazl-ul-Haque of Bengal, seconding the resolution in Urdu, said that all races of India wanted home rule. Hindus, Christians, Jains, Parsis, all wanted it. Why should Mohammedans not have it? If they wanted it equally, then there was no need for discussion on the subject.

At the request of the President, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu addressed the League on Hindu-Mohammedan unity, and said that self-government or government of the people by the people was in the hands of the people, and the co-operation of the two great communities in India was an augury that the time was not far off when they would realize their dream of home rule.

Syed Alay Nabi, supporting the resolution, said that by accepting the Joint Reform Scheme both Hindus and Mohammedans had shown the world the unity of the two great nations of India, and it was the first step which would lead them to the altar of self-government.

Mr. Yaqub Husain, Mr. Mohammad Umar and Nawab Nasir Husain Khiyal also supported the resolution, which was then carried with great enthusiasm.

While Mr. A. Rasul was speaking on the self-government resolution, Sir James Meston, Lieutenant-Governor, accompanied by Sir Verney Lovett and Mr. L. Curtis, arrived at the meeting and was accorded a most cordial reception, the whole assembly rising from their seats. After Mr. Rasul had concluded his address, Mr. Jinnah, addressing Sir James said that he consi-

dered it his duty as President of the Ninth Session of the All-India Muslim League to accord to him a most cordial welcome amongst them, and His Exellency's presence amongst them, as the head of the Local Government, was a clear mark and indication of the Government's desire to understand their opinions and their feelings.

Sir James Meston, who, on rising to speak, was received with deafening cheers, said: "Mr. President and members of the All-India Muslim League, there are in this interesting gathering too many old friends to make it necessary that I should express my acknowledgment and the great pleasure with which I received your invitation to be present to-day and the still greater at the welcome which you have accorded Sir Verney Lovett and myself. It is not possible for me to discuss or even to express an opinion on the subjects which you have gathered together to discuss this morning. But it is possible for me, as the Head of the Province in which the Musalmans occupy a large and important place, and also as, I may say, I am an old and sincere friend of the Musalmans (loud applause)—it is possible fo me in these capacicities to offer you welcome to Lucknow and to express a fervent hope that on the subjects which now come before you for consideration, your deliberation will be guided by wisdom and will not overlook, and will not subordinate to any meaner aim, the primary duty of the advancement of the increasing welfare and happiness of the great community which you represent. I sincerely thank you all (loud applause).

RESOLUTION III

The All-India Muslim League authorizes its Council to appoint a committee consisting of not more than 15 persons which should undertake all necessary work in connection with the scheme of Reforms adopted at this Session.

It further authorizes the Council to organize a deputation of representative Musalmans to go to England immediately after the war with a view to co-operate with the deputation that may be appointed by the Indian National Congress in order to press India's claim as outlined in the Joint Reform Scheme on the attention of the Government and the people of England.

The above resolution was proposed by the Raja of Jahangirabad, seconded by Mr. Sheriff Devji Kanji and supported by Khawaja Abdul Majid. It was carried by acclamation.

RESOLUTION IV

The All-India Muslim League is strongly of opinion that the invidious distinctions maintained among the different sections of His Majesty's subject under the Arms Act are extremely repugnant to the Indians' sense of justice and self-respect, and urges upon the Government the necessity of an early repeal of the said Act.

Mirza Sami-ul-lah Beg moved the above resolution. In urging the repeal of the Arms Act, he pointed out that it was to the interests of both the rulers and the ruled to repeal the Arms Act immediately. Mr. A.M. Khwaja, seconding the resolution, said that their self-restraint in this matter was being exhausted, and he would urge the repeal of the Act without any delay. The resolution was carried.

RESOLUTION V

> The All-India Muslim League places on record once more, its strong protest against the continuance of the Press Act on the statute-book, which has proved in practice to be a harsh and oppressive measure and has rendered the free expression of public opinion practically impossible. The League is emphatically of opinion that the said Act should be entirely repealed at an early date.

Mr. Mumtaz Husain moved the above resolution. The mover demanded the repeal of the Press Act and said that the passing of such an Act created discontent instead of removing it. He added that because of the Press Act, the newspapers did not publish the whole truth, with the result that even when the news of a British victory was published, it was looked at with a certain amount of doubt.

In seconding the resolution, Dr. Nasir-ud-Din Hasan said that the Act was applied to the *Comrade*; but he ventured to say that if the Government had carried out the suggestions made in that admirable paper, they would not have seen the days they were witnessing at present. The resolution was carried.

RESOLUTION VI

> The All-India Muslim League views with dismay the present administration of the Defence of India Act as constituting a grave menace to the liberties of the subject and recommends that an advisory committee be appointed in every province to consider the case of every person intended to be dealt with under the Act.

Mr. Abdul Qasim moved the above resolution. He said that though the Act was passed as a war emergency measure, in Bengal this Act had placed a fresh weapon in the hands of the C.I.D. His grievance was that Government, were being misled by the C.I.D. They could not believe that men of culture and patriotism of the type of Mr. Mohammad Ali, Mr. Shaukat Ali, Maulna Abul Kalam Azad and others would, at any time, dream of driving the British out of India or do anything unpatriotic. The C.I.D. had to justify their existence, and finding a few cases of sedition, they took advantage of Government measures and were creating disaffection among people. They had very few public spirited leaders among them, and they were being dealt with,

one by one, under the Act. The administration of the Act had brought about such results that no man came forward to do the work of mercy as everyman was afraid of the C.I.D. Hafiz Abdul Aziz seconded the resolution.

The President said that before he put the resolution to the vote, he wished to announce that message after message had been sent to him to urge Mr. Bepin Chander Pal to speak on it.

Mr. Pal was then invited to speak. He said that 25 years ago he could not have dreamt of being asked to speak by the Muslims. Why 25, even 10 years ago, even five years ago, he was afraid, they would have been as much afraid of him as some people still were. His objection to the Act was that it was not in favour of the defence of India; it was, instead, an Act which actually, really and deeply injured the cause of the defence of India. He said there were no anarchists in Bengal, and his observation was received with deafening applause. They were revolutionary patriots. Revolutionary patriotism would never be born if there were no attempt to stifle evolutionary patriotism. The Act stifled evolutionary patriotism. There was not one respectable family, high or low, in educated Bengal which was not directly or indirectly affected by internments, and even after acquitals by courts of justice, young men were rearrested and interned. Did such measures of statesmanship create a temper to lead people to quitely judge the guilt or innocence of those young men? He asked the meeting to fancy who were the men interned. One of them was the nephew of Sir Ashutosh Mukerji. Could the Government not have seen Sir Ashutosh and placed evidence against his nephew before him. If Sir Ashutosh had then said that the evidence was unimpeachable, the whole country would say so. But the Government would not do that. They would not trust the people, and that distrust was due to a conflict of interests. That conflict could be removed by one thing only, and that was self-government or home rule. Somebody had said he wanted England always to rule India; but Mr. Pal said, amidst loud applause, that he did not want anybody to rule India for ever. The only person he wanted to rule was ALLAH. He did not want foreign rule. He wanted an honourable, perpetual connection, a federal connection, a great Indo-British Empire, and this would dominate, not by arms but by character, the whole world civilization. They would keep Asia and Europe in the hollow of their hands. That was the obvious ideal worth living for and dying for (loud applause).

The resolution was carried.

RESOLUTION VII

The All-India Muslim League records the deep sorrow and pain that have been caused to the entire Muslim community by the internment of Messrs. Mohammad Ali, Shaukat Ali and Zafar Ali Khan, whose great services to the Muslim cause have placed them in the front rank of Muslim public workers. In view of the fact that no definite charges

have been brought against any of these gentlemen, the League prays the Government to restore them to liberty, thereby earning the deep gratitude of the Musalmans of India.

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque proposed the above resolution. He said even the meanest man has a right of knowing the charge against him, but these great men were not told what the charges against them were. He challenged any Government official to say that they were seditious or undersirable people. He asked the Muslims of India to remember that no one was safe if these three men were not safe. They ought to raise their protests at the top of their voice. They ought to wait on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford and demand from him their release. He asked them to mark the word 'demand' from the Viceroy the release of these three gentlemen.

Syed Nabi-ul-lah, seconded the resolution. In doing so, he urged the Government to save the Muslim community from drifting into seditious propaganda by releasing these gentlemen.

The resolution was further supported by Mr. Yaqub Hasan Seth and Mr. R. M. Ghulam Husain, and was then carried.

RESOLUTION VIII

Resolved that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad be given trial on charges made against him by the Government of Bihar and Orissa, and that the League is of opinion that the orders of internment were unjustified.

This resolution was not on the agenda, but was brought forward at the desire of the members. Mr. A.K. Fazl-ul-Haque, moving the resolution, gave a detailed history of how the orders were passed against the Maulana by the Bengal Government, ordering him to leave the Presidency, and how the Government agreed to rescind the order on receiving a petition from 15,000 Mohammedans and a guarantee given by the Muslim leaders of Bengal that the Maulana would not do anything that would give offence to Government.

With reference to the charge made by the Bihar Government, he said that the Maulana had publicly repudiated the charge, and it was the duty of the Government now to give him an opportunity of clearing himself of the charge.

The resolution was seconded by Maulvi Syed Fazl-ur-Rahman, and carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION IX

The League views with alarm the recent activities displayed in certain quarters to displace Urdu from the legitimate position it occupies as the Lingua Franca of India, and impresses, on all those interested in the growth and formation of Indian nationality, the desirability of encouraging Urdu, which alone can be the common language of the country.

The resolution was proposed by Maulvi Wahid Husain, seconded by Mr. Alay Nabi and supported by Mr. Zahur Ahmad.

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried.

RESOLUTION X

The All-India Muslim League, voicing the Muslim Public opinion, adheres to the principle of separate representation for the Muslim community, expresses satisfaction at the passing of the U.P. Municipalities Act, which accepts that principle, and strougly urges upon the Government the necessity of applying the said principle to local bodies in other provinces where it has not yet been applied.

This resolution was proposed by Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan and seconded by Maulvi Tufail Ahmad.

The resolution was carried.

RESOLUTION XI

The All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government the desirability of throwing open the higher posts and commissioned ranks in the Army to the Indians as well as to allow them to enlist as volunteers.

This resolution was proposed by Mr. Shahid Husain and seconded by Mr. Yaqub Hasan Seth. It was then carried.

RESOLUTION XII

The All-India Muslim League records its protest against the illiberal and retrograde provision embodied in the Patna University Bill, and strongly urges its amendment with a view to bringing it in line with the educated Indian opinion and make it a really useful measure for the progress of higher education in the Province.

The resolution was proposed by Mr. A. Rasul and seconded by Dr. Syed Mahmud, and was then carried.

The following resolutions (XIII, XIV, XV) were put from the Chair and then adopted.

RESOLUTION XIII

In the opinion of the All-India Muslim League, the general principles on which the assessment of revenue is based should form part of the Revenue Laws as recommunded by the Decentralization Commission, and the limit of enhancement of assessment and the period for which settlement is made should be definitely laid down.

RESOLUTION XIV

The All-India Muslim League, in view of the persistent and

unanimous demand on the part of all the sections of the people of India for the separation of the executive and judicial functions, is of opinion that the Government should be pleased to take early steps to bring into effect the desired reform.

RESOLUTION XV

The All-India Muslim League thinks it absolutely necessary for good and efficient administration that all the Indian provinces at present under Lieutenant-Governors should be placed in charge of Governors appointed direct from England, and that provincial executive counsels should be established where they do not exist at present. The League further urges the appointment of Governor-in-Council in the United Provinces as soon as possible.

RESOLUTION XVI

The All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government the necessity of granting facilities to Musalmans having business in Courts to perform the Jumma and midday prayers.

The resolution was proposed by Maulvi Mohammad Yaqub, seconded by Hakim Abdul Qawi and supported by Munshi Ehtisham Ali.

The resolution was passed.

RESOLUTION XVII

The All-India Muslim League strongly urges upon the Government the necessity of taking immediate steps for the establishment of the promised university at Dacca.

The resolution was proposed by Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri. In proposing the resolution, he said:

Gentlemen, this question of a university at Dacca, I may assure you at the very outset, has a peculiar fascination for me. I may say that there has been hardly any other subject connected with Eastern Bengal which has engaged so much of my serious attention during the last few years as this one. I strongly believe that on the speedy and the right solution of this question depends the very future of the Muslim community of Eastern Bengal.

You may remember that the proposal of a university for Eastern Bengal at first originated from no less a personage than Lord Hardinge. The announcement of the annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911 had thrown the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal into a state of abject despair. To conciliate the Musalmans and to soothe their ruffled feelings, Lord Hardinge came down to Dacca and, in a reply to the Mohammedan deputation headed by me, he gave a distinct promise to us, in unequivocal terms, of a university for Eastern Bengal, which might go a long way to minimize the evils attendant on a reversal to the old order of things. How far this and the other promises

and concessions Lord Hardinge made at the time could reasonably be construed to have statisfied the Musalmans and reconciled them to a distinctly disadvantageous position, it is not for me at this time to say. At all events, the promise of a university was taken as an earnest of a strong desire on the part of the Government to do something for the people whom they had been obliged, under the pressure of a most unfortunate combination of circumstances, to deprive of a valuable means of progress and prosperity. For after all, it was education that the Musalmans most cared for. If the partition of Bengal was of any immediate substantial benefit to them, it was in this that it afforded them a number of facilities for the expansion of Muslim education in that Province. Under the pre-partition days, in spite of their predominant majority in population, they were the most backward in education. I do not want to say who were in the main responsible for it. Possibly the community itself. But this let me be permitted to say, and it is recognized on all hands, that it was only the partition and the change of circumstances brought about by it that gave the Musalmans that sense of security and freedom without which real progress was impossible.

During the six years of separate administration they enjoyed from 1905 to 1911, the progress they made in education was simply marvellous. In this very short period of time, the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal showed the outside world that, given a liberal government devoted to the interests of the people and protection from every possible baneful extraneous influence, the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal could, as becomes the members of the great Islamic community, appreciate the value of education as much as, and even more than, any other community in India or elsewhere. For it was really a most remarkable change that had come over us in Eastern Bengal in this short duration. Education had increased tenfold and even more. I do not at present intend to take you into any details of the improvement brought about in Eastern Bengal during these days and trouble you with any statistics; for I have a mind to move a similar resolution in the Imperial Council during the next sessions at Delhi. But let me say here that without Partition and the separate administration for Eastern Bengal, the Musalmans would have continued to remain what they were before, an ignorant uncared for lot, with no opportunity to raise their position and status in the country and to advance abreast of the sister communities. Lord Hardinge therefore knew full well that when he was obliged to deprive them of the separate administration, he was taking away from them the surest means of their educational advancement, and that if nothing was done to compensate them for this loss, he would be clearly undoing the marvellous self-improvement which the Musalmans had wrought in the field of education. And in order that a reversal to the old state of things might not deprive the Musalmans of the benefit of their hard labours during these six years and relegate them again to a backward position, he was good enough to promise an effective safeguard in the

shape of a residential university, which would necessarily resuscitate the progress they had already made and even accelerate it.

Gentlemen, this promise made about five years back on a most solemn occasion still remains unfulfilled. It has been reiterated by the local government time after time. But nothing as yet has come out of these promises. There are many *madrasas* in Eastern Bengal, larger in number than you find in any other part of India. As religious education is most cared for in Eastern Bengal, the flower of our youth flocks to these Arabic institutions. In order that they might not be lost to the proposed university and that they also might be given the benefit of English education, we requested the Government to introduce into the curricula of these institutions a provision for the study of English side by with Arabic; so that when the university was established at Dacca, the students that would pass through these reformed *madrasas* might be taken into the university in which a special faculty of arts, going by the name of Islamic studies, might be instituted for them. The Government of Lord Carmichael, with its characteristic sympathy and solicitude for the welfare of the people of Bengal, readily accepted our prayers. A system of special Matriculation for these Arabic students has been established and is in full force. In 1919 the first examination under this system will be held, and I am at a loss to understand what is to become of those who will come out successful in that examination if, in the meanwhile, the Dacca university is not established. I have repeatedly drawn the attention of His Excellency Lord Carmichael and other high educational officers, both in Bengal and in the Government of India, to the necessity of a speedy establishment of the university. Everyone, I may say, sympathizes with us, but brings in the plea of want of funds, the continuation of the war and so forth for the postponement of its establishment.

Gentlemen, to this line of agrument, I need hardly give an answer; I am sure every one of you knows it by this time. The Government has, in these days of war and abnormal expenditure, money enough to raise a High Court at Patna and a university as well there. The Government has money enough to help these and other movements. But when it comes to the question of the Dacca university, the old story is repeated, not realizing perhaps how unjust it appears to the people of Eastern Bengal, for both Hindus and Musalmans are one on this question. Calcutta University is so hopelessly crowded and has become so unwieldy that the necessity for more universities has become imperative, as I have in detail explained in my last speech at Simla on the occasion of the introduction of the Patna University Bill into the Imperial Council. *The Herald*, which is a responsible organ of Hindu public opinion, has with a singleness of aim devoted itself to the cause of a university for Eastern Bengal. The whole body of public opinion in Eastern Bengal is for it. But the Government asks us to wait. Whether we have not waited sufficiently long it is for you gentlemen to decide. For want of a Muslim

College, as provided in the Dacca University Scheme, and for want of a regular boarding house, the Musalman collegiate students of Dacca, who at present number over 200 and who, I may in passing say, were but about 10 at the time of Partition in 1905, are put to diverse difficulties. With this state of affairs, I do not know how we can really afford to wait for the university for any considerable time, as the Government would desire. I do not wish to say more. I trust you will kindly see your way to accord to the resolution I have moved your whole-hearted unanimous support.

Before I sit down gentlemen, I wish to impress on you that the Dacca university, when it comes into being, will be an asset of utmost value to the cause of the community not only in East Bengal but throughout India—for in its scope, it will be of a unique nature. It will present to the Muslim and the Hindu student the invaluable treasures of their glorious and historic past side by side with treasures from English literature and England's history. It will with but slight effort on the part of both the communities, secure to them a Muslim-Hindu university on perhaps a better footing than the proposed university at Aligarh or the one proposed at Benares.

Gentlemen, I again commend this resolution for your acceptance.[1]

The following resolutions, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, were put from the Chair and were then carried:

RESOLUTION XVIII

a. In the opinion of the All-India Muslim League it is essential that the system of indentured labour be terminated and all recruitmnet therefore prohibited within the ensuing year.

b. The League is further of opinion that at least one representative Indian, selected upon the recommendation of bodies voicing Indian public opinion, be appointed by the Government of India to participate in the forthcoming inter-departmental conference to be held in England for the consideration of the question.

RESOLUTION XIX

In respect of the treatment and status of British Indian residents in the self-governing dominions and the Crown colonies, the League desires again to emphasize the growing sense of injury felt in India at the continued ill-treatment and injustice meted out to the Indians resident in those Dominions, and Crown Colonies and strongly urges the statesmen and people thereof, having regard to the closer Imperial relations that have been reached during the present war, to consider the status of the Indian settlers there from a wider and more Imperial standpoint.

1. Although it is not explicity stated, it may be assumed that tne resolution was carried.

RESOLUTION XX

With regard to the proposal of the Secretary of State for India inviting two specially elected representatives from India to assist him in the forthcoming Special Imperial Conference to a series of special and continuous sittings of the War Cabinet, in order to consider war questions and to prosecute the war vigorously, this League urges that at least two representatives of India, to be elected by the elected members of the Imperial and various Provincial Councils, be allowed to represent India directly and not merely to assist the Secretary of State for India.

RESOLUTION XXI

The All-India Muslim League places on record its appreciation of the sentiments conveyed in the message of the Prime Minister to the princes and peoples of India, and fully shares in the determination of the British peoples to bring the war to a triumphant issue, but regrets that larger use has not been made of the manpower of India and urges the raising of an army immediately in India from the whole population under Indian commissioned officers.

RESOLUTION XXII

The All-India Muslim League places on record its full confidence in the present President and Honorary Secretary of the League and its deep appreciation of the services rendered by them to the Muslim cause.

Khan Bahadur Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri, proposing this resolution, remarked:

"The services rendered by Raja Sahib, the President of the League, to the country and the community are well known to us. I have nothing more to add.

"The progress made by the League during the Secretaryship of the Hon'ble Mr. Wazir Hasan was substantial and very encouraging, and does not stand in need of being reiterated. He gave us materials to enable us to think out for ourselves and to draw a line between the duties of the people in their relation to the Government of the country, and duties of the people to themselves in relation to their own advancement. During his time, the Constitution of the League was changed and the ideal of the League defined. According to the changed Constitution the League undertook the duties which it hitherto hesitated to take upon itself as the League. The League stands to-day rejuvenated and the Indian communities are united."

Nawab Mir Asad Ali seconded the resolution. He said:

"The Hon'ble Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, the President of the League, sits enthroned in our hearts.

"The self-sacrifice of the Hon'ble Mr. Wazir Hasan, his firmness among raging billows and unflinching devotion to the cause of the community and country have endeared him to us."

Mr. Sheriff D. Kanji, supporting the resolution, remarked that during the Secretaryship of Mr. Wazir Hasan, the bonds of sympathy and love that ought to exist between the different communities have been cemented. The Muslim League and the Congress were now working hand in hand for the good of the country.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried by acclamation.

ELECTIONS

The following gentlemen were proposed by Mr. Wazir Hasan, and seconded by Mr. Sheriff D. Kanji, for re-election as Vice-Presidents of the All-India Muslim League:

1. Raja Sir Mohammad Tasadduq Rasul Khan, K.C.S.I., of Jahangirabad.
2. Nawab Abdul Majid Sahib, C.I.E., Bar-At-Law, Allahabad.
3. Sir Karim Bhoy Ibrahim, Bart., Bombay.
4. Sir Fazal Bhoy Karim Bhoy, Kt., Bombay.
5. Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhri, Khan Bahadur, Bengal.
6. Khan Bahadur H. M. Malak, Nagpur.
7. Mr. Abdul Karim Abdul Shakur Jamal, C.I.E., Rangoon.
8. Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan, Delhi.
9. Nawab Fateh Ali Khan Qizilbash, C.I.E., Lahore.
10. Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, C.S.I., Bar-at-Law, Lahore.
11. Sir Malik Omar Hayat Khan Tiwana, K.C.I.E., M.V.O., Punjab.
12. Khan Bahadur Mian Mohammad Shafi, C.I.E., Bar-at-Law, Lahore.
13. Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, Peshawar.

As soon as Mr. Shafi's name was read, there were loud shouts of "No, No." from all sides, and accordingly Mr. Shafi's name was dropped from the list. The others were re-elected.

The following gentlemen were also elected Vice-Presidents of the All-India Muslim League:

1. Sir Ibrahim Rahmat-ul-lah, Kt., C.I.E., Bombay.
2. Sir Syed Ali Imam, K.C.S.I., Bar-at-Law, Bankipore.
3. Khan Bahadur Nawab Mir Asad Ali, Madras.

Mr. Nabi-ul-lah then proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair, which was seconded by Mr. A.K. Fazal-ul-Haq. A suitable reply from the President, including exhortations to the Musalmans to do their duty, brought the proceedings to a close at about 9 p.m.[1]

1. *Proceedings, op. cit.*

THE REFORM SCHEME

ADOPTED BY THE MUSLIM LEAGUE REFORM COMMITTEE AND THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE[1]

1. *Provincial Legislative Councils*

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.

2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces, and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.

3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible.

4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Mohammedans should be represented through special electorates on the Prinvincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions:

Punjab—one-half of the elected Indian Members
United Provinces—30 per cent
Bengal—40 per cent
Behar—25 per cent
Central Provinces—15 per cent
Madras—15 per cent
Bombay—one-third.

Provided that no Mohammedan shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except

1. The mixed use of 'shall', 'should' and 'will' has been reproduced as found in the original document without any amendment.

those by electorates representing special interests.

Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council, but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be Provincial.

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the Budget. All items of expenditure, and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue, should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

(d) Resolution on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(e) A resolution passed by the Provincial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-in Council, provided, however, that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

8. A special meeting of the Provincial Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

9. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the

Governor-General.

11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II. Provincial Governments

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

2. There shall be in every Province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

4. Not less than one-half of the members of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III. Imperial Legislative Council

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.

2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the electorates for Mohammedans for the Provincial Legislative Councils, and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of members to the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. One-third of the Indian elected members should be Mohammedans elected by separate Mohammedan electorates in the several Provinces, in the proportion, as nearly as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Mohammedan electorates. *Vide* provisos to Section I, Clause 4.

5. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. A special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

8. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

9. All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

10. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of

expenditure shall be embodied in Bills. Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

11. The term of office of members shall be five years.

12. The matters mentioned herein below shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council:

(*a*) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

(*b*) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations.

(*c*) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.

(*d*) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of military charges for the defence of the country.

(*e*) The right of revising Indian tariffs and custom duties, of imposing, altering, or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

(*f*) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

13. A resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council: provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

14. A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

15. When the Crown chooses to exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council, it should be exercised within 12 months from the date on which it is passed, and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

16. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India, including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV. The Government of India

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

3. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of

the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

5. The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, due regard being paid to existing interests, subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

7. In legislative and administrative matters, the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

8. A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

V. Secretary of State in Council

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.

2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.

3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India, as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does in relation to the Government of the self-governing Dominions.

4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two Permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI. India and the Empire

1. In any council or other body which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the Dominions and with equal rights.

2. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

VII. Military and Other Matters

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians

and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

2. Indians should be allowed to inlist as volunteers.

3. Executive officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them, and the judiciary in every Province shall be placed under the highest Court of that Province.[1]

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1. *Proceedings of the Joint-Conference of the All-India Congress Committee and the Moslem League Reform Committee held at the Indian Association Room, Calcutta on the 17th and 18th November, 1916.* Madras, Law Printing House, 1916.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE
TENTH SESSION

CALCUTTA, DECEMBER 30, 1917, JANUARY 1, 1918

The Tenth Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League opened on December 30, 1917, in a beautiful *pandal* erected at Haliday Street, Calcutta.

The proceedings commenced with Quranic recitation and welcome songs, after which Mr. Abdul Latif Ahmad, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered the following address:

I do not use the language of conventional formality when I say that I feel extremely flattered by the compliment that has been paid to me by the Reception Committee of this Session of the All-India Muslim League in electing me the Chairman of the Committee. I need hardly say that I feel proud to be accorded the high privilege of welcoming on behalf of Bengal, and Calcutta in particular, such distinguished and brilliant representatives of the leaders of political thought in Muslim India. Next to being called upon to occupy the presidential chair, I look upon the honour which has been bestowed upon me as one of the highest in the gift of the community, and I am all the more grateful to my friends that they have been kind enough to make me the fortunate recepient of such a reward at so early a stage of my political career. I feel overpowered by a sense of diffidence at my own incapacity for the great task which has been entrusted to me, but I hope that the same kindness and indulgent consideration to which I owe this exalted honour will also animate my brethren whom I am addressing, in overlooking my faults and short-comings in the discharge of the onerous and responsible duties entrusted to me to-day.

Brethren of the Muslim League, on behalf of the Musalmans of the

Bengal Presidency in general, and of the city of Calcutta in particular, I beg to offer you a hearty and sincere welcome to this city. On their behalf as Chairman of the Reception Committee, I also offer my heartiest thanks to all who have taken the trouble to come here to take part in the deliberations of the All-India Muslim League, and I particularly offer my thanks to all who have travelled long distances at great personal sacrifice, discomfort and inconvenience. It is because there are men in our community who will not hesitate to make such sacrifices that we see gathered here to-day the best, the noblest and the highest representatives of the intellect of Muslim India of the present day. It is a matter of the utmost gratification to every Musalman who has the good of his community at heart that such a representative gathering of Musalmans from different parts of India is possible even under adverse circumstances, for these gatherings are the surest indications of the success of those activities for which the All-India Muslim League has become conspicious amongst the representative institutions of this vast continent as the staunchest champion of the rights and privileges of the Musalman community in India. There can be no doubt that these gatherings are amongst the surest indications that the labours of the League have not been in vain, and that, through the blessing of Almighty Providence, the work which the League has undertaken will be productive of the utmost benefit to the community.

Brethren of the League, in welcoming you to our beloved city, I cannot boast that it has any attractions to offer to lovers of antiquity or the student of historical research. Calcutta is after all a modern city, and has grown up with the growth of British rule in this country. It is essentially the handy work of a few generations of Englishmen who have laboured to build up a centre of trade and industry which, in the rapidity of its growth and its marvellous development, bears eloquent testimony to the unrivalled constructive genius of the British race. But I think I may well maintain that Calcutta has also got its own claims to your attention, more varied, though less sentimental, in character than the older cities in other parts of India. I think that its very modernity must be a welcome change to gentlemen coming from older cities, for I feel that, while amidst the surroundings and ruins of vanished glory, you can only derive inspiration by recollections of the past, in a modern city like Calcutta you are stimulated to exertion and activity by a hopeful outlook into the future. For those to whom a contemplation of the past glories of Islam brings mournful recollections, the stress and turmoil of modern Calcutta brings home the lesson of the supreme necessity of honest work and earnest endeavour as essential requisites in any programme of work for the regeneration of our community. Viewed in this light, a visit to Calcutta can hardly be looked upon as having been in vain, or without its object lessons. The bustling activity on all sides of modern life brings home to the mind the stern reality of the doctrine of the survival of the fittest, which Indian Musalmans are so apt to forget, but which is the one lesson of

all which they ought to lay deep to heart.

My heart almost breaks when I am reminded of the fact that in welcoming you to Calcutta, I cannot claim that we are welcoming you to the metropolis of British India. Our city has fallen from the high position which it occupied on that score, but it still continues as before to be an epitome of all India in consequence of the diversity of races living here. I do not think I will be far wrong when I say that members of the League from different parts of India will find numbers of their own countrymen amongst the heterogeneous populations of this vast city. I sincerely hope that our brethren of the League will find themselves at home, at least in coming across their own people from their own respective provinces. It is true that Calcutta is sometimes called the 'City of Palaces', but Mohammedan Calcutta after all has a much humbler prospect from the point of view of wealth and affluence. We cannot boast of any merchant princes like those in Bombay, or the magnates of Lucknow, and hence there can be no wonder that our hospitality is also poor; but I can assure our brethren that the will to offer our services for their comfort and convenience has not been wanting, and true to Islamic traditions, we have placed our little all before them and have tried our best to make their stay amongst us pleasant and comfortable. If we have failed in any degree in our efforts, we confidently look up to all our brethren to overlook our shortcomings.

Internment of President Elect

My joy at your presence here is tempered with unspeakable sorrow on account of the sad and depressing circumstances under which we meet to-day. The vacant presidential chair expresses our feelings far more eloquently than I can do. I believe that for the first time in the history of all representative gatherings, the present audience has been compelled by force of circumstances to hold deliberations with a vacant presidential chair. The history of Muslim India during the past few years has been full of many surprises, but I assure you that this has been the most cruel, the most poignant and the most heart-rending of all. I grieve for the absence of Mr. Mohammad Ali, not merely because he was our president elect, but also because he has all along been one of the sturdiest champions of the Muslim cause in India. I grieve for Mr. Mohammad Ali, for I feel that his absence from the presidential chair to-day is the result of an act of despotism and unreasoning autocracy on the part of our rulers, which has cast a slur upon the fair fame of British rule in India. I grieve for Mr. Mohammad Ali, because at a moment when the most vital questions of constitutional reform are being discussed from all points of view, his absence from our midst has been the greatest possible disaster to Muslim interests. I grieve for Mr. Mohammad Ali, because he was one of the most trusted and most intrepid of our leaders, and we can ill afford to be deprived of his sage counsel and sober guidance at this crisis in the history of our

community and our country. I grieve for Mr. Mohammad Ali, because I firmly believe that he has fallen a victim to misrepresentations and mischievious reports of the Criminal Intelligence Department, for no other reason than being a true Musalman and a fearless exponent of the progressive ideals of Islam. I grieve for Mr. Mohammad Ali, because his absence from our midst to-day is a studied insult to the feelings and sentiments of the loyal Musalmans of India. I grieve for Mr. Mohammad Ali, because the refusal of the Government to release him in spite of our repeated prayers and entreaties is an act of unparalleled high-handedness on the part of our rulers, which is sure to rouse discontent amongst the peaceful members of our community in India. I grieve for Mr. Mohammad Ali, for I feel that he is at the present moment suffering an unjustifiable and unmerited incarceration, whereas the crown of glory should have adorned his head as a reward for his unselfish labours on behalf of his community and his country.

But, gentlemen, while I grieve so much for Mr. Mohammad Ali, and feel the keenness of our loss on account of his enforced absence from our midst, I grieve still more for the blundering self-sufficiency of those officials who seem to be bent upon pursuing a policy which stands condemned by the unanimous opinion of all the leaders of political thought in India. We are all human and liable to make mistakes, but we can hardly lay claim to any sense or reason if we continue acting in defiance of the unanimous and unmistakeable opinion of the public in general, or persist in adhering to a course of conduct about the error of which there is a perfect unanimity of all shades of opinion. Whatever may be the differences of opinion about other matters of public interest amongst the various sections of the Indian people, I think I am right in saying that there is a perfect unanimity of opinion on this, that the internment of Mr. Mohammad Ali is wholly unjustified. Within the last few months there have been public meetings all over the country denouncing the internment of Mr. Mohammad Ali, and all other leaders, in the strongest terms; and still Government persist in defying all this volume of opinion in a spirit of autocratic high-handedness of which even the Russian Czar would possibly have been ashamed. I wonder how these officials, who seem to be so utterly impervious to public opinion and public criticism, can lay claim to any of those qualities of which the British people are often so proud. For the fair name of the British people themselves I am sorry, for these Englishmen whose blind career of autocracy in India has brought discredit on the British Government and branded the British nation in the eyes of the whole of India. The interned Muslim leaders will survive the injustice that has been done to them; but I doubt very much if the prestige of the British administration will survive the shock it has received by these ill-conceived and narrow-minded acts of officials who ought to have known better, and whom experience, if nothing else, should have taught the inestimable lessons of prudence, caution and statesmanship.

Internment of Other Muslim Leaders

And this leads me to the subject of the internment of Muslim leaders in general. Azad, Mahmudul-Hasan, Hasarat Mohani and many others of the trusted leaders of our community have been taken away from us by the machinery of what I consider to be one of the most cruel and unjust enactments that have ever been in force in this country. I maintain that these internments are wholly illegal and unjustifiable, as being based on orders which have been passed under an arbitrary and unjust law. The War has been responsible for many anomalies, not the least remarkable of which is the Defence of India Act. The Executive in this country were long on the look out for powers by which they could readily pounce upon their victims without the risk of their actions being challenged in a Court of Law. The War gave them their long looked-for opportunity. A Bill, intended primarily for the defence of the country against the enemies of the King, was rushed through the legislature, but no sooner did the Bill become law than this supposed measure of defence was utilized as one of the most terrible means of offence. The Executive took full advantage of the authority given to them under the Act by ruthlessly depriving unoffending citizens of their liberty. No formal charges were brought against them, no definite accusations made, the accused were not even given a chance of clearing their conduct, while mere suspicions based on the report of an irresponsible C.I.D., were enough to wrest a man from his friends and his family.

As in the case of the operation of the Press Act, the Musalmans were again singled out for the special mark of Executive favour. Within three years of the passing of the Act, almost every one of our honoured and trusted leaders has been taken away from us. I do not wish to dwell on the case of all the interned leaders, but I will certainly make a passing reference to a few of them. The cause of our President elect Mr. Mohammad Ali, comes naturally uppermost in my mind. The story of his internment has been told from so many hundreds of platforms that it will only be a waste of time to repeat the same melancholy story over again. I will therefore only refer to the reasons given by the Government for detaining him in custody. An interpellation in the Viceroy's Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah elicited the astounding assertion that the order of internment was justified on the ground of Mr. Mohammad Ali's sympathy with the King's enemies. Although the Government did not care to specify who these enemies of the Government are, we have no difficulty in finding out that by these enemies Government means the Turks. Now, gentlemen, the attitude taken up by the Government with regard to the internment of Mr. Mohammad Ali directly raises the issue of whether an expression of sympathy, or even the promotion of that sympathy with our co-religionists in trouble, is such a serious offence as to merit internment under the Defence of India Act. Musalmans all over India have considered

this question, and whether the answer is palatable to Government or not, there is now no ignoring the fact that every sincere Musalman adheres to the opinion that such sympathy is not in itself any sufficient ground for an interference with our liberties under the Act. Musalmans have answered the question, and have declared from hundreds of platforms and in hundreds of thousands of voices that every genuine and sincere Musalman does feel sympathy for the Turks in their present troubles. Of course, if any one were to translate this sympathy into action, and be guilty of any act of sedition or disloyalty, the case would of course be quite different; but so long as the Musalmans keep within the bounds of loyalty and due allegiance to the Crown, I do not think the Government has a right to quarrel with their opinion in this matter, any more than it can take exception to their religious tenets of faith. It is time for Government to take note of this considered opinion of the Muslim community and to cease persecuting people for the sake of their personal opinion.

I next pass on to the case of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad for whom Bengal, not to speak of the rest of India, has been mourning for nearly two years. The family of the Maulana has been domiciled in Bengal for nearly half a century, and its members always made it the mission of their life to impart religious instruction to the people. Like his father of revered memory, the Maulana also had devoted himself solely to the life of a teacher and preacher of Islam. For politics he never cared, and so far as I am aware, he never allowed himself to be dragged into it. His activities were mainly confined to the compilation of works on religion, and imparting religious instruction to his disciples. But the all-knowing C.I.D. suddenly discovered that his presence here in Calcutta was dangerous, and an order immediately went out demanding that he should remove himself bag and baggage from Bengal. People were horrified at this order, but there was no help for it, and the Maulana had to obey. A memorial signed by over 70,000 Musalmans of Bengal was sent to the Government for the cancellation of the order. To the credit of the Government of Lord Carmichael be it said that His Excellency was disposed to accede to our prayer and permit the Maulana to come back to his peaceful avocation. But, unfortunately, before this order of cancellation could take effect, the Bihar Government intervened and passed orders for the internment of the Maulana on the alleged ground of treasonable correspondence with the King's enemies. The voice of criticism had to be hushed for the moment in the face of the enormity of the alleged offence; but the Maulana immediately repudiated the charge and challenged Government to prove the accusation in a court of law. This challenge has not yet been taken up by Government. Insults were heaped upon him by offering him a pittance by way of allowance and putting restrictions on his movements which interfered with his attending the mosque to offer his *isha* and *maghrib* prayers. We all know how the Maulana met the situation. He declined to accept the allowance, and he has been attending the mosque regularly to say his prayers in defiance of the orders

passed by Government.

The case of Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan stands on a par with that of Maulana Azad. Throughout his life he has been a recluse, and his activity, either religious or political, had never been at all pronounced. We have not the means of knowing what secret intrigue he was carrying on, or what seditious doctrines he was preaching to his disciples, for we are not in the confidence of the C.I.D.; but what we do know is that by nature and temperament he is not a man who could have got himself entangled in any revolutionary movement against the established government of the country. While on his way home from Mecca, it was suddenly discovered by the C.I.D. that he was dangerous to the safety of India, and he was accordingly arrested and removed to the Prisoners of War Camp of Malta, where he has been rotting in internment ever since. In his case also, neither any definite accusation nor any attempt to justify the action taken by Government has been made. It is rumoured that in deference to public demand, the Government are going to restore the respected gentlemen to liberty. If so, it is a matter of sincere gratification. Let us hope that in this case at least, the wrong done will at last be rectified.

I cannot pass on in silence over the case of Mr. Hasrat Mohani who has given signal proof of courage, of a devotion to duty and honesty of purpose of which every Musalman ought to be proud. He is another of those brilliant leaders of our community who by sheer merit, strength of character and steadfast devotion to the cause of the country and the community, have covered themselves with undying glory and renown. At a time when the whole of Muslim India was filled with bitter feelings of hostility towards the Hindus, it was he who dreamt the dream of a Hindu-Muslim unity and presisted in teaching the doctrine of co-operation with the advancing communities of India for the common good of our motherland. Like many other leaders, it was not long before he was interned. Restrictions were placed on his movements; but he refused to admit the legality of these restrictions on the ground that they were passed under an Act which he did not admit to be either just or proper. He purposely disobeyed the orders passed against him; and he was prosecuted and placed on trial. When brought before the court, he freely admitted having broken the conditions imposed upon him under the Defence of India Act, and instead of defending himself, he expressed his willingness to go to jail rather than recant his conduct. He was sent to jail at Faizabad; and then comes one of the most touching episodes in his life. His health broke down in the Faizabad jail, and his wife sent a petition to Government praying that he might be transferred to the Aligarh jail, where the climate suited him better. His wife also submitted that she was too poor to pay for the railway fare from Aligarh to Faizabad, and that if Mr. Hasrat were kept at Aligarh, she would be in a position to see him frequently and render him whatever services were permissible under the jail regulations. She never for a moment prayed that her husband might be released. Gentlemen, you will be

horrified to learn that the prayer of this unfortunate lady was summarily rejected by the benign Government of the United Provinces. At the present moment, it is a familiar sight in that part of the country to see Mrs. Hasrat in almost the tattered robes of a beggar woman covered by a *burqa*, leading her little daughter by the hand and wending her weary way from Aligarh to Faizabad to see her husband in jail. Gentlemen, if you have tears of blood, this is the time to shed them. To the eternal credit of Hasrat and his wife be it said that they are as firm and unyielding as ever. All honour to this brave and courageous lady who has set an example of wifely devotion, courage and fortitude of which the womankind of India may well be proud.

I could go on recounting other instances and adding to the tales of the sufferings of our leaders in exile and in jail, but I hardly think it necessary to do so. These are melancholy chapters in the history of our community, and I doubt very much if they redound to the credit of British rule in India. But apart from the illegal and highly aribitrary character of this policy of internments, I wonder that our rulers do not recognize the fact that an unrestricted career of repression is hardly consistent with the gratifying message of hope of August 20, 1917, which the pronouncement of the Imperial Government seeks to convey to the Indian people. The words of that announcement are still ringing in our ears and only serve to add to the keenness of our disappointment at the failure of our efforts to release the interned leaders of our community. Let us hope that our rulers will yet learn and remember that it is never too late to mend, and that by an early cancellation of these orders of internment, they will make amends for the injustice and wrong done to the Musalman community. The release of these leaders will come as a balm and a solace to the afflicted hearts of the millions of loyal Musalmans. It is the only effective means of bringing about that calm political atmosphere which the Viceroy desires should prevail in India.

The Pledge of Political Emancipation

Gentlemen, we cannot begin our deliberations at this session of the All-India Muslim League without being reminded of the fact that the year which is just coming to a close is destined to mark an epoch in the history of India. The pronouncement of the Imperial Government dated August 20, to which I have already referred, is one of the most weighty and solemn declarations of policy which the Imperial Government has made from time to time relating to the constitution of the government in this country. Ever since the memorable day when Lord Macaulay, speaking from his place in Parliament, on the occasion of the passing of the Charter Act of 1833, uttered those memorable words about the growth and development of political consciousness in India, all the communities in this country have been anxiously looking forward to the redemption of those solemn promises which our rulers have repeatedly made for the political emancipation of the Indian people. "It may

be", said Lord Macaulay, "that the public mind of India may so expand under our system as to outgrow that system; that our subjects, being brought up under good government, may develop a capacity for better government; that being instructed in European knowledge they may crave for European institutions. I know not whether such a day will ever come; but when it does come, it will be the proudest day in the annals of England." To the credit of our British rulers in India it must be said that in spite of occasional blunders, and even grievous mistakes, they have steadily pursued a policy of generous sympathy and helpful guidance in directing our activities into well-ordered channels of a steady and progressive political development. Following on the declaration of policy in 1833, our rulers in India flung wide open the gates of the temple of knowledge, and Indians began to drink deep and with avidity of the fountains of Western learning and culture. Through more than half a century, Indians were nurtured on the vivifying food of English constitutional freedom; and through the pages of history, our countrymen were brought face to face with the struggles and triumphs of the English people in their progress towards the attainment of constitutional liberty. Macaulay foresaw the day in his almost prophetic vision; but the day came much sooner than either he or his comtemporaries ever contemplated. And no wonder that it was so. English constitutional history is replete with inspiring examples of courage, devotion and sacrifice—courage tempered by caution, devotion leavened by sobriety, even partisanship softened by large-hearted charity, and all subordinated to the one predominating ideal of a readiness to sacrifice self in the solemn cause of the country.

We would have been unworthy of ourselves and of our preceptors, we would indeed have been something less than human if, with our souls stirred to their inmost depths and our warm Oriental sensibilities roused to an unwonted pitch of enthusiasm by the contemplation of these great ideals of public duty, we did not seek to transplant into our own country the spirit of those institutions which have made England great amongst the liberty-loving nations of the world. And we, the Musalmans of India, would also have been unworthy of ourselves and unworthy of our past traditions if the rousing call of England to liberty and emancipation had failed to receive a responsive echo in our hearts. For a time indeed, Musalmans were apathetic to Western education and maintained an attitude of sullen indifference to passing events. But the heart of democratic Islam could not long remain unresponsive to a call which it had been her own privilege to raise in Europe when the Western nations themselves were mute and dumb, and when it was the Musalmans alone who were trusted repositories of the treasures of knowledge and culture. From the platform of the Indian National Congress, India first raised her voice for constitutional freedom, much like an infant crying for the light. The cry grew in volume and intensity as years rolled on, till at last the greatest political organization of the Musalmans of India, our own, our cherished Muslim

League lent its voice to swell the national cry. No earthly power could resist such a cry, coming deep from the inmost recesses of millions of hearts. The resolutions of the Congress and the League were hardly more than a few months old, when the Imperial Government made the epoch-making pronouncement of August 20, which we all hope is a pledge for the final political emancipation of the Indian people.

Constitutional Reforms

And this gentlemen, brings me to the important question of constitutional reforms, about which so much has been said, and whose discussions have brought down so much unmerited obloquy on the devoted heads of the members of the All-India Muslim League. It was in November, 1916 that, by a joint consultation of the representatives of the All-India Congress Committee and of the All-India Muslim League, the scheme of reforms was formulated which is now known as the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms. The Scheme was presented to the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League at Lucknow just a year ago, and was considered and accepted by both these political organizations. It was then published and distributed, broadcast all over India; and not a single voice was raised in dissent, either as regards the principles or the details of the proposals underlying the Scheme.

After the pronouncement of August 20, and the announcement that the Secretary of State would visit India, a number of mushroom political organizations grew up all over India, and they arrogated to themselves the high privilege of suggesting schemes of reforms for the future Government of India. It is quite certain that but for the declaration of the Imperial Government about self-government in India, and the announcement of the Secretary of State's visit to this country, all these political prophets would have remained in the seclusion of their homes, and these precious proposals and schemes would never have seen the light of day. The temptation of getting an opportunity of shaking hands with the Secretary of State was too much for most of these leaders to resist, and they set about devising ways and means to accomplish their cherished end. They well knew that no interview would be granted to any except those who claimed to represent one or other of the various schools of political thought in this country, and they accordingly set about formulating schemes to be put forward before the Viceroy and the Secretary of State to serve as passports for their cherished interview with these representatives of our Sovereign. A wholesale copy of the Congress-League Scheme would not, however, have served their purpose; for in that case they would have been told to come through the gates of the League, gates which alas, they knew would open to only one magic "Open Sesame", namely, acceptance of the creed of self-government for India; but these were words they could not utter. Devoid of any power of making any suggestions of their own, they had to fall back on the Congress-League Scheme as a basis of operations, but

variations in that Scheme were necessary in order to give their proposals an air of originality. This is the reason why our critics, while dissociating themselves from the Congress-League Scheme, have invariably taken our Scheme as their guide and model, and in most cases have copied wholesale passages from it verbatim. This will be evident from a comparison of our Scheme with every other that has been presented on the question of constitutional reforms. Imitation, gentlemen, has always been regarded as the sincerest form of flattery; and we think that in freely copying from our Scheme, our critics have really paid us a compliment of which we should all be justly proud. Far from bearing any animus towards our critics, I think we should offer our hearty thanks to all our opponents who have borne unconscious testimony to the value of our suggestions and have unwittingly subscribed to the dominant principles underlying our Scheme of constitutional reforms.

And this leads me to a consideration of the Scheme of Reforms itself. It has been said that in voting for constitutional reforms, we have imperilled the interests of our community in India, and have betrayed the trust which had been implicitly laid in us by our community. It has been argued that the best policy for the Musalmans would have been to pursue a policy of political inaction, and some have even gone the length of suggesting that it was the bounden duty of the Musalmans of India to oppose constitutional changes which might have the effect of undermining the power and influence of the bureaucracy in India. This specious *Kalema* of political notation has been sought to be preached by so many false prophets that I would crave you indulgent leave to examine it a little closely.

Sir Syed on the Political Responsibility of Muslims

The world has grown older and wiser by more than half a century since our leaders, headed by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, advocated for the Musalmans of India a policy of total abstention from politics. I am not going to sit in judgement over our great leaders of the past, but I will certainly venture to say that a policy like the one advocated by Sir Syed Ahmed and his colleagues more than half a century ago, can hardly be held applicable for all time and to all circumstances. Even the great Sir Syed himself had to modify his own views in his own life time. At a meeting held on the May 10, 1866, at Aligarh, Sir Syed in a deliberate speech, said:

"It is with great regret that we view the indifference and want of knowledge evinced by the people of India with regard to the British Parliament. Can you expect that body to take a deep interest in your affairs if you do not lay your affairs before it? There are many men now composing it, liberal in their views, just and virtuous in their dealings, who take a deep interest in all that affects the welfare of the human race . . . To excite this interest, however, it is necessary that the requirements and wishes of that portion of mankind on whose behalf they are to exert themselves be made

clearly known to them. Their interest and philanthropy once excited, you may feel assured, gentlemen, that the wants of the Jew, the Hindu, the Christian or the Mohammedan, of the black man or of the white will be attentively studied and duly cared for. India with that slowness so characteristic of Eastern races has hitherto looked on Parliament with a dreamy apathetic eye, content to have her affairs, in the shape of her Budget, brought before it in an annual, and generally inaudible, speech by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India. Is this state of things to continue, or has the time now come when the interests of this great dependency are to be properly represented in the governing body of the British nation? It has come, gentlemen, and I entreat you to interest yourselves for your country. The European section of the community in India, now grown so large, have set on foot an association in London with branch associations in India, in order to have Indian affairs, and the wants and desires of all classes of her inhabitants, brought prominently to the notice of Parliament; but unless the entire native community out here co-operate with them, place funds at their disposal, and take such measures as may conduce to place the scheme on a permanent basis, the opportunity will be lost, the natives of India will be unrepresented, and you will only have yourself to reproach when in after-years you see the European section of the community enjoying their well-earned concessions, whilst your wants remain still unmet.

"I am afraid that a feeling of fear that the Government or the district authorities would esteem you factious and discontened were you to inaugurate a measure like this, deters you from coming forward for your country's good. Are the Europeans thought factious and discontended? Believe me, this moral cowardice is wrong, this apprehension unfounded; there is not an Englishman of a liberal turn of mind in India who would regard with feelings other than those of pleasure and hope such a healthy sign of increased civilization on the part of its inhabitants. If you will only show yourselves possessed of zeal and self-reliance, you are far more likely to gain the esteem of an independent race like the English than if you remain, as you now are, apathetic and dependent. The actions and laws of every government, even the wisest that ever existed, although done or enacted from the most upright and patriotic motives, have at times proved inconsistent with the requirements of the people or opposed to real justice. The natives have at present little or no voice in the management of the affairs of their country, and should any measure of Government prove obnoxious to them they brood over it, appearing outwardly satisfied and happy whilst discontent is rankling in their minds. I hope you, my native hearers, will not be angry with me for speaking the truth. You know that you are in the habit of inveighing against various acts of Government in your own homes and amongst your own families, and that you, in the course of your visits to European gentlemen, represent yourselves as quite satisfied with the justice and wisdom of these very acts. Such a state of

affairs is inimical to the well-being of the country. Far better would it be for India were her people to speak out, openly and honestly, their opinions as to the justice or otherwise of the acts of Government."

Sir Syed then quotes the following passage from John Stuart Mill: "The rights and interests of every or of any person are only secure from being disregarded when the person interested is himself able and habitually disposed to stand up for them. The principle is that the general prosperity attains a greater height and is more widely diffused in proportion to the personal energies enlisted in promoting it."

Our respected leader then proceeds:

"These principles, my friends, are as applicable to the people of India as they are to those of any other nation, and it is in your power, it now rests with you alone, to put them into practice. If you will not help yourselves, you may be quite certain no one else will. Why should you be afraid? Here am I, a servant of Government, speaking out plainly to you in this public meeting. My attachment to Government was proved, as many of you know, in the eventful year of the Mutiny. It is my firm conviction, one which I have invariably expressed, both in public and in private, that the greater the confidence of the people of India in the Government, the more solid the foundation upon which the present Government rests, and the more mutual friendship is cultivated between your rulers and yourselves, the greater will be the future benefit to your country. Be loyal in your hearts, place every reliance upon your rulers, speak out openly, honestly, and respectfully all your grievances, hopes and fears, and you may be quite sure that such a course of conduct will place you in the enjoyment of all your legitimate rights, and that this is compatible, nay, synonymous with true loyalty to the State, will be upheld by all whose opinion is worth hearing."

The Importance of Organized Political Agitation

Gentlemen, I do not think a more eloquent testimony to the efficiency of political agitation could be forthcoming than is contained in the words of our great leader, and I am sure I would be guilty of reprehensible impudence were I to add anything more on this point. It is recognized on all hands that organized political agitation on constitutional lines is the only effective means for a just consideration of our rights, and that a policy of political inaction would be utterly suicidal to the interests of our community. We must move with the time, or else we are doomed. But apart from all these considerations, I would ask you to consider whether it would have been wise or politic on our part to maintain an attitude of stolid indifference to passing events, or to the political activities of the various communities in this country, which have naturally been moulding the policy of our rulers in matters affecting the Government of this great dependency. Even if we had remained silent, or worse still, even if we had taken up an attitude of active hostility towards the

communities which have been agitating for reforms, I do not doubt that reforms would have come sooner or later, in spite of the attitude taken up by the Mohammedan community. It is a great mistake to suppose that the British people have any idea of governing India in the interests of any class or community, or that they will consent to sacrificing the interests of the Empire at large by showing any special predelictions in favour of any one class as against another.

It is only natural that any policy they adopt in this country must be guided by considerations which have in view the interests of the Empire at large, and it is these considerations which alone must always guide them in granting or withholding privileges. If, for instance, our rulers have at any time shown any desire to ignore agitations for political concessions, it is because, in their judgment, concessions would not be justified by reasons of Imperial concern, and not because any particular community or communities may have been opposed to such concessions. Of course, any opposition from any section of the Indian people must carry the weight which it deserves; but such opposition can never be the sole guiding factor in inducing our rulers to come to a decision. Similarly, if our rulers think that certain concessions ought to be granted, we may be sure that these concessions will be forthcoming, irrespective of any opposition to the grant of such concessions that may exist in this country. I could illustrate my remarks by quoting numerous instances, but I would content myself with only a few recent cases. We all know that for long Mohammedans kept themselves aloof from all political movements; and it was an accepted political doctrine in India that the Musalmans, as a community, were opposed to the demands of the Hindus. Yet in spite of our indifference, and even opposition, the Government of Lord Ripon made a big concession to the demands of the Hindus by introducing those beneficent measures of reform which have inaugurated the beginning of self-government in this country, and for which we all now cherish the memory of Lord Ripon in loving regard and veneration. Then, when the Indian National Congress was started, the Musalmans thought it wise to keep themselves away from it and they were known as opponents of this institution, which in its earlier days was considered a purely Hindu organization; but it is the demand of the Indian National Congress which induced the Government of Lord Landsdown to make a beginning towards the expansion of our Legislative Councils, and the introduction of an elective element in these Councils. Be it remembered that in deciding upon this reform, Government had to ignore or, at any rate, had not the support or endorsement of the expressed opinion of the leaders of the Musalman community. Hardly a decade had passed when we find a further expansion of the Legislative Councils, in deference to the demands of the Congress, and again unsupported by the endorsement of the Musalman community. Then came, again within less than a decade, the Minto-Morley reforms which brought about the present expansion of the Legislative Councils and a real and effective recognition of the demands of the Congress for a non-

official majority in the Legislative Councils, as also various other rights and privileges for which the Congress had been fighting for nearly a quarter of a century. These examples emphatically prove that political concessions have been granted to the Indian people, quite irrespective of the attitude taken up by the Musalman community.

I do not for a moment imply that these concessions have been made by our rulers regardless of the interests of any of the various communities in this country, but the point I wish to emphasize relates to the outstanding fact that the question whether any concessions are to be granted or not, quite apart from the manner in which these concessions are to be applied to the fabric of the Indian administration, has always been decided, and very rightly decided, by our rulers in accordance with reasons of state and according to the particular policy which required that a particular concession should be granted or withheld. A glaring instance of what I mean was afforded by the reversal of the Partition of Bengal. Our brethren in Eastern Bengal were told that the Partition was a settled fact, and they were induced, and even encouraged to carry on an agitation for the maintenance of the Partition. Successive Viceroys and Secretaries of State, including even Lord Morley, declared that the Partition of Bengal would be upheld at all-risk, even as much as the British would be prepared to uphold the British Empire in India. "The Musalmans of Eastern Bengal", says Lovat Fraser, "were told again and again by Ministers, by Viceroys, by Lieutenant-Governors, by all the officers of the new Province, that they would never more be placed under the dominion of Calcutta Bengalis. Under the greatest provocation they remained perfectly quiet for seven years, relying and implying upon British pledges." Speaking in the House of Lords in February 1912, Lord Minto gave his testimony on this point with his accustomed directness: "We told the Musalmans that the Partition was a settled fact, and we over and over again asserted that it must continue to be so. We assured the Musalman population of Eastern Bengal of our appreciation of their loyalty and our determination to safeguard their interests. I should think there could have been scarcely a civil servant in India who had not declared that it would be impossible for the British Government to reverse the decision it had come to as regards the maintenance of the Partition of Bengal."

Hardly any political leader in India thought, after all the weighty declarations of our rulers that the reversal of the Partition of Bengal was within the bounds of human possibility. But what is the actual fact? As soon as it suited Government to annul the Partition, our rulers did not hesitate a moment to disown the declarations of the Government both of India and at home. The pledge that had been solemnly given to our brethren of Eastern Bengal and repeated over and again for six years was ruthlessly sacrificed in furtherance of what is called the Delhi Scheme. All the sturdy loyalty and the devoted allegiance of the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal were quickly forgotten; and our rulers did not hesitate to sacrifice them, like so many valueless pawns on

the political chess-board, to suit the requirements of Imperial expediency. I maintain, therefore, that it is of very little moment or consequence whether Musalmans take part in politics or not. The problems that arise in connection with the constitutional changes in this country must be answered; and if the Musalmans do not furnish an answer or a solution themselves, so far at least as such changes affect their interests, the answer or the solution will be furnished by others. The Muslim League is a living protest against the policy of political inaction; and the members of the League have decided, after having learnt many a bitter lesson in the school of experience, that questions affecting the well-being of the community had best be decided by Musalmans and Musalmans, and Musalmans themselves (*sic*).

I hope I have made my point that a policy of political indifference could hardly have been justified in the light of the happenings in recent years. But apart from the question of advisibility or justification, I think it would have been extremely foolish on the part of the Musalmans of India to range themselves in opposition to the forces of progress. Had we done so, we would only have covered ourselves with ridicule, without having advanced the interests of the community by one jot. We would only have found ourselves in much the same position as our Musalman brethren of Eastern Bengal are after the reversal of the Partition. We had therefore to take it as a settled fact that the reforms were due and forthcoming, and the only question we had to answer related to the manner in which it was necessary to safeguard the interests of our community in any scheme of constitutional changes.

The Congress-League Scheme of Reforms.

For this purpose, the All-India Muslim League issued notices all over India for Musalmans to come and take part in the deliberations; and at the Bombay Session of the League, a strong committee, consisting of representatives from every province of India, was appointed to draw up a scheme of constitutional reforms. This committee met a representative committee of the Indian National Congress in November 1916, and after deliberations lasting for four days, a scheme of constitutional reforms was drawn up on the basis of a mutual understanding between the various communities in India. This is the much vilified Congress-League Scheme which has been repudiated by many, but which has been followed, copied, endorsed and practically accepted by all.

I do not wish to enter upon an elaborate discussion of this Scheme, nor do I propose to defend the scheme or answer the adverse remarks of our critics. I firmly believe that as time goes on and people begin to take a saner and lustre view of things, and to look at the Scheme in its true perspective, all the objections to the Scheme will disappear, and the voice of opposition will grow faint and small, and will be ultimately and finally hushed. But there is one point about the Scheme on which much has been said in Bengal, and I therefore think it necessary to say a few words in order to throw some

light on the subject. It has been said that in providing for the representation of Musalmans in the various Legislative Councils, our scheme puts the Musalmans in a position of numerical inferiority; and the apprehension has been expressed that if our scheme is accepted, Musalmans will only be at the mercy of a dominant Hindu majority. Now, a slight reflection will show that this criticism is unjust, inasmuch as the apprehensions expressed are wholly unfounded. It will be observed that according to our Scheme, the Musalmans in the Punjab will be in an absolute majority, and in all provinces except Bengal, the representation provided for Mohammedans is very much more than their numerical strength in the population. In Bengal alone have we accepted a representation less than our numerical strength in population, but we did so after careful thought and anxious deliberations.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the leaders of all the non-Muslim communities in India have always been strenuously opposing the principle of communal representation. We have only to recall the persistent manner in which resolution after resolution has been passed at sessions of the Congress and at all public meetings in this country. All the distinguished leaders of the Hindu community, not to speak of others, had hitherto expressed themeselves most strongly in opposition to the principle of communal representations, with the single exception of perhaps the late Mr. Gokhale, who ultimately consented to tolerate this principle of communal representation as a necessary evil under the present political condition of India. The late Mr. R.C. Dutt, from his place as a member of the Decentralization Commission, put on record a note of emphatic protest against separate representation of Mohammedans on local self-governing bodies, as being contrary to the acknowledged policy of absolute neutrality, as between class and class, to which the British have pledged themselves in the government of India. It is true that in the Minto-Morley Scheme, the separate representation of Musalmans forms an important feature of the changes introduced by the expansion of the Legislative Councils; and it is also true that Lord Morley defended this principle from his place in Parliament as being not only justifiable but also fair. But the fact cannot be ignored that the representation of Mohammedans hitherto recognized by Government is so hopelessly inadequate as to be practically ineffective, and further, that there has as yet been no guarantee that this principle would be adhered to for any length of time.

Having regard to the persistent agitation against communal representation and the weight of opinion opposed to it, we thought that it was quiet within the bounds of possibility that the separate representation of Mohammedans on public bodies might one day suddenly be taken away. Our leaders, therefore, felt that it was of the highest importance that a compromise should be arrived at on the basis of a mutual understanding of the rights and duties of the various communities in India, so that a matter of such vital importance

to our community might not be left entirely at the mercy of the caprices or the whime of British politicians. The All-India Muslim League therefore gave an ultimatum to all other communities through the medium of the Indian National Congress that any demand on the part of a united Indian people must proceed on the basis of a common understanding and a common agreement between all, and that, in any case, the principle of the communal representation of Musalmans in any scheme of self government in India must be definitely and clearly recognized and amply provided for. After mature deliberations on the part of the leaders of non-Muslim communities, the conditions laid down by the League were accepted by the Congress, and it was on this basis that the Committee of the League and the Congress set about working out a joint scheme of reforms.

We might have worked out a scheme of our own without reference to the rights and privileges of other communities, and I admit that in such a scheme we might have asked for the lion's share of the prizes on behalf of our community. But in that case the scheme would not have been binding on the other communities, and the controversy as regards the separate representation of our community would have remained wholly unsettled. In such circumstances, it would have been open to the Government to recognise the principle or not, and even in case of recognition, to have reduced our representation to an insignificant minority. Experience has shown that Mohammedan interests have seldom received adequate representation when left solely and entirely in the hands of the authorities. I have already referred to the inadequate representation of Musalmans in the present Legislative Councils. In the Calcutta University Senate, where the Government exercises the power of nomination to the unusually large proportion of 80 per cent of the members, the representation of Musalmans on the Senate does not exceed even 6 per cent. In the proposed amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act, the representation which it is proposed to give to the Musalman interests continued to be grievously neglected, until recently when our leaders adopted the modern and the more effective method of public agitation for securing recognition of our legitimate rights and claims. Our leaders in the Muslim League therefore very properly thought that to leave the question of our communal representation within the pale of controversy would be extremely risky, and they accordingly thought it prudent to clinch the matter and come to a definite understanding between ourselves and the other communities in this country. If the Muslims and non-Muslims had disagreed on the question of communal representation, either as to the principle involved or the details, the matter would necessarily have gone into arbitration by a third party, namely, the Government. Having learnt by past experience that the result of such arbitration has generally been disastrous to Muslim interests, we thought that it was better and wiser to leave no chance for arbitration at all. This is the principal merit of the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms,

and our leaders thought that to secure the end in view, we might even make some sacrifices.

But have we really made anything in the nature of a sacrifice? In the Punjab we have provided for an absolute majority, and in all the other provinces the proposed representation is very much in excess of proportion in population. It is said that even with this excessive representation, Mohammedans are in a minority in all these provinces; but our critics forget that there is a world of difference between a minority whose votes can effectively turn the scale on an important question, and a minority which is so insignificant as to be capable of being ignored and left out of calculations altogether. It is in Bengal that the acceptance of a representation of 40 per cent has been most strongly criticized and the Congress-League Scheme denounced in the strongest terms. Let us examine the position briefly. It is provided that the Musalmans will have a representation of 40 per cent of the total number of Indian members, and when we remember that the remaining 60 per cent would consist not merely of Hindus, but various other communities as well as the representatives of special interests such as municipalities, district boards, universities, landholders, trade and commerce, I doubt very much whether the Hindus themselves will have a representation of more than 40 per cent. Besides, there will be the Anglo-Indians and the whole body of officials in order to keep the balance even between contending communities. If perchance the expanded Councils become the scene of petty strife and party factions, rather than trusted repositories of our national interests, I cannot conceive of Mohammedan interests ever being imperilled, except on the supposition of a combination of all the other elements in the Councils against them. This, gentlemen, is a contingency which can hardly arise; and if it ever did arise, I should be disposed to think that the Musalmans were in error on that particular question, and a defeat under such circumstances can hardly be a matter of much concern. We claim that under the Congress-League Scheme, even the apparent slightly inadequate representation of Mohammedans in Bengal can never be of real risk to the interests of the community, and a little reflection will show that all apprehensions on this score are wholly unfounded.

Gentlemen, I hope I have been able to show that we are in a position of advantage in the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms so far as the representation of our community is concerned, and that even in Bengal there is no risk under the slightly inadequate representation to which we have subscribed. At the same time, with all these advantages to ourselves, we have wrung from the important non-Muslim communities of India a formal acceptance of the principle of adequate representation of the Musalmans in any scheme of reforms in the future Government of India. Far from the Congress having captured the League, the members of the Muslim League might as well claim that the League has captured the Congress. We claim that it is a great triumph

for such a young organization as the Muslim League, and it is a matter of very great regret that the community has not yet acknowledged or fully appreciated the achievements of the Muslim League in this direction.

The Ideal of Political Enfranchisement and the Opposition to It

Gentlemen, I have dwelt at some length on the question of constitutional reforms, because I think that opinion of all shades and grades is now unanimous that, for a patriotic Indian there can be no higher, no loftier, no nobler duty than working for the ideal of the political enfranchisement of India. To attain this end ought to be the highest aim and ambition of every Indian, and no sacrifices ought to be too great to enable us to reach this cherished goal. When we remember the various and obvious defects in the present system of Indian administration; when we remember the untold oppression that is being daily committeed on simple and inoffensive people by the Police, under a system which has been condemned by judges of all shades of opinion; when we remember the appalling poverty of the Indian masses which renders them an easy prey to devastating famines; when we remember the ceaseless economic drain which is sucking the life-blood of the Indian people and rendering them an easy prey to visitations like plague, pestilence and famine, I cannot but feel that a system of government which is mainly responsible for such a deplorable state of things, and against which such severe indictments could be levelled, stands in need of urgent and speedy reform. I repeat that in my opinion no sacrefices can be considered too great to attain the goal of our ambitions. I therefore regret that some of our educated fellow-countrymen have actually set themselves in opposition to the agitation for self-government in India, and are doing their very best to render reforms distant, if not actually impossible. I have no doubt that our rulers will be in a position to discriminate between the false traitor and the true patriot, and that our conntrymen will also not be slow to recongnize the essential difference between a genuine patriot and one whose sole business in life is to trade in politics.

Unfortunately, however, our efforts towards attaining any substantial measure of constitutional reforms are not free from difficulties. There is opposition on all sides, not merely the veiled and secret opposition of the bureaucracy whose vested interests are threatened and imperilled, but also from a few sections of the population in this country. The case of those Indians who are playing the part of traitors to their country for the sake of base lucre, or for other selfish motives, deserves only to be treated with the most unutterable contempt. Their motives will soon be exposed, and the country will know how to mete out condign punishment for such mean and base treachery. But there are others whose opposition has got to be recknoned with, and whom it is necessary to reconcile, in view of the influence which they are likely to exercise in the councils of our rulers. I refer to the opposition of the Anglo-Indian community. They claim that they are protesting

against all impending reforms not so much in their own interests as on behalf of the voiceless millions of India, for whom they seem to have constituted themselves trustees and guardians. It almost moves one to laughter to hear Anglo-Indian merchants like Sir Archy Birkmyre and Sir Hugh Bray talking of Indian peasants being in the position of their wards, for such a relation can only exist in much the same manner as the tender kid was privileged to enjoy the caresses of the generous lion in the story. Do our Anglo-Indian friends really want us to believe that they care a farthing for those unfortunate people out of whom they wring their millions of pounds every year, and who are starved to death in order to enrich European traders and manufacturers? The manner in which the Anglo-Indian merchants have driven the jute cultivators practically to the starvation point, and the oppression committed on Indians in the tea gardens of Assam, are a sufficient refutation of these preposterous claims of the Anglo-Indian community. I do not, however, deny that Anglo-Indians as a community have got their special interests, which cannot be ignored in any scheme of reforms for the future government of this country, and the matter would become quite intelligible if our Anglo-Indian friends discussed the question from this practical point of view. Considered in this light, I would assure the Anglo-Indian community that we are not unmindful of their special interests, nor are we disposed to forget their contributions to the advancement of our mother country. We would ask them, however, to come forward and join us in our efforts for constitutional reform, and co-operate with us in working out a scheme beneficial to all the parties concerned and worthy of the great British Government under which we all live.

To them, I will take the liberty to repeat the appeal which was once made to secure their help and co-operation by our esteemed leader Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea: "In our efforts for the improvement of our political status, we feel that we may appeal with confidence to the sympathies of the Anglo-Indian community. They are Englishmen. By instinct and by tradition they are the friends of freedom. In regard to many, their interests in the country are permanent. In regard to many more, in view of the falling exchange, they are looking forward to making India their permanent home. Burke's well-known aphorism, of the Anglo-Indians of his day being 'birds of prey and passage' is well-nigh an extinct tradition. Our interests and their interests are indentical. Their political status is not a whit removed from ours. If they have more influence in the Government, it is due to sufference. They cannot claim it as a matter of right. Any extention of our political privileges would benefit them as well as ourselves. Difference there will always be between the different sections of the same community, as there is in this country between zemindars and ryots; as there is in European countries between capitalists and labourers. But we are essentially members of the same community, in the sense that we have common rights and common grievances, and

that it is our duty to stand shoulder to shoulder to remedy our grievances and to promote our rights. We are all interested in the development of our manufactures, and we all know what pressure is brought to bear upon the Government here, sometimes masked under the guise of philanthropy, sometimes less thinly veiled, to interfere with the growth of our manufacturing industries. Here, as in other matters, united we stand, divided we fall.

The Arrah Riots

I cannot leave this subject of the impediments in our way without making a reference to one of the most regretable incidents which have disturbed the peace and harmony between the great communities of India. I refer to the Arrah riots and the unspeakable oppression and outrages committed on the Musalmans in Arrah and various other parts of Bihar by a band of ruffians calling themselves Indians and claiming to belong to a community which has hitherto done so much for the dissemination of nationalist ideas in India. No true son of Islam can refer to these outrages except in terms of strongest condemnation; but in my opinion these Arrah incidents are far more deplorable from the nationalist point of view. These Arrah riots have done the greatest possible disservice to the nationalist cause, and have supplied a plausible argument to our enemies for opposing the cause of constitutional reform. Fortunately the Musalmans as a community have kept their heads cool and met the situation with the utmost sanity, moderation and sobriety, but there are unfortunately men in the community who are not disposed to look very much beyond the present, not to speak of far into the future. It is no exaggeration to say that these Arrah riots have tended to scare Musalmans away from sympathizing with the agitation for constitutional reforms, and have had a marked effect in weaning away a large number of enthusiasts from active participation in the cause of reforms. The most regretable part of the whole affair has been the attitude of the Hindu leaders in adopting a policy of *laissez faire* in this matter, and practically refraining from denouncing the authors of these horrible crimes. In the name of humanity itself, if nothing else, every civilized Indian ought to denounce such unprovoked oppression on defenceless men, women and children; but a higher duty rested on our Hindu fellow-countrymen: to mark their disapproval of a course of conduct on the part of their co-religionists so utterly subversive of all the cannons of peace and good will between the two communities.

I cannot leave this painful reference to the Arrah riots without putting on record the strongest condemnation of all the dastardly deeds of which the rioters have been guilty. I cannot concieve of anything more fatal to our aims and aspirations than these occasional outbursts of misguided religious frenzy and bigotry. In the name of an indignant Muslim League, whose aims and aspirations they have compromised, in the name of an awakened Indian nationalism, whose dearest interests they have imperilled, in the name of the Hindu

community, whose fair fame they have sullied, I emphatically denounce the awful crimes of which Hindu rioters have been guilty at Arrah and other places.

It is sad to think that while the task before us is so onerous and difficult, obstacles should be thrown in our way, knowingly or unknowingly, by our countrymen, as the goal gradually comes into view. Difficulties and obstacles are bound to increase and it requires all the courage, all the forbearance and all the statesmanship of which our leaders are capable, to win their way to ultimate success. The League has already introduced a new spirit into the community and infused a new enthusiasm into our people; but it has yet to bring together the scattered elements of a vast and diversified population, to weld them into a compact and homogeneous whole so that it may vibrate with the new-born sentiments of an awakend nationality. Our leaders have to place lofty ideals of public duty before their country and their community and must slowly mould the national character. They will have to contend with oppositions from within. Above all, our leaders of the Muslim League have got to remember that they are the trusted custodians of the interests of 70 millions of their co-relignionists in various stages of politicial development, and that every step they take must be guided by caution and deep political foresight. I have no doubt that the members of the Muslim League will, one and all, realize the full responsibilities of their positions, and learn to work in selfles devotion to the interest of their community and their country and in a spirit of healthy co-operation with the other great communities of India, so as to secure, for their common mother country, the speedy realization of that responsible form of government, under the aegis of the British Crown, which has now been authoritatively declared to be the final goal of British rule in India.

Hopes and Disappointments of Mr. Montagu's Visit

I have already referred to this year as an epoch-making one in the history of British India, epoch-making in the high hopes it had raised in the minds of the people, but I am afraid that it also seems destined to be somewhat epoch-making in our disappointment. The announcement of Mr. E.S. Montagu's visit, in connection with the question of consititutional reforms, following close upon the pronouncement of August 20, sent a thrill of exultant jubilation throughout the country. Mr. Montagu has come and is now very nearly at the end of his visit; and although the future of the question of constitutional reforms is yet open to speculation, the circumstances surrounding his official progress through the country have raised gloomy apprehensions in the public mind. The Indian Civil Service found an excuse to secure the presence of the Viceroy at the discussions that took place between Mr. Montagu and the various deputations on questions of constitutional reform, and it is no wonder that these discussions wore an almost official aspect. Free ventilation

of real grievances was greatly hampered, and I doubt if very many of those who were honoured with the so-called private interviews really spoke out their mind. This is hardly a hopeful omen; but there are other reasons for real apprehension. It is now an open secret that Mr. Montagu was prevailed upon, if not actually compelled, to stay away nearly 1,000 miles from Calcutta during the national week, lest his liberal instincts might lead him to enter the portals of the *pandals* of the Congress or of the League. Half our battle would have been won if Mr. Montagu could have had a personal contact with these national gatherings, and our enemies arranged matters to avert such a 'catastrophe'. Let us hope that these effects of the reactionary atmosphere in India will pass away as soon as Mr. Montagu sets foot on English soil and once more breathes the free atmosphere of England.

Mr. Montagu may come and go, but the fate of India's grievances goes on for ever. Our long list of disappointments in consequence of promises unfulfilled and pledges unredeemed seems destined never to come to an end. The repeal of the Arms Act; the repeal of the Press Act; the separation of judicial and executive functions; the question of police reform; the repeal of the enactments that enable the Executive to deprive law abiding subjects of His Majesty of their liberty, such as the Defence of India Act; these are amongst the most prominent of those matters of national concern about which the Congress and the League have been crying themselves hoarse year after year. We raise our voice once more, in conjunction with that of the Indian National Congress, for the early redress of these grievance. At the present day the heart of Bengal is sore on account of the operations of the Defence of India Act in consequence of which more than 1,700 Hindu youths are now interned in different parts of the country. It is true that the operations of this Act in Bengal have been confined mostly to the youths of the Hindu community, but Bengali Musalmans can never be happy so long as their Hindu brethern are suffering from an afflicted heart. I hope Government will pronounce an early amnesty for all these youths and thereby allay the wounded feelings of millions of His Majesty's loyal subjects in Bengal.

A Bereavement

Brethern of the League, I cannot resume my seat without making a reference to two matters of a particularly painful character, both of which have cast a gloom over our hearts. I refer in the first place to the sudden demise of the late Mr. A. Rasul, whose untimely death, under the most pathetic circumstances, has been an irreparable loss to the Muslim cause in India. All the communities in this country, as well as the highest officials, including His Excellency the Governor of the Presidency, have paid the highest tributes to his memory; and I do not think I can usefully add to anything that they have said. Mr. Rasul was one of those towering personalities who by sheer force of character seem born to command the respectful regard of everyone they come

in contact with. In the words of the poet:

His memory long will live alone,
In all our hearts, like mournful light
That broods above the fallen sun,
And dwells in heaven half the night.

The Future of Muslim Holy Places

The next reference I make is regarding the safety of our holy places. Only the other day, the fall of Jerusalem, coming on top of the happenings regarding Baghdad and other holy places in Mesopotamia, sent a chill through Muslim hearts, and spread a feeling of alarm throughout the Islamic World regarding the future of our holy places. We, however, hope that our benign Government will rigidly adhere to the promises held out to us regarding the safety and sanctity of our holy places, and that, whatever may be the result of military operations in Mesopotamia, it will allow all such places to remain in Muslim hands. We hope the Indian Musalmans have fully justified their claims to a consideration of this character.

Renewed Appeal for Mr. Mohammad Ali's Release

Gentlemen, I offer my heartiest welcome to that august lady, the mother of our President elect, Mr. Mohammad Ali, who in spite of the infirmities of age and failing health, has undertaken a long and perilous journey in order to deliver her appeal to the community. Our heart breaks to think that our rulers could be so stone-deaf to the prayers and entreaties of our community, and even to disregard the pitious appeals of an aged mother on behalf of her children. Only the other day, telegraphic messages, more than 30,000 in number, had been despatched to Government for the release of our leaders, but all these appeals have hitherto been in vain. Even the prayer of Mr. Mohammad Ali for an interview with the Secretary of State has been refused. If our own hearts be full of overwhelming grief and sorrow, is it difficult to conceive the agonizing feelings of a distracted mother, for whom hitherto there has been no comfort or consolation of any kind? Let us hope that the courage and fortitude, the intrepidity and energy she has shown will animate the hearts of the Musalmans of India to make one more effort for the release of our interned leaders, so that the cause of justice and righteousness may be vindicated in the liberation of these victims of bureaucratic high-handedness and unjustifiable tyranny.

Unity and Self-Sacrifice to Meet Crisis

Gentlemen, I am afraid I have already detained you much longer than I had intended, or should have done; but I sincerely hope you will all pardon me. There are moments when one has to speak in spite of oneself, and when language, however imperfect and inadequate, affords the only means of relieving

the fullness of an afflicted heart. In more respects than one, we meet today under exceptional circumstances. Apart from all our melancholy association in connection with the fate of our President-elect and other leaders, we are being persistently reminded of the fact that we are now at the threshold of a great crisis in our fate. A prospect like this is enough to make the boldes heart quail, but we have the additional melancholy foreboding that our community as a whole does not realize the perilousness of the situation. In place of that divinely inspired unity, that singleness of purpose, courage, devotion, self-sacrifice and a hundred other qualities for which Islam alone has been a living example for all the world, we have in our people to-day, a perfect negation of all these qualities in the most superlative form. A house divided against itself; dissension and discord amongst our prominent men; moral cowardice, mean and petty jealousies and a burning desire to put self before every other consideration seems to dominate the minds of many of us at the present day. It is a melancholy and sickening picture, but I am afraid it falls far short of the actual reality.

Added to this, there are the innumerable difficulties and dangers in our way due to the peculiar political position of the Musalmans of India. The participation, against England, of Turkey in the war put the final seal on our difficulties, and created for us an embarrassing situation, the seriousness of which is increasing day by day. The world has seen how the Indian Musalmans answered the call to their loyalty and devotion, and the world will also judge how their loyalty and devotion have been honoured and appreciated. We are about a fifth of the whole Indian population, but our contribution to the fighting forces of the Empire amounts to very much more than a third, only slightly less than an actual half. Of the nine Indian recipients of the Victoria Cross, as many as four were Musalmans. And yet the stain of suspicion and distrust with which our enemies have been branding us continues to be a dark spot on the fair fame of our community, although we have not hesitated to wash it with our blood. If it is the Press Act which has to be put into operation, it is the Musalman journalists who are singled out as prominent victims; if it is the Defence of India Act, it is our prominent leaders who fall an easy prey to its stringent and arbitrary provisions. We are indeed fallen on evil times, with dangers and difficulties compassed around. If ever there was a supreme necessity for unity, co-operation and self-scarifice there could not have been a greater opportunity than the present in the entire history of Muslim India. Let us hope that we will be wise in time, and it is for the Muslim League to bring home, to the entire community, the necessity of sacrificing ourselves at the solemn altar of our duty to our community. Then and then only will the Muslim League have fulfilled its mission, accomplished its high destiny amongst the political organizations in India, and covered itself with imperishable renown and everlasting glory. May the Almighty God bless our efforts and crown our activities on behalf of our community and our country with

unqualified success.

Once more, brethren of the League, I welcome you.

The Address of the Raja of Mahmudabad

As soon as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, after delivering his remarkable speech, resumed his seat, the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad got up among defeaning cheers, which resounded in the *pandal* and lasted for many minutes, to address the gathering in an Urdu speech beginning with the couplet:

بات کرنی همیں مشکل کبھی ایسی تو نه تھی
جیسی اب ہے تیری محفل کبھی ایسی تو نه تھی

The address which he wrote out in English for the occasion was distributed among the audience. In his Urdu Speech, the Raja Sahib referred to the internment of Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali, defending their loyalty. He regretted the painful circumstances under which, for the first time, the presidential chair remained vacant. He spoke feelingly about the unjust and unjustifiable conduct of the Government, placing reliance on a common C.I.D. agent, as against a man of exalted position, who was a member of the Imperial Council and belonged to a great noble family. He also spoke of the Indian demands and aspirations, and appealed to the Musalmans to stand by their fellow-subjects to obtain responsible government for India.

The following is the full text of the English address of the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad:

Gentlemen, you assembled to conduct your deliberations under the guidance of one who was chosen by universal acclaim to preside over your deliberations this year, who is regarded as one of your true leaders, who has dedicated his life to the service of his country and his community, who has suffered much and is still suffering for his service, but who also is prevented from fulfilling the obligation you had laid upon him, an obligation which it would have been his dearest wish to fulfil. From every corner of the land and from every community, the respectful prayer—latterly taking the shape of an insistent demand—had gone forth that Mohammad Ali, the President elect of this momentous session of our League, should be released from internment. But the Government has heeded not. I do not know whether those responsible for his continued detention fully realize the intensity of the feeling which exists among the Mohammedans on this matter. Mohammad Ali's enforced absence from the public life of the country has been a deprivation, the magnitude of which the Musalmans of India have felt with bitter poignancy, which has not been lessened by the fact that Mohammad Ali and his brother were interned and remain interned to-day without any definite charge having been formulated against them. Mohammad Ali, it seems to me, was the one man whose service in these unprecedentedly abnormal times it should have been

the endeavour of the Government to utilize in every possible way. A publicist of high repute, and an able and fearless exponent of the sentiments, the grievances and the aspirations of the Musalmans of India, who better could, I ask, have acted as the mouthpiece and the interpreter of those sentiments than he. He mirrored and expressed in the columns of his ably conducted journals, as no one else could do or had the courage to do, with an equal degree of faithfulness and candour, what was passing in the minds of the Muslims of India. He did not hide or attempt to minimize what we Musalmans felt, nor did he think it a service to the State or to his fellow-Musalmans to lull the Government into the belief that the mind of the community was running along the lines laid down by the bureaucracy. But though he was essentially a people's man, he never forgot his responsibilities as a patriotic citizen of the British Empire, or his allegiance to his Majesty the King Emperor. Who, indeed, can forget his exhortation, unequivocal and courageous, to his co-religionists in India when they were about to be overwhelmed by the misfortune of the acknowledged Khalifa and spiritual head of their largest section ranging himself on the side of the King's enemies, not to deviate a hair's breadth from the path of true loyalty? His electrifying pledge on behalf of the Indian Musalmans is still ringing in our ears: "Whatever happens, our anchor holds."

Three fateful years have passed since those words instinct with the true fervour of a patriot were uttered; every syllable of that pledge has been redeemed by the phenomenal way in which Muslim loyalty in India has stood an almost superhuman test. Would it not have been an act of grace, let alone justice, had the Government repaid the loyalty which has been given in such full and free measure, under such distracting circumstances, by acceding to the passionate appeal of the Mohammedan community, supported as it has been by the voice of the whole of India, and releasing the Mohammedan leader who freely and fearlessly gave that pledge three years ago on behalf of the community?

The Evil of the Internment Policy

We know that anarchical designs have been hatched and unhappily anarchical outrages perpetrated by certain enemies of law and order in British India. The commission of crimes of violence as a means to a political end is a recent development in this country. But it cannot be said that anarchism stalks the land. The overwhelming mass of the people are not only passively but actively loyal, yet when the Executive Government sought to arm itself with the weapon of the Defence of India Act—by which it invested itself with the power, as a war measure for the safety of the realm, of interning people without any trial, without any definite charge, and without any opportunity being given to them of defending themselves and proving their innocence—the support of the representatives of the people in the Council was accorded to it, though not without grave misgiving that it might be misused. How well founded were these misgivings has been made plain to the most casual observer

of events by the manner in which the provisions of this Act have been applied and made use of by the Executive. Persons who could by no stretch of imagination be suspected of any offence in connection with the war, and the whole tenor of whose lives revealed only constitutional and open efforts for the public weal, have been deprived of their liberty of person, of movement and of expression. The guillotine of the Defence Act has descended with paralyzing swiftness and ruthlessness on many members of our community, not a few of whom are recognized and cherished as our trusted leaders, champions and spokesmen.

Gentlemen, do Government fully realize what these internments have done to our country? They have not only taken away from us men whom we respected, trusted and loved. That by itself would have been a grave enough loss. The stimulation of their presence is denied to us. At this juncture in the affairs of our country and of our community, we are poorer, inestimably poorer, by being deprived of the valuable contribution which they, and most of all our President that was to be, would have made by their wise counsel, deep thought and patriotic action to our deliberations. Imagine what would have happened if the illustrious lady who is presiding at the sister political organization had remained a victim to the arbitrary exercise of the executive authority of the Government of Madras. Is it to be supposed that the people of India would have responded to the appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy for a calm and tranquil atmosphere at the time of the visit of the Secretary of State for his great and momentous mission? Such a thing was impossible. They could not have comforted themselves so even if they tried, for their minds would have been disturbed by the feeling of a great wrong remaining unredressed, a great worker in the public cause, an illustrious leader of public opinion being excluded from the discussions for which primarily the Secretary of State undertook the journey to India. The Government realized the incongruity, the injustice of the situation, and braving the taunts of the Anglo-Indian Press, forthwith released Mrs. A. Besant.

Exactly such a situation, if anything perhaps graver and exciting deeper feelings, as the wrong was of longer duration, exists with regard to Mohammad Ali. I have said that Mohammad Ali is pre-eminently the most faithful interpreter of the views of the progressive section of the Musalmans of India. On the question of the impending changes in the constitution of the government of the country, in the enjoyment of full liberty as a British subject, he would have been our most able adviser, and he should have been invited by the Government to offer his full and frank opinion. This aspect of the question has been fully and publicly put before the Government by the Musalmans. The All-India Muslim League has repeatedly placed on record the demand of the Musalmans on this point. As recently as last November 15, the Muslim League, in a general meeting of its members held at Lucknow, declared: "That this meeting deplores the fact that in spite of the expression of the

overwhelming sentiment of the community as indicated in the unanimous election of Mr. Mohammad Ali to the presidentship of the next session of the All-India Muslim League to be held in Calcutta in December next, both he and his brother, Mr. Shaukat Ali, have remained unreleased. The All-India Muslim League cannot too strongly urge upon the attention of the Government that the course followed by them is having a profoundly depressing and disquieting effect upon the community at large."

For almost three years the Government preserved a sphinx-like silence as to the reasons why Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali were interned. At last to the question of the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah, the ex-President of our League, they vouchsafed the reply that they were interned because they expressed and promoted sympathy with the King's enemies. This reply has for the first time brought within the cognizance of the public reasons, unsupported by any fact, which have induced Government to restrict the liberties of the two brothers. I say deliberately and emphatically that the Musalmans of India refuse to accept this condemnation of our two friends. We refuse to believe it, and we demand that, if Government have any evidence to justify that statement, let it be produced and scrutinized and submitted publicly to those tests without which no evidence is worth the name. We know our friends. Their lives have been an open book. They have worked constitutionally and above-board in the cause of their community and of India; and this grave charge, unsubstantiated by any facts, unproved by evidence impartially sifted, has failed to shake the confidence of the public in their innocence.

Is an expression of sympathy with Islam and Musalmans in their tribulations, in India and outside it, to be treated as an act of disloyalty to the State? On this point, the League, in the resolution I have quoted above, says: "The League further puts on record its unswerving conviction that the views expressed by Mohammad Ali in his draft undertaking faithfully reflect the attitude of the Mohammedan community of India, his offence, if it is an offence, being that speaking the unvarnished truth, he has rendered a public service alike to the Government and his own people; further that in the considered opinion of the League the view expressed by Mr. Mohammad Ali and also the passive sympathies of the Musalmans in general with their co-religionists, all over the world, based on purely religious grounds is not in the least degree inconsistent with the fullest measure of sincere and reasoned loyalty to His Majesty the King Emperor. Lastly, the League desires to convey to the Government the profound disbelief in the charges and allegations which have been officially made against Mr. Mohammad Ali without any attempt at substantiation, and so long as the public is not fully put in possession of the sources and the character of the information upon which the Government based their policy, it will continue to regard such action as devoid of any justification; further that the League do resolve in response to the universal wishes of the Musalmans of India to initiate a campaign of constitutional agitation to ventilate this matter,

both in this country and in Great Britain, with a view to securing the release of the two brothers."

In spite of these emphatic declarations, which show that the sentiments expressed by Mr. Mohammad Ali and his brother are sentiments shared with them by the whole of Muslim India, though they are in no way inconsistent with deep and reasoned loyalty to the King Emperor—a loyalty which is being daily put to the proof on the battle fields on every front where Indian Mohammedans are sacrificing their lives for King and country as freely and as willingly as any other section of His Majesty's subjects—in spite, I say, of these declarations and these proofs, the Government has continued its policy of repression, of distrust and of suspicion. There need be little wonder, then, that a feeling of disquietude, depression and resentment prevails in the minds of Muslims. And in this condition of mind, we are asked to discuss, in an atmosphere of serenity and calmness, the prospective reforms in the constitution of the government. We are to preserve an attitude of peace and calm in the face of the greatest and the most persistent aggravation of our most deep-rooted grievance. The coping stone to this attitude of Government was laid when, in a spirit of unreasonableness hard to parallel, the Home Department of the Government of India refused to allow an Al-India Deputation of Musalmans to wait on Mr. Montagu, unless the prayer for the release of Mohammad Ali and other internees was deleted.

I can hardly say that the section of the more impulsive amongst us is to be blamed when it refuses to be comforted by what is being dangled before it and exclaims with Khaiyam:

Oh take the cash, and let the credit go,
Nor heed the rumbling of a distant drum!

But much as I sympathize with this attitude, I appeal to my eager and bitterly tried friends not to give way to feelings of despondency and despair. Even those brave men who have lost their liberties for us would not wish that this spirit should get the better of us. They would wish us, I know, to continue the struggle, and work for the cause with that singleness of purpose which characterized them. The cause of the country is too great, too sacred to be forsaken through any misfortune. It is in the spirit of an unshakable devotion to our faith and our country that we have assembled here. In the clash of arms and the din of conflict, many of the old-world ideals have crumbled and vanished, but the apotheosis of patriotism, of love of country and of race has once again become an abiding and a consuming faith to millions of men, who, hitherto unmoved by any consideration except that of material gain, have made the supreme sacrifice on the altar of this faith. Gentlemen, to you this seemingly new phase of man's mentality, does not come in the nature either of a new discovery or even as a truth restored to its pristine purity. Your fidelity to your faith is a wonder to the world, and *Hubbul-Watan* (love of country) you regard as part of your faith.

I will not waste your time on the trite question of whether we are Musalmans first and Indians afterwards, or Indians first and Musalmans next; for we are both, and it does not matter in the least whether you put the one attribute first and the other afterwards or the other way about. I maintain that we are both at one and the same time, and the record of the organization to which we all are proud to belong, I mean the All-India Muslim League, is a splendid exemplification of the Indian Musalman.

To the All-India Muslim League belongs the glory of burning the great truth into the hearts of Indian Musalmans, that they must devote an equal portion of their lives for the service of the motherland as for their faith.

Muslims and the Self-Government Movement

The *rapprochement* between the two great communities of India in matters political, of which the first fruits are seen in the Joint Scheme of Reforms which has received such gratifying support from all sections of the community, is the work of your League. How this change was brought about in the attitude of the thinking portion of the Musalmans of India is a matter of recent history and within the knowledge of most of you. The Mohammedan of the last quarter of the last century had fought shy of politics. That was not an accident. He did so under the press of circumstances and in response to the imperative promptings of self-interest. A laggard, up to that time, in the educational race, in addition to being a member of a community which was a minority in this country, he realized that his position in the body politic of the country would be that of helpless subservience if everything was decided on the basis of votes. The vision of a government of the people, for the people, by the people, which was naturally entrancing to the educated Indians who had drunk deep at the fountain of Western knowledge, and who were moreover in the happy position of belonging to the predominent community, could hardly, at the first blush, make the same appeal to him. He was obsessed with a minority's natural anxiety for self-preservation. While drifting in this manner, matters were made worse by the larger community's refusal to recognize the claim of the Musalmans for representation on a communal basis, and were tending to an inevitable deadlock, to which the bureaucracy, apprehensive of the loss of their power, lent powerful support. At that stage, sudden changes in the Government of England brought to power one of the most liberal of Cabinets that had up to that time ruled from Whitehall. The affairs of India were entrusted to the hands of the philosopher-statesmen, Lord (then Mr.) Morley, who in conjunction with Lord Minto, decided, in keeping with the instincts, traditions and history of his freedom-loving race, to associate Indians, in a larger degree, in the Government of the country. To safeguard their interests and to put forward their claims in the new settlement, the Mohammedans in 1906 waited in deputation on His Excellency Lord Minto, and secured the definite concession of the right of separate representation in the Legislative Councils,

both Provincial and Imperial, to the Musalmans of India.

It was thus that the Indian Mohammedan was drawn into the vortex of politics, and under these circumstances, the Muslim League came into being. But the League was mainly a defensive body, which primarily, though not exclusively, concerned itself with advancing the interests of the community it represented. A band of young men now began to assert themselves in communal affairs. Though their devotion to the faith was intense, their outlook was broader and their patriotism higher. Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Wazir Hasan were among these workers, and it was Syed Wazir Hasan who in 1913 introduced in the draft of the Constitution of the League the now famous ideal of 'self-government suitable to India under the aegis of the British Crown'. The League now admittedly stood on a higher plane of patriotism than it occupied before, and the energy and the zeal that were infused into it succeeded in awakening, among Musalmans, a new life of aim and endeavour. Thenceforth the League's career was one of independent and fearless advocacy of Mohammendan and national causes. The manner in which your organization represented feelings during the period of the Tripolitan and the Balkan wars, at the time of the sacrilege of the shrine at Mashhed, the honourable part it played in the crises created by the Cawnpore (Kanpur) mosque affair, coupled more recently with its truly statesmanlike action in taking the initiative in acquainting the Government with the current of Mohammedan feelings with regard to the question of the Caliphate, brought into inopportune prominence by the dastardly attacks made upon it by certain English and Anglo-Indian papers at the time of the revolt of the Shareef of Mecca, are chapters in its history of which the All-India Muslim League may well be proud. The crown of the efforts of the League is admittedly the Scheme of Reforms which, in conjunction with the Indian National Congress, it has presented to the country and the Government. The immediate conferment of this constitution after the war will be regarded by the country as a first step towards that Complete responsible government which it is the declared aim of the British Government that India should attain. In the bog of addresses and interviews with which the Secretary of State, Mr. Montagu, and Lord Chelmsford are at present surrounded, one fact emerges sharp and distinct: it is the practical unanimity of this demand, from all classes and conditions of men, for the reform, without any delay, of the government of the country on the lines indicated in the Joint Scheme.

The Congress-League Scheme

It was under your mandate in 1915 that the Scheme was prepared. The best talent of your community was engaged on this work; careful thought and vigilant efforts were brought to bear on it to make the Scheme not only comprehensive but—and here your representatives were confronted with the most difficult and delicate task—to get those safeguards accepted, by the Committee of the Indian National Congress, which were considered essential

in the interests of the Musalmans of India. The principle of separate and adequate representation of the Musalmans was, for the first time in the history of the Indian National Congress, acknowledged and incorporated; and there is a further safeguard—the far reaching effects of which cannot be exaggerated—in the Scheme. It provides "that no Bill nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the Bill, or any clauses thereof, or the resolution."

Gentlemen, in your behalf, I affirm here our complete adherence to that Scheme, which is the irreducible minimum of our demands. Here I may say that the bed-rock of our demands in relation to our communal interests is as firm to-day as it was in 1906. And therefore in any scheme of constitutional reforms in the government of this country, this cardinal fact should not, in our opinion, be lost sight of.

The separate representation of the Indian Musalman in the Legislative Council, has admittedly been conducive to better relations between the two communities of India. It has contributed to the contentment of Mohammedans inasmuch as it has softened, if not altogether eliminated, the galling sense of unmerited importance in influencing Indian policy from the minds of the community, which by reason of its number, its position and its importance, felt that it could not justifiably resign itself to the inevitable lot of a hopeless and therefore dejected minority.

Communal representation is not an innovation introduced in the constitution of India only. Representation on a territorial basis is, we recognize, the general rule; but in the British Empire, embracing as it does, world-wide, divergent and not always easily reconcilable interests and elements, the experiment of communal representation has been tried with success, as for instance, in Cyprus, long before it was introduced in the Constitutions of this country. The recognition of this principle by the predominant community in India is an index of their desire for the equitable handling of inter-communal problems, and has made it possible for a joint scheme to be presented with the support of both the communities.

The steady advance of the government of the country on democratic lines, its increased deference to the will of the people as expressed through their chosen representatives, under whose control the government should ultimately be, is the basis on which this constitution is framed. The British nation is expending its blood and treasure with such profusion and generosity in order that the world may be 'made safe for democracy'. Shall then the mockery continue that, while India—with the other component parts of the Empire, which, by the way, are all democratic and self-governing—is fighting

for this ideal, the form of government under which she is ruled remains despotic, however benevolent? It is a slur on the fair name of freedom-loving England, and I believe, repugnant to the instincts of the great nation with which the destinies of this ancient land are bound up.

We demand that by reason of India's advancement in education, economic and industrial progress, political capacity, and above all her inalienable right to full and unfettered development and as an over-delayed act of political equity and justice, the Government of Great Britain shall make definite announcement of the period during which full and complete responsible government shall be conferred on India. Other countries that had neither the ordered and settled and scientifically efficient government, nor enjoyed such immunity from internal disorder or external menace as India, have attained the ideal which for our country is still a pious aspiration. As a first and a very short step towards this goal, we demand that immediately after the conclusion of the war, the Constitution as embodied in the Joint Scheme, shall be granted.

The spirit of self-realization which is at present moving mankind in such a tremendously ominous manner has not left India untouched. She is also possessed with it, and why should she not be possessed with the spirit? Why should she not aspire to rise to her full stature? But the scheme for which we ask is not extravagantly ambitious. It is not Utopian. Existing conditions have been taken into account and safeguards against our inexperience have been provided.

I may offer some observations in connection with portions of it. I believe that the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India is essential. The Secretary of State for India should not have a higher, a more powerful, or different position than the Secretary of State for the Colonies. He should, however, be assisted with one Assistant Secretary and two Under-Secretaries, two of whom should be Indians, to bring before him the Indian point of view. The greater portion of the powers of the Secretary of State should be transferred to Parliament. Our aim is autonomy, and the Viceroys should no longer be the agents of the Secretary of State for India. The Executive Council should more and more approximate to the Cabinet of Ministers, members retaining their seats in the last resort by the suffrage of the people, and with this end in view, the power of nominating members of his Executive Council should be taken away from the Viceroy.

Instead of the present system, members of the Executive Council of the Viceroy should be elected by the members of the Legislature, or at least, to begin with, as a first step towards that consummation, the Legislative Council should be given the right of nominating four members out of themselves, two of whom the Viceroy should select for the membership of his Council. I have yet another alternative scheme to suggest. The Vice-President of the Council should be a Minister without portfolio. His position should be analogous to that of the Premier, and to him should be given the power of

selecting all the members of the Executive Council, official and non-official. To make him a representative of the people, at least by sympathy, if not by election, the Vice-President should always be an Indian.

The official members of the Legislative Council should no longer be a machinery for voting under Government direction. They should be there as representatives of departments and provinces. The official nominated element in the Councils should be one-fifth of the total strength of the Council.

I may say that I am in favour of the proposal, according to which, if a measure is passed by the Council with which the Viceroy is not in agreement, he shall have the power first to send it back for the reconsideration of the Council, and if it does not change it's decision, then to dissolve it and order a fresh election. If the newly elected Council again passes that measure, then the Viceroy will be bound by the constitution to give his assent to it.

The first item in the programme of the Council which I have outlined should be the introduction of free and compulsory primary education. This reform, for which the late lamented Mr. Gokhale devoted his energies in the latter part of his life, has long been overdue. Is it not a reproach to Government, no less than to those who are working for the uplift of this country, that it should be absent from the educational organization of the country, at nearly the end of the first quarter of the 20th century?

Public Service Commission Report

Before I pass to other subjects, I may refer to the keen disappointment with which the whole country has received the majority report of the Royal Commission on the Public Service of India. As has been observed by Mr. Kunzru in his admirable criticism of the Report, "The question of the extensive employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the Public Services is not merely one of providing honourable careers for the youth of India. The exclusion of the children of the soil from all positions of power and dignity would be a legitimate grievance even if the effect of the injustice were confined to a few individuals, but the injury to individual interests pales into insignificance by the side of the wrong done to the whole nation. Our vital interests are bound up with the proper solution of this question, which is at once moral, political and economic. It affects our manhood. It involves our national self-respect, it is also a test of England's good faith. If she is mindful of her moral responsibilities, if her dominion in India is not to be synonymous with the exploitation of a helpless people, if the Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858 are not mere scraps of paper, it is her bounden duty to raise Indians to positions of trust and responsibility, and to make them feel that they are not treated as helots in their own country.

But after a considerable expenditure of public money and raising hopes in the public mind, the commission has perpetuated, with minor modifications which hardly affect the position, the inequities, the disabilities, the injustices

on which the whole system of recruiting and manning the higher branches of the Public Services in India is built up.

The agency which is entrusted with the prevention and detection of crime still possesses the power to award punishment. The incubus of an agency, alien and therefore unsympathetic, devoid of understanding and unadaptable to Indian needs, still sits on the education of the country. Equality of opportunity in competing for the premier service in India is still denied to the youth of the country; and the declaration, humiliating to the whole of India, is still made that race, and not fitness and ability, is the criterion for filling up positions of responsibility in the administration, while the excuse is advanced that the British character of the administration should be maintained. Cannot Indians with British education maintain that character?

The whole country is under a great obligation to that distinguished son of India, Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, who in his capacity as a member of the Commission did not forget the claims of the sons of this country to their birth-right of an equal, aye, a predominant, share in her governance and administration. The Note of Dissent signed by him represents the views of the whole of educated India, Mohammedan and Hindu, on this question; and the dissatisfaction of the country can only be removed if they are adopted in their entirety.

To the non-Muslim mind, the Muslim brotherhood, which scorns the barriers of race, of clime or territory, is an incomprehensible phenomenon; but it is, all the same, a living force and an adamantine fact. And want of understanding and appreciation of this fact is responsible for half the complications with which British statesmanship perennially finds itself face to face in relation to Islam. How often has the Muslim mind in India been lacerated by the ignorance of and, let us hope unconscious, want of respect for Islamic convictions which responsible British statesmen betray at the most critical period of international affairs.

The Question of the Caliphate

The question of the Caliphate is, for example, one which, now when Islam is already on the *qui vive*, has been recently treated in a flippant manner by men in authority, who ought to know, and by influential organs of public opinion, which ought to be taught better. It is not a shuttle-cock for European diplomacy to play with. It is a question which has got its seat in the very fibre of the faith of a vast majority of the Mohammedans of the world, no less than of India. They are greatly mistaken who think that any interference or dictation in this matter will not be resented by the Musalmans.

Gentlemen, the disintegration of Mohammedan countries is going on apace. Countries, every inch of which is sacred to the Musalmans, have been made battlegrounds in consequence of this world conflagration. The announcement which the Government of His Majesty and His Majesty's representative

in India made at the beginning of this war, and which has contributed to an enormous degree to the self-control of the Indian Musalmans, is not forgotten. It assured them of the inviolability and the integrity of the Muslim sacred places and of their immunity from attack—Jerusalem is one of those sacred places.

Vision of a United India

Gentlemen, how do we stand in relation to the other communities in India? Our points of contact are so many and so important; but our points of difference are not few. And the energies of the best minds of the two great communities of India are concentrated on the problem of how to smooth these differences and pave the way for greater harmony, toleration and mutual goodwill. They had almost succeeded when the outrages in Arrah and other places in Bihar and in other parts of India came as a rude shock, and have caused consternation in the ranks of well-wishers of the country, and joy to its enemies.

It would be folly to shut our eyes to the fact that these events reveal that forces inimical to real progress are not yet subdued, that the danger of the elements of disruption overwhelming and sweeping away the foundations of the Indian nation are still considerable.

Is the vision of a United India in which the nation-builders of both the communities are indulging so rapturously to be shattered for ever, and the labours of Indian patriots to be mercilessly stultified?

I call upon my Hindu compatriots not to treat the problem in a light-hearted manner or try to gloss over facts.

If all the recent attempts at co-operation are not to result in dismal failure, it behoves them and us to tackle the probelms of *Moharram*, *Dasehra* and *Baqrid* with real earnestness of purpose.

What force otherwise will our demand to the Government possess?

Gentlemen, our need now is the consolidation of the ground which workers in the cause of the political regeneration of India have, as the Hon. Mr. Jinnah so eloquently pointed out last year, constitutionally won yard by yard and inch by inch. Do not rest but continue to advance.

The citadels of reaction, both official and communal, have not yet been stormed. Join your forces and with a stout heart attack them.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE SESSION

I. The All-India Muslim League notes with deep satisfaction the steadfast loyalty of the Musalman Community to the British Crown during the present crisis through which the Empire is passing, and it assures the Government that it may continue to rely upon the loyal support of the Musalmans and prays that this assurance may be conveyed to H.M. the King Emperor. (From the Chair.)

II. The All-India Muslim League accords a cordial welcome to the Right Hon'ble E.S. Montagu on the occasion of his mission to India, and trusts that he is convinced of the genuine and intense desire of the people of India to attain responsible government as soon as possible. (From the Chair.)

III. The All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the death of the great and revered leader of the Musalmans of India —Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, the first Honorary Secretary of this League, whose whole life was devoted to the disinterested service of his community, and whose manly advocacy of Muslim rights and aspirations has won him an abiding place in the affections of his co-religionists. (From the Chair.)

IV. The All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of profound grief at the sudden and untimely death of Raja Mohammad Ghulam Husain, the talented founder and Editor of the *New Era* and deplores the irreparable loss which the community has sustained by his sad demise. (From the Chair.)

V. The All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the sudden and premature death of the Hon. Mr. Abd-ur-Rasul, a patriot of the highest character and a gentlemen of stainless public reputation, whose services in the cause of the community and the country will long enshrine his memory in the grateful recollection of his community. (From the Chair.)

VI. The All-India Muslim League enters a strong protest against the objection taken by the Government of India to the passage in the address of the All-India Muslim Deputation relating to the internment of distinguished Muslim leaders under the Defence of India Act—a question which, the League is convinced, is closely bound with the contentment of very large numbers of His Majesty's subjects, and which, in its opinion, does involve an important constitutional issue.

The League is further of opinion that the refusal by the Government of India to allow the All-India Muslim League Deputation to be received by the Secretary of State, unless the passage referred to above were deleted, constitutes an encroachment on the rights of Indian citizens to place their political grievances before His Majesty's representatives. Having regard, moreover, to the fact that other deputations were allowed to present addresses to the Secretary of State containing a number of matters not bearing on the question of constitutional reforms, and considering also that this attitude of the Government debarred the Deputation from placing before the Secretary of State and the Viceroy the views of the Musalmans of India on many important questions of constitutional reforms contained in its address, the League deplores the decision of the Government of India and deems it its duty to bring to the notice of the Secretary of State the circumstances which prevented the Deputation from placing the Muslim viewpoint regarding the

political situation before the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy. (From the Chair.)

VII. This meeting of the All-India Muslim League emphatically protests against the decision of the Government of the C.P. and Berar in not recommending the deputation of the League of that Province to wait upon H. E. the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India and thus debarring the Musalmans of that Province from placing their views before His Majesty's representatives. (From the Chair.)

VIII. The All-India Muslim League is strongly of opionion that the invidious distinctions maintained among the different sections of His Majesty's subjects under the Arms Act are extremely repugnant to the Indian's sense of justice and self-respect and urges upon the Government the necessity of an early repeal of the said Act. (From the Chair.)

IX. This League strongly urges upon the Government to take immediate steps for the establishment of the Dacca University. (From the Chair.)

X. (a) The All-India Muslim League views with great alarm the outburst of Hindu fanaticism on the last *Baqrid* and *Moharram* in Bihar and Chaurari in the Jaunpore district and other places, and condemns the rioters and their secret sympathizers as the enemies of the country. This meeting also expresses its deep regret at the silence of responsible Hindu leaders at the occurrences in Bihar and Chaurari.

(b) The All-India Muslim League expresses its indignation at the failure of the Criminal Investigation Department to obtain timely information of the huge organization set on foot by a large section of the Hindu population in the districts of Arrah, Gaya and Patna to plunder the houses of the Musalmans, defile and destroy mosques and the Holy Quran, and commit other excesses, and refuses to believe that the stupendous anti-cow-killing movement could have been organized without the help and co-operation of a number of Hindu members of the force. This meeting also expresses its deep regret at the weakness shown by the authorities in facing the situation, and their omission to adopt drastic measures against the rioters who carried on the pillage from village to village, and is of opinion that by having recourse to strong measures at the outset the spread of the trouble could have been avoided. (Proposed by Mr. S. Riza Ali; seconded by Mr. Abul Qasim.)

XI. The All-India Muslim League, voicing the Muslim public opinion, adheres to the principle of separate representation for the Muslim community, and strongly urges upon Governemnt the immediate necessity of applying the said principle to local bodies in provinces where it has not yet been applied. (Proposed by Mr. Amin-ur-Rahman; seconded by Mr. Aziz-ul-Haque.)

XII. The All-India Muslim League deplores the fact that in spite of the expression of the overwhelming sentiment of the community, as indicated in the unanimous election of Mr. Mohammad Ali to the presidentship of this

Session of the All-India Muslim League, both he and his brother, Mr. Shaukat Ali, have remained unreleased. The All-India Muslim League cannot too strongly urge upon the attention of the Government that the course followed by them is having a profoundly disquieting effect upon the community at large. The League feels it its duty to point out that, if it were not for the special appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy for co-operation in making the mission of the Secretary of State a success, the prevailing sense of the co-community would undoubtedly have restrained the Musalmans from any participation, at this juncture, in the representations to the Secretary of State. The League further puts on record its unswerving conviction that the views expressed by Mr. Mohammad Ali in his draft undertaking faithfully reflect the attitude of the Musalmans of India, his offence, if it is an offence, being that in speaking out the unvarnished truth he has rendered a public service alike to Government and his own people; further that in the considered opionon of the League, the views expressed by Mr. Mohammad Ali, and also the passive sympathies of the Musalmans in general with their co-religionists all over the world, based on purely religious grounds, are not in the least degree inconsistent with the fullest measure of sincere and reasoned loyalty to His Majesty the King Emperor. Lastly, the league desires to convey to Government its profound disbelief in the charges and allegations which have been officially made against Mr. Mohammad Ali, and the League does resolve, in response to the universal wishes of the Musalmans of India, to initiate a campaign of constitutional agitation, both in this country and in Great Britain, with a view to securing the release of the too brothers. (Proposed by Mr. Fazl-ul-Haque; seconded by Mr. S. Zahur Ahmed; supported by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. M.K. Gandhi, Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, Mr. Mohammad Shafi.)

XIII. The All-India Muslim League strongly urges upon the Government to set free Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and all the other Muslim internees who have unjustly been deprived of their liberties, and to remove the great discontent prevailing in the Muslim community in consequence of such internments. (Proposed by Moulvi Mohammad Ismail; seconded by Maulvi Najm-ud-Din; supported by Syed Mohsin Shah.)

XIV. (a) The All-India Muslim League records its sense of great satisfaction at the announcement made by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on the 20th of August, 1917, that the policy of His Majesty's Government is "that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of administration, and gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to progressive realization of responsible government in India, as an integral part of the British Empire".

(b) In redemption of the pledge made in the announcement, "that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible", the

League strongly urges upon the Government the immediate introduction of a Bill embodying the reforms contained in the Congress-League Scheme of December, 1916, as the first step towards the realization of responsible government and fix a time limit in the statute itself, within which complete responsible government should be established in India, provided always that the principle of adequate and effective representation of the Muslim community is made a *sine qua non* in any scheme of reform. (Proposed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah; seconded by Mr. Abul Qasim; supported by Syed Raza Ali, Mr. Yaqub Hasan, Mr. Barkat Ali, Nawab Sarfraz Husain Khan, Khwaja Haji Abdussamad Kukru, Nawab Zulqadar Jang.)

XV In view of the strong desire of the Muslim community to have definite provisions for the protection of its interests, this League urges upon the Government that the following safeguards be adopted in the forthcoming reforms:

(a) Musalmans should be adequately represented in the public services of the country.

(b) Musalmans should have representation on Government Universities in the same proportion as the representation accorded to Musalmans on the Legislative Council of the province concerned may be.

(c) The Urdu language and Persian character should be maintained in courts and public offices in those provinces where they are in vogue, and Urdu should be employed as the medium of primary education in the aforesaid provinces.

(d) Musalmans should be afforded facilities, protection and help in the observance and performance of their religious rites, ceremonies and usages on the occasion of *Baqrid*, *Moharram*, etc., without any restriction by any official or community. (Proposed by Mr. Mohammad Yaqub; seconded by Mr. Ismail Shirazi.)

XVI. (a) Having regard to the pronouncement of the 20th of August, 1917, made by the Imperial Government, it is desirable to discuss certain matters of detail with reference to the Congress-League Scheme, and this League urges upon the Indian National Congress to appoint a committee, at as early a date as possible, to work out those details in conjunction with the committee hereby appointed, without in any way infringing the principles embodied in the Congress-League Scheme.

(b) The following gentlemen do form the Committee, with the President and Secretary of the League as *ex-officio* President and Secretary of the Committee, of which seven shall form a quorum:

Bengal

1. Mr. A. K. Fazl-ul-Haque

2. Mr. Abul Qasim
3. Mr. Amin-ur-Rahman
4. Mr. Ashraf Ali
5. Mr. Abdul Latif Ahmed
6. Mr. Aziz-ul-Haque

Bihar

7. Mr. Nur-ul-Hasan
8. Nawab Sarafraz Husain Khan
9. Maulvi Syed Mohammad Shafi
10. Mr. M. Haque
11. Mr. Hasan Imam
12. Maulvi Ahmed Husain

United Provinces

13. The Raja of Mahmudabad
14. Nawab Mohammad Ishaq Khan
15. Syed Raza Ali
16. Syed Alay Nabi
17. Syed Nawab Abdul Majid
18. Syed Nabi-ul-lah
19. Mr. Shuaib Quraishi
20. Mr. Wazir Hasan
21. Mr. Mohammad Yaqub

Punjab

22. Mian Fazle Husain
23. Mr. Barakat Ali
24. Mr. Agha Mohammad Safdar
25. Mr. S. Mohsin Shah
26. Dr. Saif-ud Din Kitchlew

Delhi

27. Dr. M.A. Ansari
28. Mr. Mohammad Ali
29. Hakim Ajmal Khan

Central Provinces

30. Mr. Taj-ud-Din

Burma

31. Mr. Mohammad Yusuf Bhaimian

Assam

32. Mr. Sad-ul-lah
33. Mr. Abdul Hamid

Bombay and Sind

34. Mr. M. A. Jinnah
35. Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Bhurgari
36. Mr. Ghulam Ali Chagla
37. Mr. Sheriff D. Kanji
38. Mr. Omar Sobhani

Madras

39. Mr. Asad Ali Khan
40. Seth Yaqub Hasan

Central India and Rajputana

41. Mr. Abd-ur-Rashid

North-West Frontier Province

42. Qazi Mir Ahmed

(Proposed by Mr. Fazl-ul-Haque; seconded by Mr. Raza Ali.)

XVII. The All-India Muslim League places on record its most emphatic protest against the refusal of the British Government to admit two Indian Barristers (to East Africa) and requests His Excellency Lord Chelmsford to move the Imperial Government to get the decision immediately reversed, as it constitutes a serious encroachment upon the indefeasible rights of the Indian subjects of His Majesty to settle freely in any part of the Empire including protectorates. (Proposed by Mr. Mohd. Nurul Haque Chaudhri; seconded by Mr. Mohammad Abdullah)

XVIII. The All-India Muslim League views with great dismay and protests strongly against the indiscriminate administration of the Defence of India Act as constituting a great menace to the liberty of the Indians, and in view of their unimpeachable loyalty throughout the war, urges upon the Government the extreme necessity for the appointment of a joint-committee of Indians and Europeans to be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council for the purpose of inquiring into the cases of all political detenues. (Proposed by Chaudhri Alim-uz-Zaman; seconded by Dr. S. Kitchlew.)

XIX. The All-India Muslim League views with alarm the present economic condition of the poverty stricken ryot of Bengal, the majority of whom are Musalmans, created by the abnormally high prices of the necessaries of life owing to the war, and urges the Government to take immediate steps

to put a stop to the harassments and the indiscriminate arrests, and to treat with leniency the forced excesses that might have been made in connection with the alleged looting of "Salt and Dhoties" in some districts of Bengal. (Proposed by Moulvi Badr-ud-Din Ahmed; seconded by Moulvi Mohammad Akram Khan.)

XX. The All-India Muslim League once more places on record its strong protest against the continuation of the Press Act on the Statute Book, which has proved in practice a harsh and oppressive measure especially in the case of the Urdu Press, and has rendered the free expression of public opinion practically impossible. The League is emphatically of the opinion that the said Act should be repealed without further delay. (Proposed by Mr. Wahid Husain; seconded by Mr. Zafar-ul-Mulk.)

XXI. That a committee of the following five members, with the President and Secretaries of the All-India Muslim League as *ex-officio* members of it, be appointed to consider and report, within four months, upon the Draft Constitution, as prepared by the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, to the Council of the League:

1. Mirza Sami-ul-lah Beg
2. Syed Alay Nabi
3. Dr. M.A. Ansari
4. Moulvi Zafar-ul-Mulk
5. Mr. Shuaib Quraishi

(Proposed by Mr. Barkat Ali; seconded by Mr. Aziz-ul-Haque.)

XXII. The All-India Muslim League places on record the deep-rooted feeling of the whole community as regards the safety and sanctity of the Holy Places, and in view of recent events, particularly the capture of Jerusalem, insists on a declaration of policy conforming to the promises formerly made. (Proposed by Qazi Abdul Ghaffar; seconded by Mr. A.M. Khawaja.)

XXIII. The All-India Muslim League protests strongly against the restrictions imposed upon the Right Hon'ble E.S. Montagu, and considers that the hindrances placed in his way are calculated to keep him ignorant of the true state of affairs in this country. (From the Chair.)

XXIV. (a) The All-India Muslim League welcomes the announcement, in the House of Commons, of "the decision of His Majesty's Government to remove the bar which has hitherto precluded the admission of Indians to the Commissioned Ranks in His Majesty's Army."

(b) The League trusts that in framing the rules under which Indians shall be eligible for commissions, Government will have due regard for the wishes of the people.

(c) Colleges for training Indians as officers of the army should be established in India.

(d) The League urges upon Government that in giving effect to the policy mentioned above, full consideration will be paid to the claims of the Muslim community. (Proposed by Mr. Barkat Ali; seconded by Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman.)

XXV. The All-India Muslim League considers that the decision of the Government of Bombay to make Urdu a second language, and not a vernacular of the Presidency, will be a heavy blow to the cause of education among the Musalmans of the Presidency, and urges upon the said Government to make Urdu a vernacular of the Presidency, and also maintain Urdu Schools like the Kanarese and Marathi Schools. (From the Chair.)[1]

1. *Proceedings of the 10th Session of the All-India Muslim League held at Calcutta on the 30th and 31st December, 1917, and 1st January 1918*, Compiled by the Hon. Syed Wazir Hasan. Lucknow.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

SPECIAL SESSION

BOMBAY, AUGUST 31—SEPTEMBER 1, 1918

A Special Session of the All-India Muslim League was held at the Empire Theatre, Bombay, on the afternoon of August 31, 1918, for the purpose of considering and expressing their opinion on the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme. Considering the importance of the occasion and the large and enthusiastic gatherings which sessions of the League attracted in previous years, the attendance at the Empire Theatre on Saturday could be regarded as poor. The proceedings opened with a recitation from the Quran, after which Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates and visitors, delivered the following inaugural address:

The dominant consideration with all of us, when we set out to think on any matter, is the war. And in this connection, the recent success of the Allies on the Western Front is a matter at which we all sincerely rejoice, because it will bring victory and peace nearer, and the solution of all problems arising from the war. In this struggle in which the future of the whole human race and of human civilization is involved, the position and sympathies of India have always been clearly set out. While Europe is being bled to death for the sake of the principles of nationality and for the sake of the highest conceptions of political liberty, the attitude of those that have been administering this country has undergone an enormous change. India's participation in the war during the first year meant merely the participation of the Government of India. But as time went on, all that was changed, and in the appeal of the Prime Minister and in the gracious message of the King Emperor at the last War Conference at Delhi, in the announcement of August 29, and in the

subsequent efforts towards extensive political readjustment, we have had unmistakable signs of the fact that India will no longer be regarded as a mass of subject people administered by a few able men at the top, but will stand forth as she has now stood forth, as a united community, in spite of all differences of caste and creed, guided perhaps, in beneficent channels, by able English Administrators, but conscious nevertheless of her collective strength, her rights in the great Empire of England and her duties towards the great Commonwealth of nations of which she is going to form, in future, the most powerful member, a free nation amongst an alliance of self-governing communities linked together by common ties of personal loyalty to His Majesty the King Emperor, cherishing gratitude to England as the oldest of them all, but occupying an equal rank with her in the great role of advancing the civilization for which common blood is being shed side by side. In this war, as time goes on above the din and clash of daily battle, there arise great and dominant conceptions which are going to govern human life in the future, the greatest of all of them being the principles of self-determination so ably enunciated by President Wilson, the leader of the greatest democracy the world has seen.

India's War Service

In this great struggle, India has willingly and cheerfully borne her share of the burden and sacrifice, and the tribute of acknowledgement and gratitude which English statesmen of all ranks and opinion have been paying us until now ought to be lasting evidence that—notwithstanding the absence of any preparations in the past, on the part of the administration or on the part of the people, for this great task—we have acquitted ourselves remarkably and with great credit. In the matter of the War Loan and in the matter of recruiting, the active co-operation which the Government have secured from the people of this country will ever remain memorable in the new chapter of Indian history which has now been opened. The position of India in the Empire has also changed and the presence of Indian delegates at the Imperial War Conference and in the Imperial War Cabinet signifies an advance which was beyond our dreams. The time is not now distant when the Musalmans shall also be enabled to contribute to important deliberations and great decisions in the world's history which will be taken at the future meetings of these bodies, at which, let me hope, the elected representatives of India, whether Hindus or Musalmans, will occupy the same honoured places as the prime ministers and other Colonial statesmen hailing from other members of the Empire.

It is gratifying to be able to express the fact, before you and before the world, that we Musalmans of India have not fallen behind in the discharge of our civic and military obligations to the State, of which we are proud citizens. We do not shrink from sharing the burdens of the Empire, and when the time of reckoning comes in future after a victorious peace—and I hope that is not now very far off—it will be found that in contributing money and

in contributing men and, above all, in maintaining the general morale of the Indian communities, we Musalmans have been foremost, and our contributions are absolutely second to none. In spite of numerous doubts, in spite of blunders here and there committed by British statesmen, in spite of the inevitable turn of circumstances resulting from the stern necessities of war, the Muslims have stood firm in their purpose, and they have shouldered responsibilities and proved their indisputable claim to the political rights for which they have formulated their demands. The attitude adopted by the Musalman community with regard to the war and in respect of political reforms has undergone considerable change. In the first flush of the war, in response to the appeal made by statesmen like Lord Hardinge, there was some feeling that political agitation should be suspended till the close of the war, but now that the issues are more clearly understood, and now that the first surprise of the war is worn out, the bearing of the war on all our lives stands out very clearly. The war has only accentuated that process of liberalization in the government of India which had begun through the Council Acts of 1861 and 1892, and through the reforms under the Morley-Minto Scheme. We are now face to face with another momentous change, this time more real and far-reaching. We are no longer content with the passive position of subjects; we are becoming councillors whose co-operation and advice are welcomed by the Government even in its present form. I firmly believe that the ground that we have won in this manner will never be lost to us, but will become, notwithstanding all controversies that are now raging, a position of vantage from which further progress will be inevitable.

Muslim Political Sentiment

The position created by the war makes it difficult to keep pace mentally with the changing order of things. Remarkable events are happening everywhere in the world with such rapidity that it is very difficult to reach definite conclusions or to fix upon a well-defined programme for any purpose whatsoever. One thing is, however, clearly understood and generally accepted, and that is that nothing is going to be the same in the world after the war. The titanic struggle in which the whole world is involved is everywhere overthrowing accepted traditions, old ideals and time-worn customs; everybody is taking stock, and everybody is going to put his house in order. Old land marks are being washed away; old animosities are being effaced; new and deeper unity is being established among those that are fighting together for a common cause, for the vindication of the ideals of justice and freedom. Side by side with the geographical, the moral map of mankind is going to be altered, and those who have endured the woes of war together will join hands during the new period of reconstruction. The interest evinced by the British democracy in Indian affairs has grown apace. The fruits of this quickened interest in the welfare and political progress of this country, we are soon going to reap.

As an earnest of this new relation, the Secretary of State for India has been sent down to examine the conditions personally, and to submit his report on this matter for the consideration of the British Parliament. In the British Parliament democratic forces are gaining strength, whose reaction on Indian problems will be eminently beneficial.

These world changes have not left Indian thought and the Indian mind untouched. Instead of a narrow and circumscribed outlook, men have begun to take a longer view and to see things in their proper perspective, through very trying times, through moments of wavering and indecision. The Musalmans of India have also begun to feel, unmistakably and in a striking manner, a pure sentiment which is really national. The Musalmans fully share with other members of the Indian nation the larger hopes and the larger ambitions. A new and real interest in life, in education, in politics, has been created in them; and instead of apathy or mere jealousy of other communities, there is now a genuine desire among them to share in the common weal and in the common task of nation-building. All this is to the good, and we are here assembled to give living proof of this tendency, which I am convinced will bear great and lasting fruits.

The Reform Scheme

Coming now to the Reform Scheme, I must say, at the outset, that to the British Parliament and the British democracy we are really grateful for the acceptance of the goal of responsible self-government for this country. To Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu, we are more grateful for the sympathetic interpretation of the spirit of the announcement of August 20. Even if we suggest some modifications, we cannot but acknowledge that these two statesmen have, on the whole, worked on lines that are admirable. We do not yet know the materials from which they constructed their report. We must therefore make our own suggestions and attempt to convince the British democracy. In the meantime we must acknowledge that the distinguished authors of the report have given much anxious thought to the problem of Indian administration, and they have made a sincere attempt to meet the difficult situation. Even while we ought to get our modifications, the names of these two liberal statesmen will remain for ever memorable and will go down in history as among the benefactors and friends of India.

Coming to the Reform Scheme itself, I have no desire to prejudice the issues at this stage. I should like to point out that the Scheme put forward in the report is by no means final. Criticism on the report is welcomed and asked for by the authors themselves. It is expected by local governments and the Government of India. It is awaited by the Parliament and the democracy of England. My own humble views have long since been published, but on this important occasion I should like to place one or two important points before you. The acceptance by the House of Commons, and the coalition

Government in the United Kingdom, of the principles of the announcement of August 20, is undoubtedly a very satisfactory thing. The report is by no means final, and does not pretend to be that. On the ultimate political status of this country, everybody is agreed without any difference. There is no influential group of people of any kind in this country or in the United Kingdom that does not acknowledge that the aim of British Government and of British statesmen in India is to lead this country to the position of a self-governing member of the British Empire. This goal has also been accepted by the All-India Muslim League which truly represents the Musalman interests of the country. To this goal we are going to stick through thick and thin; and as citizens of this country, the Musalmans will, in spite of all the sneers of their enemies and the misgivings of their timid friends, contribute their proper share. While everybody is agreed on this goal, there are different opinions as to the intervening steps through which we have to reach that stage. We have before us Mr. Gokhale's scheme published by His Highness the Aga Khan as the first step towards that glorious destiny. We have in the memorandum of the 19 members of the Imperial Legislative Council a document that forms a counterpart to the famous despatch of Lord Hardinge, from which the history of what is now called the Chelmsford-Montagu Report could be said to have begun. Last but not least, we have the Congress-League Scheme, in framing which the leading and representative men of all communities sat down together, sinking finally all that was keeping them apart and agreeing to a common workable basis; and now we have before us the Chelmsford-Montagu Scheme on which such anxious thought has been devoted by its authors.

Stage of Transition

In regard to the stage of transition, we must all admit we have to pass various modifications of this Scheme in order to satisfy all our aspirations. In the resolutions which will be placed before you, will be found the modifications which alone, as self-respecting men, we can suggest, and nothing short of which is likely to satisfy us or to create those conditions of co-operation on which all progress must ultimately depend. In the matter of local self-government, on the one hand, and in the matter of the India Council and the entire organization of control from the United Kingdom by the Secretary of State, on the other hand, even the joint report of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy proves entirely satisfactory to everybody. But in the matter of the Government of India, there is an extraordinary sense of unity amongst all grades and sections of the Indian population and of the parties in Indian politics. No advance in the provinces could be satisfactory or certain, so long as the structure of the Government of India is maintained as it is in its entirety. In this matter the Chelmsford-Montagu Report has caused some disappointment throughout the country, and in this we would urge with all emphasis that we are capable of adopting changes that will secure us a real voice. In the

matter of provincial governments, in the matter of provincial autonomy, and of administration in the provinces with reference to the reservation of subjects, the Grand Committee organization, the power of certification, the rules of business, the power of disallowing questions and resolutions and Bills, and in many other respects, at many places in the body of the Report some distrust is shown, not only of the representative assemblies as they would come to be formed, but of individual Indians and their capacity for public work, their power of co-operation and their real desire to see representative institutions successful in the country. This want of confidence is, in my mind, entirely gratuitous, and is founded on an old tradition which, like everything else, is considerably weakened, if not altogether annihilated, by the new conditions under which the Reform Scheme will be inaugurated. I have great faith in the good sense, in the tolerance, in the sense of duty, which will actuate the men in whose hands the success of this experiment will lie; and I am confident that we shall not betray the trust which will be given to us, and we shall prove in every respect, when the time comes, that the changes that we now demand are in no way premature. There will, however, be a discussion on these matters before this assembly, and I do not wish to prejudice the issue in this discussion. I shall not therefore dilate any further on the details of the constitutional reforms.

Muslim Interests

One of the functions of this organization, and a function which was regarded by us as even greater than the function of securing self-government for India, is the safeguarding of distinct Musalman interests in this country. In regard to this therefore, I would like to say a word—and on this I must crave the indulgence of those friends that have come from Bengal, the United Provinces and the Punjab. Speaking as a Bombay Musalman, I wish to commend the extreme sense of harmony that has actuated everybody in the Bombay Presidency and the very cordial relations that have been maintained here between the Musalmans and the non-Musalmans of this province. These relations have so far been devoid of every bitterness of any description. Notwithstanding this, I wish that this assembly would uphold, for a considerable period to come, the separate representation for the purpose of the legislative assemblies in the provinces, the Imperial Legislative Council, and the Council of State. It is therefore very satisfactory to note that the proportion of members of the two communities on these bodies which we had agreed has been, in a truly just spirit, reiterated and given acceptance by the Hindu leaders and others assembled in the Indian National Congress. The need for separate arrangements arises, as you know, not merely because of the disparity of population, in which respect in most cases, the Musulmans are in a minority; but because of the disparity in the actual electorates in which, even in those provinces like the Punjab, where they are in a majority as regards population,

the Musalmans may find themselves handicapped because of their backward condition. I feel that the value of the compact thus reached, and honourably maintained between the two communities, intrinsically does not lie merely in the actual representation which we shall thus secure; it is a great evidence of the spirit of co-operation and of give and take which is going to characterize the future activities of these two great communities in the Commonwealth of India.

This compact which was solemnly proclaimed, and which has been sincerely adhered to, has become something sacred; and its inclusion in the Scheme of Reforms and in the Bill embodying that Scheme, we must demand with one voice. We must assure the English statesmen and the British Parliament that this is a matter between us and the other communities in India—it is a matter which we shall decide best without the intervention of anybody whatever from outside. In this as well as in other items referring to separate Muslim interests, it is my earnest hope that members of the Muslim League will arrive at decisions most favourable to the future of the community.

In all these matters there is need to view things with an eye to the future. I have given serious thought to this, and it seems to me that we Musalmans are really at a disadvantage in the matter of education, and that we are suffering from chronic poverty to a larger extent than the Hindus. From any improvement that we shall effect as the result of provincial autonomy, I expect we shall stand to gain much more than the rest of the population—from better sanitation, from wider education and other larger opportunities for industrial growth. The Musalmans stand to gain more because they are at present backward in education, living in unhealthy surroundings, and suffering from poverty. There are numerous communities of Musalman artisans that will gain an entirely new impulse from the improved conditions in industry which we hope to bring about by a real transfer of administrative responsibility to us.

Essential Considerations

In fighting over details we should not lose sight of essentials, and we should conduct our discussions of these problems in that atmosphere of common good, in that atmosphere of give and take on which alone the future of this country and, with it, our own future depends. Whatever shape the reform takes, the path that lies before us is full of difficulties; and I hope that both the officials and the people will adapt...to the new conditions created, and will show that forbearance and that devotion to common duty and the public weal for which Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu have made an appeal in the Report. Only the experience gained as we go along will help everybody concerned to make the experiment successful. I am one of those who believe that the logic of circumstances is stronger than any other logic. We are all passing through very trying times. The shadow of famine overhangs us in some parts of the country, and a great increase in prices has arisen.

The mass of the people has in every respect been reduced to suffering. Some of us have opportunities of judging these difficulties that arise; but Government should once for all realize the impossibility of managing things in the old style. It is only by co-operation, by tolerance, and by the fullest confidence in Indians that government in this country can be carried on in the future.

I view all these things as a businessman. In political matters as in others, a businessman always takes a practical position. He has always got an eye for getting the best return for efforts put forward. Judging matters in this light, I am convinced that whatever is agreed upon as necessary in the Scheme, and whatever modifications we may ultimately come to decide upon as necessary in the Scheme, and whatever is agreed upon by the British Parliament, any forward political step that we may take will inevitably create the conditions which will take us still further forward, until we reach the final goal of complete self-government. I confess, however, that I am convinced that whatever the modifications of the cave—that is to say by the prejudice of my own calling—my mind turns from questions of mere administrative machinery to the economic interests and material well-being of this period[1]...The political reforms will, during this period, form merely a background to sustain the great efforts for the economic uplift of our country. That, we shall have to do with our new self-respect and our new self-consciousness. It would be humiliating to feel that the economic penetration by Germany should begin again, or that India should continue in the same helpless dependence on foreign supplies as in the past.

Side by side with the political, we have got to secure the economic emancipation of India. We have got to make up a great leeway to come to where the other nations of the world are, and then we have got to make another upward sweep in order to push ourselves in front, and in order to hold our own in the free competition of the economic world. We have to redeem the country into a more self-reliant and robust economic position. I feel that I should bring to the special notice of this august assembly that portion of the Chelmsford-Montagu Report which touches upon but does not decide the question of fiscal autonomy. The tariff policy of this country has for along time been determined from London to suit interests other than our own. We have suffered in more ways than one by the domination of the Manchester School of Economics and the policy of the open door. I submit that no country situated as India is can get on economically unless a more intelligent and discriminating policy is adopted—unless a detailed study is made of her own difficulties, and the tariff fixed upon accordingly by her own citizens. No political reforms, however valuable they may appear, will be worth having if they are not accompanied by complete fiscal autonomy, that is, to-day, by full powers placed in the hands of the Government of India,

1. As reported this part of the sentence is jumbled.

in which we shall have a real voice, in the future to decide the tariff rates in the best interests of our country. The Indian nation has demanded this right with singular unity in the past and I have every hope that this assembly, before it completes its sittings, will have reiterated this demand in unmistakable terms.

I pass on to the question of general industrial progress. On this, I am not at liberty to disclose the conclusions reached by the Industrial Commission, but I am confident that when these recommendations are published and when they have been definitely adopted by the Government of India, they will give every satisfaction to the people. Complaints are heard everywhere about 'British and other vested interests'. We have no desire to do any harm to any other interests, but in this country which is our own, we must and we shall have an equal, if not prior, right in the exploitation of all its resources and in building the industrial prosperity on which alone the larger structure of national life can rise. More money will be required for undertaking works of public utility like education and sanitation, and this cannot be drawn from the people without creating more wealth and thus increasing the taxable surplus in the pockets of the people. In the matter of Indian commerce also, there are many points at which difficulties are experienced by us. I am particularly anxious that with the expansion of Indian commerce—which I foresee—larger opportunities could be created for Musalmans to share in the benefits, so that we too may bring to the common altar our share for the expanding glory of the motherland.

Islam in India

In conclusion, I wish to say one or two words with regard to our position in this country. The Musalmans in India are no longer an isolated community, and to appear so is to put ourselves in the wrong with the rest of the nation. We have in the past made important contributions to India's great civilization, of which we are proud. We have influenced the architecture of the country and put an indelible mark upon it for all times to come. We have...preserved and advanced the fine arts. We have adapted ourselves to and enriched the system of wonderful music that is neither Hindu nor Musalman, but which is distinctly Indian. In arts and crafts, we have always maintained the foremost position. We have influenced the common language of this country. We have put our mark on the national dress. In every other respect, though numerically small, we have made contributions of real and abiding value to the common life of the country. How few of us can claim to be directly descended from those who came over the frontier and who made India their home, and yet we, who belong to the common races of this country, have still possessed and developed an individuality of our own. We are going to contribute no small share to the common life of the future, and to this future we can confidently look up.

Gentlemen, I welcome you once again in our midst. I shall not interpose myself any longer between you and the distinguished President, whom we are all anxious to hear. The Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad is our permanent President and in his wisdom, in his firmness, in his patriotism and in his advocacy of our cause, we have the fullest confidence. We are fortunate in having him to guide us at this time.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF THE RAJA OF MAHMUDABAD

The Raja of Mahmudabad was then formally installed in the presidential chair. He delivered a few sentences of his printed speech, which was then read by Syed Hussein.

What has called us here together, the President said, is, as you know, the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms which His Excellency Lord Chelmsford and the Right Honourable E.S. Montagu have presented to His Majesty's Government and on which criticism is invited; and as the recognized conduit of progressive Mohammedan opinion, it is the duty of the All-India Muslim League to give expression to its considered judgement on it.

The Report and the memorable announcement of British policy of the August 20, 1917, with regard to India, as a corollary of which the Report is published, have not come a minute too soon. The world-forces which are changing the mental and moral outlook of the human race, have not left India untouched or unaffected. It is not a mere idle fancy to say that unfathomed depths of Indian thought and feeling have been stirred; what is seen is not merely ripples on the surface. That more than a million sons of this ancient land have gone voluntarily to the shambles of Flanders, France and the other theatres of war, to fight the battle of England, is due to the realization by India that the British Empire has not entered this grim struggle lightly, or with an ambition to seize territory and subjugate people, but to vindicate right and justice and freedom. She saw that England drew her sword to defend the right of small nations to determine their own fate, and to live their lives unmolested by stronger and unscrupulous neighbours. I do not say that every man who has enlisted in India since the war broke out has done so after a severe process of reasoning respecting the rights and wrongs of the war. No, manifestly not. But the national mind of India has instinctively felts the justice of England's cause. The Indian's homage to moral grandeur, wherever and whenever he finds it, is immeasurable. Service, complete and unstinted, to spiritual ideals is his creed from time immemorial, and he has lived up to it. Self-mortification, nay, self-immolation, is his willing offering at that altar. And it was thus that there was a stir in the placeid life of this country hoary with age; a stir, not to take advantage of the troubles in which England found herself, but to run to her side and render whatever help India was capable of. An uninterrupted stream of men—increasing as the years of war

have rolled on—of all classes, from the prince to the peasant, has found its way to where the principles for which England had taken up arms were being fought out, not to watch the struggle in a spirit of unconcerned detachment, but to take part in it, and if need be, give up their lives for those principles. But at the same time the question was as irresistible as it was natural, as to whether the principles in defence of which, and on account of the violation of which, the Empire was draining its life-blood, were or were not being applied nearer home; and whether it was a fact that in certain portions of the Empire, the right of the people themselves to manage the affairs of their country was not yet conceded.

People's Primary Right

It was not the war which brought this reflection to them. For years past, that section of the people of India which the Report calls the 'intelligentsia' has been crying itself hoarse over the denial of what it onsiders the primary and inalienable right of every people, most of all of people who belong to that commonwealth of nations called the British Empire—viz., to have a predominant voice and share in the government of their own country. The utmost that can be said is that the war and the justification of our participation in it gave point to India's national demand; "it came with the accumulated force of years' discontent." What would have been the result of further delay in grappling with the grave problem of Indian discontent, it is not pleasant to think of; but the conditions of 1906 and 1907, which no lover of India wishes to see revived, threatened to make their appearance again, only in a form which, because it was constitutional, was not less formidable than the other. What I mean is that the party of constitutional progress, the party that put its faith in ordered and peaceful advance was getting impatient and despondent. Hope deferred makes the heart sick, and it was hardly a matter for surprise that the best minds of the country who never lost hope, even when the prospect was most dismal, were at last succumbing to despair.

In spite of the palliatives applied by the Minto-Morley Reforms, the conditions did not improve much. Partial satisfaction there was, but it soon became evident that the remedies were not potent enough to eradicate the maladies in the body politic. We come now to the next stage of the development of the Indian situation. I have already referred to the declaration of policy made by his Majesty's Government in regard to India's constitutional goal. Following upon that, as you are aware, the unprecedented visit to India of the Secretary of State took place, in order to enable him personally to study and investigate the problem, and consult all shades of opinion in reference to it. The results of that investigation are embodied in the Report, to pronounce upon which you have asesmbled on this occasion. The Report, gentlemen, is a monument of industry and political acumen. We may not agree with all its conclusions, but we cannot

fail to be impressed by it. The sinister shadow of Mr. Curtis, however, sits athwart the Report. What Mr. Srinivas Sastri very aptly calls the pedagogic tenets of Mr. Curtis seem to have exercised an influence on the distinguished authors of the Report out of all proportion to their merits. But for the gratuitous entry of this gentlemen into the politics of India, what chance of acceptance the National Scheme evolved by the joint labours of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League would have had is an interesting, though now an unfruitful, speculation. It has never been claimed for the Scheme that it was complete in the formulation of the details of its proposals, or that it was a model of draftsmanship. But any one reading it with care could not fail to discover that it rested upon and embodied certain vital principles. These principles, so far from being anything new or at variance with the moral instincts of the British Nation or with the trend and teaching of British history, were but a reaffirmation by the people of India of what British sovereigns in succession, and the British nation through its most illustrious statesmen, had repeatedly declared to be their aim with regard to the great Dependency—as it had hitherto been called—of India.

Counter-Proposals

Proceeding, the President recalled some of these declarations, and, continuing, said the history of India's connection with England being replete with such declarations, proclamations and assurance, it was natural that in the British House of Commons, the greatest of free and democratic institutions, the announcement of August 20 was made. Buoyed up by such assurances as he had cited and having an unextinguishable faith in the cause, a cause which they believed would further cement the connection of India with England, broad-basing it on a people's willing allegiance, the representatives of the Indian people, through their national assemblies, evolved a scheme, which taking into consideration the existing circumstances in India, they thought would be the most suitable beginning of a regime in which the principles enunciated, over and over again in Parliament and outside, with regard to the governance of this country, would have a chance of gradual but progressive application.

The President then proceeded to refer to the fundamental principles of the Congress-League Scheme, the criticisms passed on it in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and the counter-proposals.

Speaking of the latter the Raja of Mahmudabad said: Instead of the scheme of reforms which the All-India Muslim League, in collaboration with the sister organization, the Indian National Congress, presented the country and the Government for their acceptance, the Report issued over the signatures of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford and the Right Honourable E.S. Montagu, after making an exhaustive survey of the political situation, and taking note of the different complicated problems which the conditions

in India give rise to, makes counter proposals with regard to the constitutional reforms which they think ought, in pursuance of the policy enunciated in the announcement of August 20, to be introduced in the government of this country forthwith . The announcement having been made, the vision was now clear, and the goal difinitely fixed, which His Majesty's Government definitely—and we trust irrevocably—pledged itself to help India to reach. The announcement naturally raised high hopes in the minds of those Indians who already regarded the principles enunciated in it as the articles of their political creed, and when simulatneously with the announcement, it was further announced that accepting the invitation of His Excellency the Viceroy, the Secretary of State would proceed to investigate the subject, on the spot, in order to formulate proposals to give effect to what the announcement intended, the Indian patriots began to feel that the era for the inauguration of which they had been striving was drawing perceptibly nearer. The publication of the Report, as a result of this visit and of the enquiry..., has plunged the whole country into a state of intense excitement. It has stimulated thought and provoked keen controversy. The question is being hotly debated as to whether it should be accepted by the country or not; whether or not the proposals it contains satisfy the aspirations and the expectations raised by the announcement itself; whether, in one word, they constitute a substantial step towards the realization of responsible government? That they have caused disappointment in our minds, cannot and need not be denied. They have fallen short of natural and legitimate expectations. What now is the remedy?

Three Basic Formulas

The proposals are built upon the foundation of three formulas, which have been stated thus: (i) "There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them of outside control." (ii) "The provinces are the domain in which the earlier steps towards the progressive realization of responsible government should be taken. Some measure of responsibility should be given at once, and our aim is to give complete responsibility as soon as conditions permit. This involves at once giving the provinces, the largest measure of independence, administrative and financial, of the Government of India, which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities." (iii) "The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament and saving such responsibility, its authority in esssential matters must remain indisputable, pending experience of the effect of the changes now to be introduced to the provinces. In the meantime the Indian Legislative Council should be enlarged and made more representative and its opportunities of influencing Government increased.

These formulas and the qualifying phrases and sentences implying distrust of the capacity of the people, with which the announcement of August 20

is hedged, tend to mar the undoubted *bona fides* of the actual proposals. The formulas which I have just quoted, and specially the manner in which they have been evolved and given shape in the concrete proposals put forward, make the Government of India practically unamenable to the influence of the representatives of the people. In fact, the cumulative effect of the proposal seems to me, if anything, to take the Government farther away than now from the orbit of such influence.

Council of State

The institution of the Council of State and the consequent relegation of the Legislative Assembly to a position of secondary importance, the humiliating provision that bills rejected by the Legislative Assembly may be referred *de novo* to the Council of State and passed there; and worse still, the reservation of the power of introducing a bill in the first instance in, and of passing it through, the Council of State alone, merely reporting it to the Assembly, all point in one direction, *viz.*, to make the voice of the people important in the Government of India. I have no quarrel with the dictum of the Report. "In all matters which it (the Government of India) judges to be essential to the discharge of its responsibilities for peace, order and good government, it must, saving only for its accountability to Parliament, retain indisputable power." So it must; but there is no reason why, with the retention of that indispensable power on a secure basis, opportunities to the people of the country for influencing the Government in other matters of vital importance should not be more extended and definite. No definition has been given as to what will be the boundary line of responsbility for peace, order and good government; and when the definition is left undetermined, as it has been in the Reforms Report, it is conceivable that the domain of things and of actions considered necessary by Government for peace, order and good government, may become co-extensive with the personal predilections and even idiosyncracies of the Excutive. It is necessary in my opinion that the boundaries should be well defined as to what matters ordinarily relate to peace, order and good government. Responsibility to the electorate, an element of which is introduced in the Provincial Government, is entirely absent in the constitution of the Central and supreme Government. It is only accountable to Parliament and the Secretary of State. That, I submit, is not the right way to prepare us for full and complete responsible government at a later stage. In the Government of India also, though in a more circumscribed area than in the Provincial government, the principle of responsibility should have full sway. This brings me, gentlemen, to the novel method in which responsibility is sought to be introduced by the distinguished authors of the Report. In the Provincial Government, where alone the system is to come into vogue, a system of dual government is set up. Departments of government will be divided into those dealing with reserved and those dealing

with transferred subjects. Transferred subjects will be administered by ministers selected from among the members of the Legislative Council and they will be responsible to it. They will be removable by the Council inasmuch as their lease of official life will be co-terminal with that of the Council itself, of which they will be a member. They will be dependent for administration of their department on the votes of supplies which they may get from the Council or from fresh taxation which they may persuade the Council to impose for specific benefit of those transferred subjects. The reserved subjects will, on the other hand, be in the happy position of having their financial requirements attended to first to the extent that the Excecutive Government may demand; and the Legislature is debarred from having any determining voice in the matter.

Harmony Menaced

In so far as this makes a portion of the administration amenable to popular control, the proposal is to be welcomed. But the bifurcation of Government will not lead to that harmonious working for which the authors are so anxious. This duality of government has in recent history been in operation in Egypt in pre-protectorate days, and Lord Cromer's *Modern Egypt* bears witness to the difficulties and sometimes quite intolerable situation which it gave rise to. It was due to this anomalous combination that the prestige of the Government, of which he was at once a symbol and an agent, overcame such difficulties, and tided over the situations. It may be said in reply that there were two governments, foreign, the dominant, and native, the subservient, ruling side by side, and it was due to this anomalous combination that the difficulties owed their origin. That is true; so will it be true of the government set up in the form of administrations of reserved and transferred subjects. The prestige of the reserved departments will make transferred departments feel small in their own estimation. I cannot but fear, as has been suggested, that "the one government will be regarded as official and the other as Indian"; and although the proposals say that all orders relating to reserved and transferred subjects would be the orders of one government, it is not difficult to foresee that the subordinate officials would very soon decide as to what orders rquired prompt and thorough obedience, and what could be complied with at leisure. There is historical precedent for this view. When the East India Company took over the Divani from the Nawab Nazim of Bengal—although it professed to have acquired nothing more, in fact, the Executive of the Nizamat came, in time, to be subordinated in the public mind, to the administrators of the Divani. This may be described as an earlier example of dubious dualism in Government. The administration of transferred subjects will therefore, in my opinion, start with a great handicap; a handicap which, I submit, cannot be fairly placed on it, and which it should be our aim to remove as soon as possible. But if

the system with its attendant defects and dangers is considered necessary as a training school in the art of responsibile government for the ministers and Legislative Assembly alike, I accept it—I accept it not for any inherent or intrinsic merit of which I see it possessed, but because I think that this proposal for experimental purposes may be accepted in its principle.

Reasons for Bifurcation

The main reason—in fact the only reason—for the suggested bifurcation of Government which has been advanced is the necessity of keeping authority unimpaired in the experienced hands of the Executive Government for maintaining peace, order and good government. The principle being conceded, the Government should act up to its own professions. It should reserve only those subjects which are absolutely necessary for peace, order and good government. Moreover, the distinction should conscientiously be abandoned when its experimental purpose has been served. The period should not extend beyond five years, according to all reasonable calculation, and therefore provision to that effect should be made in the statute. The illustrative List No. 22, showing transferred subjects, any, some, or all of which may be transferred to the provinces, according to the capacity which the different provinces may be adjudged to possess, is not required. What is required is a list of subjects which it is intended to reserve, not at random, but in their indisputable indispensability to peace, order and good government. In this connection, and here it would be proper if I draw your attention to an ominous passage in the Report. It says: "What we have to do is at once to encourage and to regulate this process. After five years' time from the first meeting of the reformed councils, we suggest that the Government of India should hear applications from either the provincial government or the provincial council for the modification of the reserved and transferred lists of the province, and that after considering the evidence laid before them, they should recommend for the approval of the Secretary of State the transfer of such further subjects to the transferred list as they think desirable. On the other hand, if it should be made plain to them that certain functions have been seriously maladministered, it will be open to them, which the sanction of the Secretary of the state, to retransfer subjects from the transferred to the reserved list or to place restrictions for the future on the minister's power in respect of certain transferred subjects". Do you realize, gentlemen, what an interminal vista of accusations and allegations against the Indian people this opens up for those — and their number is not negligible yet—to whom the thought of any transference of power to the Indian people is anathema.

Future Opposition Feared

Anglo-India and reactionary India, it is idle to disguise, will not fail,

at the end of five years after the meeting of the reformed Council, to bring charges of serious maladministration with regard to the transferred subjects. The close of the fifth year would be a signal for the revival of racial bitterness. The flood-gates of charges regarding the Indians want of capacity and their ineptitude will be opened. The doctrine of transmigration, and not of evolution, will thus be applied to the political constitution of India and there will always be the danger of a transferred subject 'reeling back into' the reserved subject. It is not an exaggerated fear. I can foresee what frantic efforts will be made, both here and in England, to have those subjects retransferred to the reserved list. What will be the result? The cycle will not end and the process will never be complete—"of adding to the transferred subjects and of taking away from the reserved ones, until such time as with the entire disappearance of the reserved subjects the need for an official element in the Government procedure in the Grand Committee vanishes and the goal of complete responsibility is attained in the provinces". The proposals with regard to the autonomy of the provinces in fiscal matters are satisfactory as far as they go. The provinces will no longer be in the position of collectors of their own revenue for the purpose of handing it over to the Government of India, and to beg for whatever dues the latter may be pleased to give out of its abundance, to enable the provinces to eke out an existence. The freedom to impose fresh taxation is accompanied by the freedom to utilize the revenue derived from those taxes for provincial purposes; this is an act of overdelayed justice. But it has come after all; and the provinces will no longer be starved as they have been so far. One caveat the Government of India have made: "Emergencies may arise which cannot be provided for by immediately raising Government of India taxation, in that case it must be open to the Central Government to make a special supplementary levy upon the provinces." The Report, after considering the advantages and disadvantages of the bicameral system of government, comes to the conclusion, and I think rightly, that the system should not be introduced here. "We apprehend", says the Report, "that a second chamber representing mainly landed and moneyed interests might prove too effective a barrier against legislation which affected such interests. Again, the presence of large landed proprietors in the second chamber might have the unfortunate result of discouraging other members of the same class from seeking the votes of the electroate. We think that the delay involved in passing legislation through two houses,will make the system far too cumbrous to contemplate for the business of provincial legislation. We have decided for the present therefore against bicameral institutions for the provinces." After such a lucid exposition of reasons against the system, one would have thought that one had heard the last of it, but it makes its appearance all the same in the Provincial Constitution. What are Grand Committees, if not second chambers in essence? In spirit and in origin they may be regarded as a diluted form of the second chamber.

Second Chambers Harmful

I unhestitatingly declare that in the proposed Constitution, where the government have been subjected to such a restricted and partial, in fact illusory popular control, these second chambers, by whatever name you may call them, are not merely superfluities, they are positively harmful. I have already shown that I regard the Council of State as an innovation which would make the Government of India even less amenable to the influence of the representatives of the people of the country than it is now, and, therefore, gentlemen, we must urge for its removal from the proposed Constitution. I note with satisfaction that in the Executive Councils the Indian element is to be increased; but our demand that the Indian element introduced in the council should be truly representative has not been acceded to. The cogency of arguments which the distinguished authors in the Report advance in support of their inability to satisfy this demand must be admitted and, therefore, we should not just at present press for the modification of the Report in that respect. But we should insist that in the Executive Councils, the Cabinets of the Government, the Indian element should be increased; they should be half and half. It will comprise representatives of the people by sympathy of sentiment and identity of interest which is the next best thing to representatives by direct election. One great matter which constitutes the basis of the whole structure has been left to be settled later on. I refer, gentlemen, to the electorates that are to come into existence. They will be the motive power of the whole machinery, and yet the determination of their composition and the qualifications which will be demanded of them has been left to the discretion of a committee to be called hereafter to institute enquiries and make recommendations. These recommendations should have emanated from the distinguished signatories to the Report—they would have had on them the impress of two great and penetrating minds. What will happen now? The whole question of the capacity of the people will be re-opened. Associations and individuals who have not reconciled themselves to the main principle of the declaration of August 20th—and who are otherwise known to be hostile to Indian progress—will start their campaign afresh against the grant of any extended franchise to the people. And it is unfortunate that they will get many weapons from the armoury of the Report itself.

Shortcomings Exaggerated

The picture as presented in the chapter on 'The Indian Conditions of the Problem', for instance, may in its main outlines, be faithful to the lineaments of the original, but as has been pointed out, the blemishes have been given an undue prominence, "the circumstances which go against the introduction of responsible government have been given an exaggerated value and those that are in favour of it have been underestimated or ignored." The

absence of education, the differences of religion, race and caste, the ignorance of the masses of the people, their distressful poverty—far beyond the standards of Europe—the alleged want of political capacity of the rural population, are all paraded forward and backward and side-way to prove that it is problematical whether people so circumstanced are capable of properly exercising the power of voting. Yet it may be confessed, more in sorrow than in shame, that not a few of the conditions mentioned are not of our creating. We have been pointing to them insistently for a long time and offering suggestions with a view to their amelioration, but unfortunately, as in other matters, they have fallen on deaf ears. I have of course no wish to minimize our own responsibility for the prevailing condition of things in India. For much of the religious differences for instance, that exist we ourselves are to blame. There may be officials who in pursuit of the well-known principle of "divide and rule" would wish to see the perpetuation of these differences; but whose is the fault if we make ourselves not only willing but eager tools in their hands? What efforts—I am talking of sincere and not simulated efforts—have we made to obliterate those cleavages of which the report speaks, "the cleavages of religion, race and caste which constantly threaten its (Indian society's) solidarity and of which any wise political scheme must take serious heed." Social aloofness and separation are not fostered by Government. For this we are to a greater degree than we wish to admit responsible. The fact that these differences do not appear to soften down is due, however, I am firmly convinced, to the absence of one factor from the life of the masses of India. It is that, apart from the spiritual temperament which keeps the Indian immersed in religious preoccupation, there is also the lack of any other equally engrossing interests in life. Next to religion, politics dominates the minds of men in other places. But the average Indian has been given little opportunity or encouragement to take a healthy and active interest in the affairs of his own country. Politics to him is taboo. And indeed, it could hardly have been otherwise with a system of administration so central and bureaucratic in character, and paternal in its professions, as the one that obtains in India. The consequence is that religion mainly colours the texture of his life.

Views on the Franchise

The President then dealt with that section of the Report which dealt with the condition of the masses. Giving his views on the franchise he said: Apart from the historical validity of the official argument, however, it is our duty now, gentlemen, to put on record our views on the subject of franchise instead of waiting for the initiation of enquiries by the Committee which is going to be appointed for the purpose. It may be stated broadly that the present condition of the people in respect of education and training in politics should not be made an excuse for disqualifying a considerable number

of them from enjoying that privilege. The electrorate must be sufficiently broad-based to include all those who can be expected to be capable of using the vote in an ordinarily intelligent manner. Manhood suffrage is neither demanded nor is feasible, but literacy and possession of some property may well be recognized as qualifications for the franchise. As regards the public services of the country, it is gratifying that Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu do not stop at the recommendations of the Public Services Commission of 1912, but make more equitable and more generous recommendations. They have recommended, among other things, the removal from the regulations of the remaining distinctions that are based on race, and the throwing open of all appointments in all branches of the Public Service without racial discrimination. They have also recommended that in the Indian Civil Service the proportion of recruitment in India be 33 per cent of the superior posts, increasing by 1½ per cent annually. I think the percentage, though an advance on what the Public Services Commission recommended, is not quite adequate. The ethics of the question of the larger employment of Indians in the administration cannot be discussed at length here; but one point may be mentioned. Among many reasons which have been advanced on every occasion (when the question has been debated) against the admission of Indians in any considerable number to the superior grades of the service, one that has been put forward is that the British character of the Indian public services will be adversely affected. I refuse to admit that proposition. Among the lessons of the war there is a striking demonstration of the fallacy of that assumption. Owing to the exigencies of the war, as is well known, many Indian services, notably the Indian Civil Services and the Police, have been depleted of their English personnel, and Indians in the provincial services are being put in charge of positions which they could not formerly hope to reach. Many districts are now almost entirely manned by Indians. The Police, the Judicial and even the Executive charge of some districts is now in their hands. Has the character of the administration become un-British? No, on the contrary the administration has gained by being brought more in touch with the people.

Pay of Public Services

Before leaving the subject of the Public Services, I should like to point out that the proposals still further to increase the pay of the European members of the Civil Service, which is already the best paid service in the world, will make the cost of administration disproportionately heavy; and considering the poverty of the country, we should not impose a heavier strain on it. The demand for making the King's Commission available to Indians has at last been conceded, but the proposals in the Report are not commensurate either with the requirements of the situation or even with necessities of the hour. India is no longer isolated. It is in the vortex of international strifes, ambitions

and struggles. The menace to her is not chimerical, we have been told on the highest authority that it is very real. India has been asked and she is straining every nerve to put forth her greatest effort in supplying men, money and material for the needs of the Empire, and the defence of her own borders. She is supplying men not in thousands but in hundreds of thousands; would it not be an inspiring sight if these men were to be led to battle by officers of their own race as are the Canadians, the New Zealanders and even the South Africans? Why this mistrust, even at this supreme moment of trial? The rally of India to the flag has been nothing short of phenomenal. At a critical time of war, the contingent from India turned the scales, and we are thankful to Lord Hardinge for having given India an opportunity to prove her mettle. Let her be given a national army, officered by her own sons, let her people have the right to bear arms, and then she may face with equanimity any menace to her safety.

Fiscal Autonomy

Gentlemen, no real beginning towards a self-governing India can be made until fiscal autonomy is included in the first instalment of reforms. No nation can make any progress without it; and to my mind, it is the very life-breath of the industrial renaissance of which India stands so much in need. The policy of free trade might have made England what it is; but the principles which will bring economic salvation to India, we are firmly convinced, are not the principles of Adam Smith and his school. The world has travelled very much farther since his days. Protection and bounties and discriminating tariffs, which were not the gods worshipped by the political economists of the Victorian age, have been now enshrined even in that country. In the economic reconstruction of the Empire after the war, the problems of which are now being considered, the voice of the free trader is no longer heard to any effect. England is committed to a policy of preference. One thing is clear; the belligerent Powers of to-day will not enter into any economic peace on pre-war terms. Even after they have sheathed their swords and resumed political relations, there will probably be an Allied Zollverein. India is not alone in her repudiation of free trade. The Central Powers, Austria-Hungary and Germany, rejected that principle. They built up their huge industries, their marvellous trade, and captured the markets of the world by a systematic application of the principles of protection, and encouragement of industries by State subsidies and bounties. Japan, the primitive backward Asiatic country of 40 years ago, did the same. To-day she is a highly industrialized State, and her people are rich and prosperous. India has been the dumping ground of foreign manufactures of every country in the world. She had no industries to speak of her own, and was dependent on imports for even the smallest article of everyday use. Her function has been to supply raw materials of every kind, and get them back in the shape of manufactured articles and

contribute to the prosperity of those countries which thus sent out their commodities to her.

An Opportunity Missed

Following the outbreak of the war, Germany and Austria were automatically excluded from Indian markets and imports from other belligerent countries, too, were restricted. Here was a splendid opportunity to revive and improve her industries; but, unfortunately, we had niether state subsidies nor protective tariffs to help us forward. The result is that Indian industry continues to be where it was. Instead of Germany and Austria, Japan has flooded our market. Though we cannot expect much help from the British Parliament in this matter, I am sure if we pressed our claim with unanimity and force, the love of fair play of the Biritish democracy would assert itself and India would get fiscal autonomy. The report under consideration omits to make any proposals, I regret to say, in this regard.

Hindu Muslim Rapprochement

Gentlemen, I now come to a question with which the very existence of the All-India Muslim League is bound up. I mean the question of the separate representation of Musalmans in the Legislative Councils and in local bodies. I have reserved the consideration of this question to the last, not because it is less important than the others, but for us the most important of all. From the point of view of the Mohmmedans of India it should be and is, under the present circumstances of the country, the dominant factor in Indian polity. The attitude of the Mohammedans on this question has been characterized by an utter unanimity, and intensity of conviction, which does not appear to have been adequately realized so far by the authorities.

Following upon the rapprochement of 1916, by which the Hindus and Mohammedans self-determined their national demands, the Hindus realizing its beneficent effect on the vital interests of the country, agreed to the Mohammedans having not only separate electorates, but a representation commensurate with their status and special needs in the country. The Mohammedans on their part renounced their participation in mixed electorates. This result was arrived at by mutual consent. That constitutes the chief basis of the agreement. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report, however, fails to grasp the significance of the settlement. "We are not aware on what basis the figures were arrived at," say the authors of the Report. I wonder what other basis than the one I have pointed out could be more valid. Is not mutual consent the most satisfactory basis for any such settlement as the one under consideration? I may be permitted to point out that in the discussion of its proposals, which the publication of the Report has evoked, there has been a unanimous condemnation of, and protest against, on the part of Hindus and Mohammedans alike, of the view taken of the Hindu-Muslim agreement

referred to by the authors of the Report. I may further remark that, having regard to the dissatisfaction already engendered by the attitude disclosed in the Report in regard to this matter, there cannot be any doubt that the Musalmans, any less than their Hindu brethren, will agree to any thing less than the restoration of the settlement in any Bill that may be in contemplation. It is my duty, knowing as I do the intensity of Muslim feeling on this question, to sound this note of warning and of appeal. Gentlemen, I am afraid I have taxed your patience and your indulgence to an inordinate extent, but the seriousness of the occasion is my excuse for it. We, who are assembled here, have a sacred though a heavy duty to perform, and I pray that God will grant us all light and guidance to see which way our duty lies.

Conclusion

Gentlemen, I shall conclude with one last word. You will have observed that I have refrained from indicating any specific lines for your deliberations to proceed upon. This I need hardly say is not due to any oversight, but to the fact that I very strongly feel that on so momentous an occasion as the present, no individual opinion should be imposed upon the community, and that the community itself should, through its chosen representatives, declare its mind on the issue before it, according to the constitutional procedure by which we are bound. While on this point, I cannot but deplore that at this juncture the Musalman community is deprived of the benefit of the advice and guidance of some of its most trusted leaders, who, moreover, had made a special study of the constitutional issues on which we are called upon to pronounce. I refer especially to that brilliant publicist Mr. Mohamed Ali, who occupies a position of outstanding eminence in the progressive party of modern democracy, and who, together with his brother and a number of distinguished *confreres*, is still condemned to iternment without any well-established cause. The Musalmans keenly feel the wrong inflicted on them by their being thus deprived of most valuable assistance and guidance in the task of considering and pronouncing upon the Report of Indian Constitutional Reforms. May I once again appeal to the Government to meet the wishes and satisfy the sentiment of the Muslim community in this regard?

Second Sitting

The All-India Muslim League continued its deliberations the next day at the Empire Theatre, Bombay, the Raja of Mahmudabad being in the Chair. A praiseworthy determination on the part of the organizers to expedite the proceedings, which showed a favourable contrast to the procedure adopted by the Congress, was noticeable. The speeches were noted for brevity and couched in a temperate tone. A number of resolutions were moved from the Chair without any remarks and they were adopted unanimously.

RESOLUTION I

The first resolution proposed by the President ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League tenders its most loyal homage to His Majesty the King Emperor and assures the Government of the steadfast and continued loyalty of the Muslim community of India throughout the present crisis.

The resolution was carried.

The following resolutions were also moved from the Chair and carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION II

The All-India Muslim League enters an emphatic protest against the insinuation contained in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms that the people of India are unfit for responsible government.

RESOLUTION III

The All-India Muslim League reaffirms the principles of reform contained in the resolution relating to self-government adopted in their annual sessions at Lucknow and Calcutta and declares that the grant of self-government within the Empire is essential to strengthen the bond between England and India and also to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indian People.

RESOLUTION IV

The All-India Muslim League deeply deplores the absence of some of the trusted eaders of the community from this Special Session of the League and once again puts on record its respectful but firm protest against their continued incarceration, in spite of the repeated prayers of the community for their release.

The All-India Muslim League once again emphasizes the importance of making due provisions for an adequate and separate representation of the Musalmans on all self-governing institutions which will be constituted on the inauguration of the proposed constitutional reforms.

RESOLUTION V

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the Government of India shall have undivided administrative authority on matters directly concerning peace, tranquillity and safety of the country, subject to the following: That the statute to be passed by Parliament should include the Declaration of Rights of the People of India as British citizens: (1) That all Indian subjects of His Majesty and all the subjects naturalized or resident in India are equal before the Law and there shall be no

referred to by the authors of the Report. I may further remark that, having regard to the dissatisfaction already engendered by the attitude disclosed in the Report in regard to this matter, there cannot be any doubt that the Musalmans, any less than their Hindu brethren, will agree to any thing less than the restoration of the settlement in any Bill that may be in contemplation. It is my duty, knowing as I do the intensity of Muslim feeling on this question, to sound this note of warning and of appeal. Gentlemen, I am afraid I have taxed your patience and your indulgence to an inordinate extent, but the seriousness of the occasion is my excuse for it. We, who are assembled here, have a sacred though a heavy duty to perform, and I pray that God will grant us all light and guidance to see which way our duty lies.

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penal or administrative law in force in India, whether substantive or procedural, of a discriminative nature; (2) that no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property, or in respect of free speech or writing or right of association except under sentence by an ordinary Court of Justice and as a result of lawful and open trial; (3) that every Indian subject of His Majesty shall be entitled to bear arms subject to the purchase of a licence, as in Great Britain, and that the right shall not be taken away save by a sentence of an ordinary Court of Justice; (4) that the Press shall be free and that no licence nor security shall be demanded on the registration of a Press or Newspaper; (5) that corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on any Indian subject of His Majesty serving in the Army or Navy save under conditions applying equally to all other British subjects.

RESOLUTION VI

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that it is essential for the welfare of the Indian people that the Indian Legislature should have the same freedom in fiscal matters as are enjoyed by the self-governing dominions of the Empire.

RESOLUTION VII

Syed Wazir Hasan next moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League affirms that the introduction of a system of responsible government should proceed simultaneously in the Central as well as the Provincial Governments. The All-India Muslim League while welcoming the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms as an earnest attempt to liberalize Indian political institutions, and recognizing that some of the proposals constituted an advance on the present conditions in some directions, is of opinion that the recommendations as a whole are unsatisfactory, and regrets that the scheme fails to appreciate the peculiar position of the Musalmans of India and evinces a want of sympathy with their interests.

The League is further of opinion that the following modification and changes in the proposals are necessary to render the scheme of reforms a substantial step towards responsible government. The proportion of the Musalmans in the Assembly and the Legislative Councils as laid down in the Congress-League Scheme must be maintained. The measure of control that Parliament and Secretary of State exercise over Indian affairs should be relaxed as subjects are transferred to popular control, from time to time, and in the case of reserved subjects, the general and financial control of Parliament and the Secretary of State should not be substituted by the control of the Government of India as long as the Government of India is not made

fully responsible to the people. The Council of India should be abolished and the Secretary of State should be assisted by two Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian. The establishment charges of the India Office should be placed on the British Estimates. The Committee to be appointed to examine and report on the present constitution of the Council of India should contain an adequate Indian element. The words 'Good Government' in Recommendation 5 of the Report should be either clearly defined or deleted. There should be no Privy Council for India. The Indian element in the Executive Council of the Governor-General should not be less than half of the total number of members. In making such appointments the claims of the Musalmans should be borne in mind.

Power may be taken for the appointment of Under-Secretaries, but the majority of these should be appointed from amongst the elected members of the Legislative Assembly. The total strength of the Legislative Assembly should be 150, of whom four-fifths should be elected. The President and Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly should be elected by the Assembly. The Council of State may be retained, provided that a system of reserved and transferred subjects similar to that proposed for the provinces is adopted for the Central Government and that in the Legislature of India the certificate of the Governor-General-in-Council should not apply except to certain reserved subjects hereinafter mentioned. The reserved subjects should be confined to the Army, the Navy, Foreign and Political relations between the Government of India and other Powers, excepting relations with the Colonies and Dominions, including the declaration of war and entering into treaties and matters directly affecting the peace, tranquility and safety of the country.

In the Council of State half the members shall be elected, one-third of the elected members being Musalmans to be elected by Muslim constituencies.

The certificate of the Governor-General should not apply to matters other than reserved subjects, and only in cases directly affecting the peace, tranquillity and safety of the country. If the Governor-General dissolves the Legislative Assembly, he shall summon a fresh Assembly within three months of such dissolution.

The Governor-General-in-Council and not the Governor-General alone should have the power to pass ordinances. The Budget in the Legislative Assembly should follow the same procedure as the Provincial Budget *mutatis mutandis*. Reserved subjects are to include only Law, Justice and Police (except prisons), and there should be a complete separation of judicial and executive functions, at once.

The status and salary of the ministers shall be the same as that of the

members of the Executive Council.

Complete provincial autonomy should be assured by terms of the statute within six years. No additional members shall be appointed without portfolios. The League disagrees with the recommendation that additional member or members may be appointed to the Provincial Executive Councils by the Governor from among his senior officials for purposes of consultation and advice only. The Governor shall not have power to summon either part of his Council separately. Power may be taken to appoint Under-Secretaries provided that the Under-Secretaries so appointed shall be from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council shall consist of four-fifths elected and one-fifth nominated members. The Legislative Council shall elect its own President and Vice-President. The re-transfer of transferred subjects to the list of reserved subjects in case of maladministration shall only take place with the sanction of the Parliament. The Legislative Council shall have the right to vote the salary of ministers five years after the first Council.

The status of Ajmer, Merwara and Delhi should be that of a Regular Province and popular government and effective control in the affairs of the local government should be granted to their people.

The percentages of recruitment in India of the public services, including the Indian Civil Service, should begin with 50 per cent, and increase by 1½ per cent annually, until the position is reviewed by the Commission. The League objects to the time scale of promotion set out in Recommendation No. 68 of the Report. All persons either recruited in England or India should receive equal pay. No allowances to be granted to persons recruited in Europe for service in India or to those recruited in India for service in Europe.

The All-India Muslim League authorizes the Council of the League to take steps to send a deputation to England at an early date to work conjointly with the Congress deputation in the matter of reforms in accordance with the principles incorporated in the resolutions passed in this Special Session of the All-India Muslim League and to secure for the Musalmans of India due recognition of their rights for enabling them to take their proper place in the reformed political constitution of the country.

Syed Wazir Hasan, in support of the foregoing resolution, observed that the All-India Council of the Muslim League had passed a resolution, at its meeting held on August 29, that they should confer with the Subjects Committee of the Congress in the matter of the reform proposals and come to an understanding in respect of them as far as possible. They had accordingly discussed the resolutions in the Subjects Committee of the Congress, and he was glad to say that there was perfect unanimity between them and the

Congress, except in one matter relating to the proposal for creating a Council of State. TheCouncil of the League had bestowed its best attention on the subject, and he hoped they would unanimously pass the resoultions.

Mr. Yakub Hasan seconded the resolution, and in the course of his remarks, said that the resolution was the result of a compromise between all shades of Muslim opinion, which meant that every word in the resolution had been very carefully weighed before finding a place in it. The League had accorded its welcome to the proposals which it would not have accorded if the proposals had been wholly unacceptable. They recognized that some of the proposals constituted a distinct advance on the present state of affairs. The phrase "the recommendations on the whole are unsatisfactory" might not perhaps be endorsed by some, but it must be remembered that it was assented to as a compromise. There was a conference of the Council of the League and the Subjects Committee of the Congress, and some of the modifications of the proposals which were adopted by a majority of the subjects committee, but which did not meet with the approval of the Council of the League, were reconsidered by the Subjects Committee in order to come more in line with the Muslim League. As an example, he cited the case of the inclusion, in the reserved subjects, of matters affecting the peace, tranquility and safety of the country, and the retention of the Council of State and the Grand and Committee, which formed part of the League's resolution.

Mr. Fazlul Haq, supporting the resolution, said that the people of India resented the insinuation that they were unfit for self-government and they should enter a most emphatic protest against the insinuation. It was suggested, not only that the people of India were unfit, but that the Musalmans were the most unfit. They should point out that the people of India were quite fit to have self-government in the British Empire, and that the Musalmans were the most fit. He also said the Government of India must be liberalized as was proposed in the case of the Provincial Governments. They fully appreciated the efforts made by the authors of the report towards the liberalization of the Government, but they also felt constrained to say that the Scheme that they had proposed was on the whole unsatisfactory and disappointing.

Mr. Nabiullah further supported the resolution and was followed by Mr. Barkat Ali, who in the course of his speech, said that they accepted the bifurcation of provincial administrations, not because they were enamoured of it as establishing an arrangement, but merely accepted it as a compromise.

Mr. Asad Ali further supported the resolution.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who was greeted with loud applause, on rising to speak, moved, as anamendment, that the following sentence in the resolution be deleted, viz., "the words 'good government' in Recommendation 5 of the Report, should be either clearly defined or deleted." In support of his amendment, Mr. Jinnah pointed out that anyone who had read the Montagu-Chelmsford Report carefully wouldperceive that the expression 'good govern-

ment' used there was very vague. The resolution proposed here asked that "peace, tranquillity and safety of the country" be included in the reserved subjects whereas the authors of the Scheme used the expression 'good government'. By 'good government', the League meant safety of the country, and they did not want Government to define the expression 'good government' for them, because they might perhaps say that 'good government' included also, for instance, the financial administration of the country and so on. He considered, therefore, that clause in the resolution was superfluous and asked them to delete it. He also moved, as an amendment, the substitution of the word 'shall' for 'should' in that part of the resolution which dealt with reserved subjects.

Syed Wazir Hasan having accepted the modifications proposed by Mr. Jinnah, the resolution as amended was carried unanimously.

RESOLUTION VIII

The following resolution was then carried unanimously:

> The All-India Muslim League while generally condemning the conclusions arrived at by the Rowlatt Committee, records its emphatic protest against the aspersions cast in the Report on the loyalty of the Musalman community, and having regard to the method of investigation adopted, declares its conviction that the conclusions arrived at by the Committee regarding the existence of a seditious movement in the community are not correct. The League further emphatically declares that it cannot accept the remarks of the said Committee regarding some of the respected leaders of the community, unless and until the materials on which the Committee profess to base their conclusions are tested in a court of law.

Dr. Ansari and Moulvi Abdus Subhan appealed for funds to help the families of the internees.

The President then, in bringing the proceedings to a close thanked the Reception Committee and the volunteers for taking so much trouble to make the Special Session such a success, and specially paid a tribute to the pains taken by Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Mr. Jinnah and the Captain of the Volunteers, Mr. Dadamia.

Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy moved a hearty vote of thanks to the President, who, he said, had taken considerable trouble in coming to Bombay from a long distance, and who had guided their deliberations with very great ability.

Mr. Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan seconded the proposition which was carried by acclamation, and the proceedings terminated.[1]

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1. *The Times of India*, September 2, 1918.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE
ELEVENTH SESSION[1]
DELHI, DECEMBER 30, 1918

The annual session of the All-India Muslim League commenced on December 30, 1918, at Delhi. A special feature of the Delhi Session of the League was that the Ulema also participated in its deliberations. The Ulema conducted a meeting in the Fatehpuri Mosque a day before the commencement of the League's Session and decided to join their voice with the Muslim League in all matters concerning Islam. Prominent Muslim divines included Maulana Abdul Bari, Azad Subhani, Ibrahim Sialkoti, Sanah Ullah Amritsari, Ahmed Saeed Kifiatullah and Abdul Latif.

Dr. M. A. Ansari, Chairman of the Reception Committee, pointed out that the separate electorate was based on the Government promise made in the past, and it was confirmed by an agreement with the Hindus. As such, it could not be touched. Referring to the criticism of Communal Electorates in paragraphs 228, 229 and 230 of the Joint Report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms, Dr. Ansari said that it had given rise to fears among Muslims that they might lose their special representation under the reforms system of Government. Dr. Ansari remarked: "The Muslim claims for separate electorates were analysed and recognized by the Government of India and it was admitted, in the first place, that Mohammedans were promised electoral advantage on the ground of their political importance. Secondly, the Muslim community being poor, any property qualification common both to

1. The proceedings of this Session were proscribed, and apart from this summary account, the Presidential Address, and some resolutions, it has not been possible to trace other material.

the Hindus and the Musalmans would reduce the Muslim electorate in proportion to the Mohammedan census. Thirdly, in the census the strength of the Muslim community did not correspond to their political strength. Fourthly, the effectiveness of a minority depends upon its being large enough to have the sense of not being entirely overwhelmed. Notwithstanding all this, it was observed by the Government of India, "if we were writing on a clean slate, we should greatly desire to establish a ratio of Mohammedan seats which would bear a closer relation with their strength as a community, while amply fulfilling our undertakings to safeguard them as a minority." Such views of the Government could not but create a flutter in the Muslim world. Dr. Ansari warned the Government that the Musalmans would not allow for a single minute either the Government or the Hindus to shift the grounds and make any changes in the right of separate representation. The exclusion of the Muslim members from the Imperial Conference was also deprecated. In view of the fact that important matters which were concerned more with the future of the Muslims were sure to be discussed, it was clear that a non-Muslim could not speak with that force and conviction on purely Muslim questions as a Musalman can do. There was much criticism by the Hindus for this demand of the Muslims. Addressing such critics who took pleasure in an irresponsible fashion to misrepresent Muslims, Dr. Ansari said that he was constrained to note that some of his friends have said that any Indian Musalman is prepared to give the whole country of India for the sake of one inch of the ground of Gallipoli. He challenged his Hindu compatriots to point out a single instance wherein the Indian Musalmans have not stood side by side with them. He made it clear that a true Muslim would also remain a true Indian. If they showed their sympathy with Turkey and Iran, they at the same time, where the question of India was concerned, stood by their motherland.

Dr. Ansari condemned the Hindu-Muslim riots of Katarpur, and the attitude of the Hindus, but advised the Musalmans to remain calm.[1]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. A. K. FAZLUL HAQUE

You have been pleased to summon me, a mere commoner from a corner of the Indian Continent, to preside over the deliberations of a body whose activities, based on the noble principles of Islam, have been moulding into shape the nascent aspirations of the Muslim nation hood of India. The honour which you have thus conferred upon me is unique and evokes my heartfelt gratitude; but the responsibility which this position carries with it is also unquestionable and immense, specially at a time when dark clouds are louring over the political horizon of the country, big with the possibilities

1. This account is based on the account in Mohammad Amin Zuberi's *Siasat-i-Millyia*, (Urdu) Aziz Press, Agra, 1941, pp. 135—137.

of a political devastation which may engulf civilization all over the globe. My remarks apply with special force to the Musalmans of India, who are being hemmed in on all sides by enemies bent on the destruction, not merely of Islamic Empires, but also of Islamic civilization and culture. The great World War, which seems to be coming to an end, has brought problems relating to Islam to the forefront all over the world. These problems call for solution, not only to protect the temporal power of Islam, but also those spiritual forces which for the last 13 centuries have illumined the path of material and moral progress all over the civilized world. I feel confident that having conferred such a unique honour upon me, you will also come forward to render me all help and assistance in carrying on the duties of such an exalted office. I also feel sure that with your help and assistance we will be able to guide the deliberations of this session of the League in a way which will lead to the successful attainment of all those aims and aspirations, which we have always kept in view as the guiding principles of the great organization to which we all have the honour to belong.

Muslim Apprehension About The Fate of Turkey

Brethren, we have met to-day under circumstances entirely different from those that prevailed in this Sub-Continent during the last four years. The Great World War seems to be coming to an end. The thunders of cannon balls and the clash of arms are becoming fainter and fainter, and we are all on the tiptoe of expectation for the peace which alone can bring relief from the awful conditions through which we have passed during the War. Anything that was good and noble in the civilized world has been practically shattered to pieces, and when the long-wished-for peace will come, we will have to rebuild a new order of things out of the ruins of the old. But even this peace is still far off, and we will have to wait anxiously for the opportunity which peace will bring in its train. There are many difficulties in the way of real peace. The innate and inborn envy and jealousies of the nations of Europe will raise insurmountable difficulties in the way of peace, and unless some unforeseen event happens, all our cherished hopes for peace will end in disappointment.

The present age is full of anxieties for Muslims all over the world. The Great World War, which appears to be ending so happily and triumphantly for the Allies, has unfortunately brought deep and gloomy forebodings to Muslim minds. Muslim countries are now the prey of the land-grabbing propensities of the Christians nations, in spite of the solemn pledges given by these very nations that the World War was being fought for the protection of the rights of small and defenceless minorities. Morocco, Tunis, Algiers, Egypt have all their tales of woe to tell about the unabashed greed of Christain Powers, and hardly do we get a little breathing time to deal with one unfortunate Muslim state, when cries of distress come from other quarters.

Only yesterday, the attempts made by the Christian Powers to throttle Iran raised loud protests from all over the Muslim world, and today we find the same powers seriously bent on the dismemberment of Turkey. To us, the Muslims all over the World, the fate of Turkey is bound with problems ol deep concern. We cannot forget that Turkey raises, for all Muslims, the questions of the Khilafat and the protections of our holy places. We are often told that England has under its sway more Muslims than any other power in the world. But alas, is it not within the memory of even the present generation that the ministers of the British Crown have seldom had any scruples in casting to the winds their obligations to the Muslims, specially of India, and even trampled under foot, solemn pledges given time and again to the Muslim world? Over the past misdeeds of British statesmen, we may draw a veil, but we feel that the time has come when we should warn these statesmen that it is against all rules of prudence to draw ceaseless drafts on the bank of loyalty. It is a trite saying, but nevertheless true, that it is the last straw that often breaks the camel's back. It will be a miracle if it is otherwise with Indian Muslims.

From a consideration of the prospects of a speedy peace, let us turn to the efforts that are being made by the victorious Allies to discuss the terms of Peace. It is a matter of great regret that in these deliberations of the various Powers, no Muslim Power will be allowed to take any part. Muslim cases will thus go by default. It is obvious that we cannot depend on British statesmen to represent the Muslim cause. Only the other day, a prominent British statesman, Lord Robert Cecil, declared that Turkey has shown an utter incapacity for ruling subject races. Fortunately, no detailed discussion on this point is necessary, because it will suffice if we refer the noble lord to the pages of Gibbon, Froude and Arnold, and of Orientalists like Margouleith and Pickthall for an authentic testimony to the manner in which Turkey has discharged her obligations to subject races. Even the most hostile critic of Turkey will admit that history abounds with instances not merely of the liberal administrative policy of the Turks, but also of the manner in which Turkey has often given shelter to small Christian nations, who but for Turkish help, would have been wiped out of existence by bigger Christian Powers. I would have treated the remarks of the British minister with supreme-contempt had it not been for the fact that these words of the British minister clearly indicate that a case is being made out to throttle Turkey. I will therefore venture to take up a little of your time to discuss this question briefly before I pass on to other matters.

Turkish Treatment of Subject People

Eminent historians have borne testimony to the magnanimity with which Turkey has often treated its Chritian subjects, even in cases of proved treason and disloyalty, and how the much maligned Turks have given practical

demonstrations of that toleration which Christians often preach in theory but never show in practice. Everyone knows that for centuries past, Russia has been the biggest enemy of Turkey. The internal dissensions in Russia have often given Turkey opportunities of bringing about a dismemberment of the Russian Empire. But Turkey never played a mean part by hitting Russia below the belt. Only the other day thousands of Russian Jews were turned out of Russia in the most inhuman manner. They were homeless and resourceless in a foreign land, and would have succumbed to the privations with which they were faced, had not the hospitality of the Turks saved them from the dismal fate that awaited them. In this respect, the history of Europe has been repeating itself for centuries. Not once or twice but times without number, the Jews have been turned out, bag and baggage, from Christian countries only to get shelter in the domains of the very Turks whom Christian statesmen have denounced as incapable of dealing with subject races. The phrase 'Wandering Jew' has passed into a proverb to represent the sad plight of Jews all over Europe, knocking at every Christian door but getting a response from none. It is the Turks who have invariably given them shelter, and at the present moment it is well known that the Middle East and Near East have become colonies of these wandering Jews, who have concentrated in Salonica as their final abode to live peacefully and happily under Turkish rule.

England's Opportunities in India

I have already referred to the remarks of Lord Robert Cecil about the incompetence of the Turks in dealing with subject races; but have the English given practical proofs of their own capability of dealing with nations committed to their care? Tall talk and low performance are perhaps the privileges of Englishmen, just as they think that they have a right to claim all sorts of privileges which can fall to the fate of any nation in the world. But have they pondered carefully over the performance of their countrymen in India, and have they got imagination enough to conceive what will be the verdict of history on the achievements of the British nation in India and other Eastern countries? It is well known that the Duke of Wellington, who earned the appellation of the Iron Duke, claimed in his speech, delivered in 1832 that the British people are the favoured people of the Almighty and are pure and holy distributors of justice all over the world. The Viceroys and Secretaries of State for India, in their reports and speeches, have also spoken about the British administration in terms of similar praise and admiration. The world might well have been spared these uncalled for certificates of personal superiority, because we are all prepared to give the British nation the fullest credit for whatever good they may have done in India. No one denies that England has given India the most precious human possession called peace, that the English have introduced Western arts, culture and civilization in the East and have

more or less successfully acquainted the nations of the Orient with modern methods of administration. They have introduced a system of administration which, though capable of many improvements, is still unsurpassed by any such system in the civilized world. They have also introduced wise and humane laws and regulations. Their courts of justice are ideal in their own sphere, and may well excite the envy of the civilized world. We are prepared to give the British nation the fullest credit for their achievements in India; but there is also another side to the picture which we cannot afford to forget. The British nation has had opportunities of successful administration in India which have seldom fallen to the lot of any other nation in dealing with Eastern races. India can boast of an ancient civilization and culture of which any nation may be proud. Our grievance is that these opportunities have been misused and utterly neglected. Far from taking the fullest advantage of the opportunity they had within their reach, the British administrators have utterly misused their opportunities in a manner unparalleled in history. About 17 years ago on the August 16, 1901, Lord George Hamilton, then Secretary of State for India, made the following announcement in Parliament: "It has been said that the British nation has introduced the system of administration which is eating into the very vitals of the Indian nation. The British administrators are held up as blood suckers in their dealing with the people of India. I freely admit that, if it can be shown that India has deteriorated in material prosperity under British rule, I will concede that we stand self-condemned, and that we have no right to hold any further the reins of administration in India."

I am prepared to accept the criterion laid down by Lord George Hamilton in judging of the benefits derived by Indians under British rule, by comparing the material condition of the Indian people in pre-British days and modern conditions under British rule. Fortunately, we have definite facts and data for undertaking a comparison of India under pre-British rule and India under British rule. A slight reflection will show that the most prominent feature of the deterioration of the material condition of the Indian people is the frequency of the devastating famines which have been causing havoc among the people of India in quick succession.

Comparison of the Havoc Caused by Famines in Ancient Times and under British Rule

Famines have now become an acknowledged feature of Indian life. One famine succeeds another, and the only manner which British administrators want to shake off their responsibility is by remarking that famines are due to natural causes, mostly connected with uncertain rainfall. In other words, the British administration is not responsible for the frequency or intensity of the famines in India; but these statesmen forget that we have got definite evidence for the comparison of the state of things under Muslim rule with the condition of things under British rule in India.

We have got documents to show that famines under Muslim rule were characterized by the following redeeming features:

(1) They were all of a local character, or in other words, they were not widespread in their effects or intensity.

(2) They never appeared suddenly, but always showed signs which led the authorities to make preparations for meeting the coming disasters.

(3) Famines in ancient times were not responsible for that apalling loss of human life which has characterized famines in modern India. Mr. Digby, in his book *Prosperous India*, has made the following observations by dividing famines into different periods:

11th Century	Two famines	Both local
13th Century	One famine	One famine round-about Delhi
14th Century	Three famines	All local
15th Century	Two famines	Both local
16th Century	Three famines	All local
17th Century	Three famines	Incidence not known
18th Century	One famine	Subas south and north of Delhi.
Up to 1744	Four famines	In Sind, all local

For the purpose of comparison, I will now point out, from the official records, the famines of the 19th century:

1st Era	Five famines	mortality, several millions
2nd Era	Two famines	mortality, five lakhs
3rd Era	Six famines	mortality, five lakhs
4th Era	18 famines	mortality, several millions.

It appears from an analysis of official documents that from 1854 to 1901, more than 30 million people died of famine. Mr. Digby calculates that, roughly speaking, the mortality in the last 30 years of the 19th century were four times those that had occurred during the previous century.

Mr. Ramesh Chunder Dutt has said that the famines of the 19th century in India were unparalleled in their rigour and intensity by famines in any other age of this country. He says that in 1877,1889, 1892 and 1900 famines had carried off more than 15 million people; in other words, the deaths by famine amounted to the populations of some minor States of Europe. According to Mr. Digby, it is worthy of note that the number of people who fell victims to wars from 1703 to 1900 amounted to 5 million while in Hindustan, within 10 years, namely 1891 to 1900, more than 19 million people lost their lives in famines.

The question now arises, what are the causes of these frequent and devastating famines in British India within only about a century of British rule? The answer is writ large on the pages of British statistical reports, based on facts collected by British officials themselves. British officials maintain that famines are caused by uncertain, and often inadequate rainfall, and hence are beyond the control of the British officials who are after all

human beings, who can have no power over the forces of Nature. But this lame excuse is opposed to the facts. It is possible that a rise in price or inadequacy of food may be due to sacarcity caused by Pate or erratic rainfall; but this scarcity generally assumes famine proportions mostly owing to the poverty of the people and their low purchasing power to meet the vital necessaries of life. It is generally the case that while there is scarcity in any area, there are sufficient food stuffs in neighbouring areas to meet the deficit of food. But the poverty of the people stands in the way of taking advantage of surplus food stuffs in other areas. Scarcity may be due to natural causes, but the incapacity of the people to face such scarcity, the inability of the people to face even a slight rise in prices, is due to general poverty. Widespread famines follow local scarcity, when people are unable to buy the necessities of life owing to general poverty.

Poverty of the People of Hindustan

The poverty of the Indian people has passed into a proverb. Official records admit that the average income of an Indian is less than £ 2 a year, whereas in the United Kingdom (England and Scotland), the average income exceeds £45 a year. Mr. Dutt (in his *India in the Victorian Era*) has observed that even in most fertile tracts in India, the daily earnings of a peasant labourer does not exceed three pence a day. His daily life is a tale of miseries. His hut and hovel can hardly give him protection from the inclemencies of weather; his women go almost without raiment; his children run about naked; his hut contains no utensils or the coarsest furniture; and whether it is the burning heat of a tropical summer, or the shivering cold of a bleak winter, the Indian peasant, with his wife and children, passes through physical discomforts which make him the most miserable creature in existence.

On the other hand, if we turn our eyes towards the past, we will find that only a few centuries before the advent of the British, Indians had acquired the reputation of being wealthy and prosperous. Western nations used to cast longing eyes on the wealth of the Indian people, and the whole civilized world used to covet their prosperity and their material superiority in all the necessaries of life. It was this wealth and material prosperity of the Indian people that lured foreign nations to try their luck in India. British historians have borne unanimous testimony to the prosperous condition of the Indians even at the commencement of British rule in this country. Only about a hundred years ago, Bengal was richer than even Britain; and when in 1757, Clive entered Murshidabad, he wrote that he found that city as extensive, as populous and as rich as London, with this difference that individually the citizens of Murshidabad were richer and more opulent than those of London.

It is often said that the present rise of prosperous and flourishing cities on all sides, the increase of trade and commerce in volume and intensity and the popular demand for articles of luxury, amusement and pleasure in India

are definite signs of the prosperity of Hindustan under British rule. It is possible that this will be the first impression on the mind of a superficial observor, but such an impression is wholly wrong and misleading. The Hindustan which catches the eyes of a traveller or a superficial observer is not the real Hindustan. It is the shadow of Hindustan with a veneer of European civilization to hide its real character. No wonder that the real Hindustan is completely shut from the view of the British people. In this connection, I may be permitted to quote the words of the great historian Mr. Ramesh Chunder Dutt. Mr. Dutt says: Things in Hindustan are materially different from those in England. The external trade of Hindustan is carried on by foreigners with foreign money. The profits of foreign trade go to Europe and are not available in Hindustan. The earnings through the foreign trade of India are not the earnings of the inhabitants of Hindustan. Moreover, the volume of Indian foreign trade is no index of the national earnings of the people of Hindustan. For example in 1881, during the comparative prosperity of the administration of India under Lord Ripon, the value of the total exports and imports of Hindustan amounted to £ 12 million whereas in 1900, when Hindustan was in the grip of famine and distress, the value of exports and imports amounted to about £ 120 million. Will not one unacquainted with the real Hindustan say from these statistics alone that Hindustan earned more money or consumed more food in 1900 than in 1881 ?

There is another important point about foreign trade which must not be overlooked. Foreign trade, through foreign money and foreign agencies, is not necessarily harmful to the economic condition of the country. Imported goods are generally cheaper than indigenous goods. These foreign goods serve a double purpose. Through competition, they raise the standard of the efficiency of home products, and although they displace home products to a certain extent in the beginning, the saving to the buyer effected by cheaper prices goes to increase the wealth in the country. But in Hindustan, even this indirect benefit from foreign trade is hemmed in by limitations. The foreign trade of Hindustan does not run in natural channels, but is forced on the people of the country. For instance, the tax on the production of whole goods falls on those articles of production which could have been easily produced in this country. This forces Hindustan to export her essential commodities of life. Equally disastrous are the taxes on cotton goods, which come from the pockets of the people in the shape of taxes on vital articles of food. Judged by these facts and circumstances, we can answer Lord George Hamilton's test by saying that Hindustan has unquestionably deteriorated in material prosperity under British Rule.

Cause of the Decline of Material Prosperity

Let us now consider what are the causes of this decline in material prosperity. Are the causes beyond the power of human control, or are they

the natural outcome of the basic policy of British administration in Hindustan? A little consideration will show that the answer to the first part of the question is in the negative, and to the second part in the affirmative. In other words, the causes of this decline in material prosperity can be clearly traced to the policy pursued by the British administrators in Hindustan. In the first place, British administration has done nothing to increase the sources of natural wealth in the country. Secondly, all the wealth available in the country has been drained out by the pursuit of a policy which could not have left any wealth in the country without falsifying the truth of those natural laws which control the growth and development of the material wealth in a country.

This is a serious charge to lay against any civilized administration but I have no alternative but to state what I feel to be the truth. Let us examine the position a little closely.

All nations derive their sources of wealth from agriculture, trade and commerce, arts and industries and a sound policy of finance in administration. Let us consider all these points separately as applied to Hindustan.

Decline of Agriculture

First take up the case of agriculture in India in ancient times. The high state of excellence in methods of agriculture in India was well known through out the world. Rulers throughout the country had realized the importance of irrigation in the improvement of agriculture. Wells, channels, large tanks, which now are found all over the country, bear witness to the fact that the ancient rulers in Hindustan were very anxious to increase the sources of wealth in the country. Unfortunately, in the time of the British rulers, this important part of administration seems to have been completely ignored. It is a fact that in Hindustan the production of crops per acre is less than the average product of other countries. In Japan, whose soil is not blessed by nature more than the soil of Hindustan, the produce of paddy is at least twice that of Hindustan. All this is due to the neglect of the Government to improve methods of agriculture suited to the soil of Hindustan. There are ample opportunities of developing sufficient irrigation projects by drawing water from rivers, wells and canals. Opportunities are also not wanting of gathering and reaping crops by means of machines and other instruments (*vide* recommendations of the Agriculture Commission). But all the bounties of nature and the opportunities of improving the productivity of the soil are lost through the apathy of the Government in the matter of improving the material prosperity of the people. Government spends crores of rupees in building railways and other means of locomotion to patronize the products of British firms at home, but unfortunately the Government in Hindustan does not pay the slightest attention to improving agriculture by even ordinary methods. No one can ignore the importance of railways in the development of the resources of a country, but irrigation is no less important than the

development of railways. The Famine Commission of 1880 wrote strongly that the claims of irrigation should have the first place in the attention of Government in order to prevent recurring famines; but the only way in which the Government honoured the recommendation was by spending, from 1880 to 1897, six times more on railways than on other projects. Mr. Ramesh Chunder Dutt has worked out that the total amount spent on irrigation by March, 1902, was less than £ 24 million as against £ 226 million spent on railways. Fortunately, there are signs for the better, and there are reasons for hope that there is the chance of a dawn of good sense in the minds of administrators regarding the improvement of irrigation in Hindustan.

Decline in Trade and Arts

Let us take up the case of trade and arts in Hindustan. It is needless to refer to the high position occupied by Hindustan in the annals of ancient times as a country famous for fine arts and industries. The report of the Industrial Commission contains the following remarks: "In ancient times the tracts of Europe which are renowned for arts and industries were the abodes of uncivilized nations. Hindustan was at that time renowned for its wealth and for its skilfull artisans. In the beginning of British rule also, Hindustan was in no way inferior to the advanced nations of Europe in the matter of arts and industries. But after the introduction of British rule, people were forced to pay less and less attention to arts and industries, and more and more to agriculture. Sir Henry Cotton has written, in his *New India*, that the British companies immediately took hold of all opportunities oi selling their goods on a large scale in India, and secondly the prominence that was given to Manchester completely wiped out the improvements of hand-looms in Hindustan. In the words of the well-known historian H. H. Wilson, 'British owners of industries and concerns used the Government of India as a political weapon to strangle the ancient industries of Hindustan'."

All the above causes have combined to convert Hindustan from being a country possessing arts and industries into a completely agricultural country. All the laws and regulations were passed for the improvement of British industries and not those of Hindustan. A similar attempt was made by England with respect to her trade and commerce with America, but after the American War of Independence, the United States formulated a policy of its own, and by reciprocal laws and regulations relating to demand and supply, the United States has managed to march abreast of England in the improvement of its national wealth.

The most powerful cause of the downfall of Indian arts and industries has been the financial poverty of the Indian people.

It is unfortunately true that the East India Company and the British Parliament of about a century ago, in the pursuit of their selfish policy of encouraging the industries in Great Britain and depressing corresponding

industries in Hindustan, left no chance for the Hindustani industries to prosper; with the result that in about a century of British rule, practically the whole of the indigenous industries of Hindustan had collapsed. Mandates came from England to employ Hindustani workers in the firms of the Company, so that skilled indigenous labour might be utilized for the growth of British industries in Hindustan. These workers were given considerable facilities for ousting native weavers and other similar workers from the field of competition. Heavy duties practically killed all the native industries in silk and fine cotton, and British goods of inferior stuff filled the markets because of the low duties imposed on them.

Dealing with this subject, H. H. Wilson, the famous historian, has made the following remarks: "The owners of mercantile houses in England did not scruple to strangle a rival by political injustice whom they could not under ordinary circumstances have successfully faced in open competition. Crores of Hindustani artisans were deprived of the fruits of their labour . . . All this is a sad chapter in the history of British rule in Hindustan. The history of the injustice by British merchants on the inhabitants of Hindustan would be incomplete withuout a reference to the systematic manner in which British artisans used machinery for the production of articles which in Hindustan were being produced according to old crude principles of manual labour. To add to this, the British Government in Hindustan tried to strangle the production of the manual labour of the people of Hindustan by the imposition of heavy taxes. The fate of the Indian artisans was complete when Japan and China also entered the field and joined hands with the merchants of Great Britain in putting down indigenous industries of India."

In 1837, when Queen Victoria ascended the throne, Indian artisans were at their last gasp. To take one instance out of many: Hindustani handkerchiefs had a good market in Europe, and this trade which was open to the people of Hindustan was virtually strangled by the levying of heavy export duties on all silk products by the British Government in India. Parliament made enquiries on how the trade of Hindustan in this respect could be stopped altogether. In other words, the British Government never cared to find out how the trade and commerce of Hindustan could be improved, but directed their enquiries to finding out how the trade and industries of Hindustan could be superseded by the corresponding trade of Great Britain. The life of the East India Company came to an end in 1857, but long before this, India had fallen from her high pedestal as one of the foremost industrial countries in the world; and the people of Hindustan were left to fend for their existence on the fitful produce of their lands by means of obsolete methods of agriculture carried out under unfavourable conditions. The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malvia has in his writings gone very deep into this matter; and he remarks that the East India Company, from about 1788, turned their attention to the question of the restriction of the cotton of East

Bengal, and from the very beginning, the Directors of the East India Company made no secret of their anxiety to deprive the artisans of Bengal from reaping the benefits of their skilled labour by open competition in European markets. Every one knows of the world-wide fame of the muslins of Dacca. It is a sad story how this industry was strangled by the enforcement of laws and regulations. But repressive laws were not enough. Barbarous methods were adopted to incapicitate skilled workers by cutting off or mutilating fingers of artisans, and human conscience revolts against the atrocities committed on innocent people to give opportunities to the mills and handlooms of England.

India came under the sway of the British Crown in 1858; but even after this revolution, the British merchants used to influence the Government in the imposition of duties on goods imported into India. The flow of British goods into Indian markets was facilitated by the reduction of import duties in India; and in 1879, which was financially a bad year for India, Parliament proposed a reduction in Indian import duties. In 1882 all import duties, except on wine and salt, were practically abolished. Unfortuntely, this very repeal of the import duties reacted adversely on Hindustan. In 1894 the former import duties were re-imposed with slight modifications. An import duty of 5 percent was imposed on cotton cloth and on coarse cotton. A duty of 5 percent was also imposed on indigenous cotton goods which might enter into competition with foreign goods. Even on coarse Indian-made goods, which might in any way enter into competition with Lancashire goods, heavy taxes were imposed. Bombay products in arts and industries were burdened with taxes seldom known in any part of the civilized world. In the course of 150 years, British rulers in India brought into perfection the policy which helped, not the industry of Hindustan, but of England (*Vide*, R.C. Dutt's *India in the Victorian Age*). Generally speaking, the propserity of the modern European nations has been built on the industrial destruction of ancient nations and communities in various parts of the world. This is what Spain did in plundering South America, and such has been the policy of other European nation. Till the middle of the 18th century, the arts and industries of England were in a decadent state. So far as skill was concerned, the Indian artisans were in no way inferior to those of Lancashire. In skilled and creative genius, Hindustani handloom weavers were superior to the mill and machine weavers of Europe. I take this opportunity of quoting the following few lines from the writings of Mr. Brooke Adams (*The Law of Civilization and Decay*): It is a law of nature that new industries depend for their development on the finance available in the hands of the people to give them full circulation. Fortunately for England, enough wealth was available to Britishers as the result of their loot in Hindustan. This was illustrated by what happened in the early days of British rule in Carnatic and in Bengal, where enormous wealth came into the hands of the Britishers in quite an unexpected manner. Such an underserved luck of financial pros-

perity has seldom been witnessed in any country in the civilized world.

Mr. Digby says that it is impossible to have a correct estimate of the wealth which fell into the hands of the European nations as a result of their loot in the East; but it is generally estimated that somewhere between £500 million and £1,500 million found their way into the British banks between Plassey and Waterloo. Comment is superfluous.

It is sometimes urged that, even assuming that the British Government had not done its duty in the matter of the improvement of the arts and industries of Hindustan or of the methods of agriculture prevailing in the country, the duty of the leaders of the Indian people was also clear. In other words, if there is any blame at all, it must be shared by the leaders of the Indian people and the British Government alike. It is true that Indian leaders have not fully done their duty in this matter, but the reason is also very clear. The decline in material prosperity and the poverty of the Indian people made it impossible for Indian leaders to embark on any large scheme which would have successfully arrested the decline of Indian arts and industries and would also have successfully entered into competition with the products of Great Britain. It may be that there are some Indians who may be called wealthy and rich, but their number is small, and the total wealth at the disposal of the Indian people has always been inadequate to the task of improving the national industries of India. Mr. Digby, in his book *Causes of the Decline of Indian Industries*, has mentioned three reasons why Indian leaders could not help the people of India in protecting the national industries:

(1) In the regions in the vicinity of Madras Bengal, and which were the first areas to come under the rule of the East Indian Compay, all sources of wealth were drained dry and the people of these tracts had no money to purchase machines and other instruments for the improvement of industries.

(2) The British Government did not think of helping the people of the country; on the contrary, they helped British competitors, as against the children of the soil, who struggled hard to overcome the difficulties in their path.

(3) The Government helped the import of foreign money in the development of the arts and industries of the country, with the result that the wealth derived from arts and industries filled the pockets of foreign capitalists at the expense of the natives of India.

The inadequacy of financial facilities have long been a serious obstacle in the way of the initiation and development of arts and industries in Hindustan. I am not one of those who think that Indians are unfitted by nature to initiate and develop arts and industries by improved methods. Given the opportunity, Indians have distinguished themselves in the departments of arts, commerce and industries as they have done in other walks of life. This is amply illustrated by the manner in which Indian artisans and craftsmen have distinguished themselves in the activities of the various branches of the well

known mills and industries of Tata. It is well known that when Lord Dalhousie filled the country with a network of railways in order to find a suitble market for the iron industries of England, immense quantities of iron and iron products were found in various parts of India which could have been utilized for the prupose of building up a well-furnished and well-regulated iron industry in Hindustan. Had the situation been properly handled, not only would the requirements of Hindustan have been satisfied in the matter of iron products, but Hindustan would have been enabled to build up the locomotive of iron industries to compete on equal terms with the advanced nations of the world. But our rulers in Hindustan treated the interests of India in such a vital manner in a spirit of envy and jealous. British industrialists thought that if Hindustan were given an opportunity, it would become a very formidable rival of England, with respect to iron industries in the markets of the world. With the shrewdness which distinguished British industrialists, they at once got alarmed, and made their path of success clear by shutting the possibilities of Indians achieving any means of success in various arts and industries, especially in those in which iron plays an important part.

Agriculture trade and commerce, arts and industries, have all thus deteriorated and been practically strangled under British rule. I will now turn for a few minutes to a consideration of the financial policy of the British Government. Even the most devoted admirer of British rule in Hindustan will not deny that the average tax on a native of Hindustan is much higher than the average of any other civilized country in the world. You have also to remember that the average income of a native of Hindustan is extremely low; and from this, it will not be difficult to realize that the ensuing taxation is the heavier in Hindustan than in any other country in the world. Compare, for instance, an income of £ 1 with an income of £ 45. Three shillings out of an income of £ 1 tells far more heavily on the payee, than a tax of £ 3 on an income of £ 45. It is therefore evident that even a tax of £ 3 in some respects is lighter than a tax of 3/- s. The truth is that in Hindustan the burden is too heavy to be borne by the taxpayer; but it becomes sheer cruelty if this heavy tax is imposed on a resourceless people for the benefit of foreign capitalists. In former times there has also been heavy taxation in Hindustan, but the rigours of the taxes under British rule have been more strict and far more severe than in ancient times. Moreover, in pre-British days no money used to go out of Hindustan, so that in some shape or other, the taxes realized redounded to the benefit of the country.

I will now say a few words about the *export of money out of India*. This aspect of British rule is the sadest record of the fate of any country under foreign rule. Volumes have been written on this question, about the manner in which the people of the country have been fleeced by foreign rulers, and I

1. Indeed, in percentage terms, this tax is double that of the tax of £ 3.

will not take up your time by repetition of a subject which is well known to every educated Indian. The East India Company were merchants and traders as well as rulers in the country. The raw materials and finished products were stored on the banks of the Hugli, and then conveyed in ships to England and disembarked on the banks of the Thames. The loss to Hindustan from the economic point of view is evident; but there is another point which is not generally known to the public. Apart from the profits enjoyed by the British people by the manner in which Indian goods are sold by means of British coinage, there is another source of the drain of wealth from India to England. In the financial statements of the Government of India, there is the column of expenditure under the heading 'Services Rendered to India'. It is amazing that last year this expenditure amounted to £ 17 million. All sources of income in Hindustan have run dry, and whatever may be left is successfully exported from India for the benefit of the people of England.[1]

Unfounded Charge of Indian Incompetence

The British Government generally puts forward several reasons against the introduction of self-government in Hindustan. The first is the usual plea of our incompetence for home-rule. This is not only a cruel, but an entirely unfounded accusation. Our critics also know that the charge is definitely unfounded, and even insulting. It is belied by the past history of Hindustan. Leaving alone the distant past, the achievements of Abul Fazl and Toddar Mal are yet unsurpassed by anything done by the British administrators, although they had the advantage of years of improved metods of the arts of administration. The administrations in natives, which are solely in Indian hands, also bear witness to the genius of Indians in the arts of self-government. Competency is a relative term; and experience has shown that whenever Indians have been given a chance or opportunity, they have excelled British officers in the arts of administration. Suitable opportunities are withheld from Indians, and the charge of incompetency is nevertheless levelled against them. Take an example: the badge of the Victoria Cross was not open to Indians in the beginning of British rule; but when restrictions were removed, Indians demonstrated their supeiority in winning this highest of military honours much oftener than the Britishers themselves. Fitness for home-rule comes from experience acquired from the proper enjoyment of the benefits that follow home-rule; and home-rule must come before fitness or unfitness can be judged. They cannot be judged on mere theoritical grounds. Any other method would be worthy of the fool in the story who swore never to go near the water till he had learnt to swim. It is only in the

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1. The rest of this part of the speech refers to various proposals of reforms in this connection, which are at present irrelevant, whatever importance they might have had at the time the speech was delivered.

proper discharge of responsiblity that one acquires a fitness for being trusted with responsibility. Mistakes may be committed in the beginning, but these very mistakes will teach the way to avoid mistakes. No child will ever learn to walk unless he goes through periods of falls or slips of the feet. It is a truism, but none the less true, that nations attain ultimate success from initial failures as well as successes.

The authors of the Reform Scheme[1] have remarked that there can be no doubt as to the Indians' ultimate fitness for self-government; but that they are not fit at the present moment. This is a slur on the whole Indian nation. If we are yet unfit, even after 150 years of British rule, we will never be fit at any time in the future, so long as the present system of British rule continues to exist. The poverty of the Indian masses, their illiteracy and the divisions of the Indians into innumerable races, religions and nations are also stressed as obstacles in the way of the attainment of self-Government by the Indian people. Let us consider these objections a little closely. If we look into the future in the light of the experience of the past, there is hardly any hope for the disappearance of the awful poverty of the people or the removal of the illiteracy of the masses, so long as the present British system of administration continues to exist. As regards the last objection, the differences that exist are likely to be enhanced, rather than diminished, so long as an irresponsible foreign administration remains in power. Under present conditions, all the divergent elements of the population vie with each other to secure the good offices of the ruling power. This naturally breeds envy and jealousy in the mind of one section of the people against another. Even in England, material prosperity, as well as the removal of illiteracy, did not precede but followed the introduction of home-rule and self-government. Similarly, in the cases of the United States of America, Canada, Transval, Switzerland and other small States, complete home-rule prevails in spite of the diversity in the population of diverse races, religions, creeds and nations. Moreover, the representative and responsible governments prevalent in these countries are in no way inferior to those prevaling in the most highly advanced nations of the globe. In these small states, the self-government that prevails has been the *cause* of the unification of the diverse elements of the population by creating, in each unit, a sense of responsibility and of the duty of safeguarding the common interests of the entire population. Even so, with the grace of Allah, these things will happen in Hindustan. It is also said that public spirit is wanting in India, and in the absence of the public spirit, no system of self-government can be introduced in this country. But facts do not substantiate even this charge. It is now admitted that long before even the birth of Christ, a highly developed system of government was prevalent in India. We all know that the Orient has been the birth place of

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1. Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

municipal institutions. Moreover, the authors of the Reforms Scheme have themselves admitted that these qualities of self government are acquired and developed by actual work in practice. It therefore follows that unless Indians are given an opportunity to show their worth, it is difficult to say, if at all, when and under what circumstances Indians will acquire the qualities necessary to fit them for self-government.

Communal Conflicts

As an instance of Hindu Muslim disunity, the communal riots of Arrah of 1917 are often quoted. It is said that the hostility of Hindu zemindars, *mahajans*, lawyers and other sections is so keen and widespread that Muslims would be ill-advised to put the halter of insecurity round their neck by voting for a system of government which will put powers in the hands of the Hindus majority. It is strongly urged that it is the British Government alone which is the only real shelter for the weaker communities, and that the transfer of power from British hands would be disastrous to the Muslims and other minorities. I wish to say a few words to such kind advisers for their gratuitous advice. On the question of Hindu-Muslim quarrels, I consider it an insult to both to suggest that the Hindu is the natural enemy of the Muslim. Those who base their advice on incidents like the Arrah riots stand self-condemned, because of their hasty generalization from insufficient data. These riots are exceptions to the happy relations between the two communities which exist throughout the Indian Peninsula, and it is absurd to rely on exceptions and ignore the admitted universal rule. Secondly, these riots are the outbursts of some kind of frenzy between the misguided sections of both communities, which fortunately seldom appear to freeze the genial current of national life. The actors in these tragic and despicable tragedies are those misguided specimens of humanity who are unable to tolerate the view points of other people, owing to the ignorance due to want of education and other causes. It is our firm belief that with the spread of education and culture, the views of our countrymen will be broadened and mutual toleration will replace occasional discord. No instance can be quoted of educated Hindus and educated Muslims being involved in communal riots. Once again the remedy lies in calling upon both the communities to shoulder the responsibilities of government, so that all communities may realize that such responsibilities can be discharged only by mutual co-operation and not by communal or sectional discord.

It remains to consider the oppressions committed on Muslim by Hindu zemindars, lawyers, money-lenders and others. A little consideration will show that such oppressions are not the responsibility of any particular religious belief or communal animosity. They have their origin in the rapacity of the powerful in plundering the weak, and in this respect the offender does not look to the religious feelings or the communal character

of the victim, but to his capacity to satisfy his lust for plunder. In my own experience, I have come across Muslim *mahajans* and other representatives of the learned profession whose oppressions on their co-religionists have not been in any respect less objectionable than those committed by the Hindu oppressors. It is the spread of education that will minimize the greed of the powerful party and also create ample powers of resistance in the weaker party. The weaker should be taught to try to protect his legitimate rights; and if necessary, they should be taught to combine irrespective of race, colour or creed, to resist the oppressor. Much depends on the individual resources of the victim himself. In many cases it is impossible for the representatives of Government to interfere between the oppressors and the weak victims. In many cases, it has been found that even the officials, in consequence of the undue and unjustified pressure of the strong party, have even been led to side with the oppressors and to add to the troubles of the weaker party.

Alleged Infringements of Muslim Rights by Hindu Officials

It is true that a non-Indian officer may, if he likes, hold the scales even among various communities; but it is unsafe and against experience to put any reliance on the possible impartiality of non-Indian officers. Here as elsewhere, everything depends on the essential sense of justice of the officer concerned. We often hear that a certain officer is pro-Muslim and some officers are pro-Hindu; but here we have got to bear in mind the innate weaknesses of human character which may lead such officers to act from partiality or partisanship. Even at the present moment, many of the high officials are Hindus and they have means of oppressing Muslims, and may even escape punishment by reason of the protection they may get from their own superior officers. In many cases, oppressed Muslims have petitioned Government against Hindu and European officers, but the result of such representation has not been uniform in all cases. In some cases, the local magistrate may be a strictly impartial officer and may be induced to render justice to the oppressed people by an innate sense of justice; but quite different may be the case with another magistrate who, although a non-Indian officer, is not imbued with any high sense of impartiality and is under the influence of his Hindu fellow-officers. It is therefore evident that an oppressed Musalman can get justice from British officers only if the circumstances are as follows: if the local officer, namely the District Magistrate, is an impartial and strict officer, and also if there is an absence of outside influence which might impair the judgment of the District Magistrate. But experience has shown that it is unsafe to depend on the possibility of the existence of both these conditions. Even if the District Magistrate is an impartial officer, his subordinates may be Hindus and not favourably inclined to help the Muslims; or it may be that the District Magistrate may overrule his Hindus subordinates and report cases for the disposal of higher officials. Here again the same

problems arise, and everything depends on the sense of justice of the officer who is to dispose of the cases, as also his immunity from extraneous influence which may hamper his judgment or induce him to ignore all sense of responsibility. In some cases, it may happen that the British official is only a figurehead and a complete tool in the hands of his Hindu subordinates. All things considered, it is evident that it is idle to build hopes on the sense of justice or the impartiality of British officers, because however much the circumstances may be in favour of an oppressed Muslim, there are other circumstances which may deprive the Muslim of the consideration of his legitimate rights. I do not maintain that this arrangement cannot be a complete safeguard against oppression and injustice, but what I do maintain is the possibility, perhaps certainty, of a better state of things coming into existence in the joint responsibility of the people themselves to provide for the protection of their mutual rights from oppression by any part.

Representation of Muslims in Local Bodies

Now take the case of the representation of Muslims in the governing bodies of self-government institutions. Can it be that the British Government has made sufficient provision for the protection of Muslim interests in local bodies?

We have to remember that local self-government was introduced into India towards the sixties of the last century, but during all these years no special provision has been made for the protection of Muslim interests. In the beginning of the introduction of local self-government, Musalmans were politically of no importance. At that time, it was more necessary than now to make provisions for the protection of their interests, but no such provisions were really made. In these bodies, if the Musalmans fail to obtain representation through election, the only means of their representation would be the limited power which government has reserved in its own hands for the representation of minorities. These powers of nomination are naturally limited, and it would not be surprising if Muslim interests do not in some cases get any recognition at all. In many cases, Muslim interests have suffered even though Government had wide powers of nomination for the representation of Muslims and others. An instance in point is that of the Calcutta University. Here Government possesses the right to nominate 80 per cent of the Fellows, but in no case have the Muslims been able to secure a representation of more than 8 per cent. Some seats have been reserved in local bodies and other institutions under the Minto-Morley Scheme, but here again the representation given to Muslims is wholly insufficient. In the case of the Calcutta Corporation, Government thought that Muslim represenation to the extent of 13 per cent would be sufficient, although census reports and other papers show that the percentage of Muslims in the population of Calcutta exceeds 25 per cent. In my opinion, we should not depend on the kindness

of Government in a spirit of helplessness, if in fact we have a legitimate right to have what we want. The policy of mere begging is never fruitful, however successful the beggar and his means of begging.

Treatment of Muslims by British Mercantile Bodies

There are some ignorant people who think that the British people naturally prefer Muslims to Hindus, and therefore, when in any matter the question of the consideration to be given to the representative rights of the two communities arises, Muslim interests will be safe in the hands of Britishers. Those who fall into this erroneous way of thinking have an idea that if power is to be transferred from the hands of British officials, it should be entrusted to non-official Britishers. In this connection, I wish to point out one significant fact. The Anglo-Indian community have hundreds of offices under their control where clerks and other subordinates are Indians, but it is significant that these Anglo-Indians have not shown any particular leanings towards the employment of Muslims. It is not possible to give an exact idea of the percentage of Muslims in the offices of these Anglo-Indians; but on a rough estimate, the Muslims in these offices do not exceed one per cent. Comment is useless. I am not prepared to prefer the Anglo-Indians to our fellow-citizens of the Hindu community.

Apprehensions of Hindus Monopolizing Public Offices

There is another apprehension in the minds of the Muslim community regarding the introduction of self-government in India. It is said that the introduction of self-government will mean that the Hindus would completely fill up all public offices in the country. We have to see what is the total number of the offices that are now filled by Indians of all communities. The Reform Scheme (Montagu-Chelmsford Report) shows that of the total population[1] of Hindustan, 70 per cent are agriculturists, 12 per cent are in trade and commerce, 5 per cent in various professions and 1.5 per cent in the public service or in the army. Let us assume that the total number of Indians in all the public services amounts to only one per cent of the population.[2] Then, if all the non-Muslims are turned out of public office, and their places are given to Muslims alone, a rough calculation will show that only 3 per cent of the Muslims of Hindustan will be provided for in these public offices. But what will then be the fate of the remaining 97 per cent? They will have to shift for themselves for their livelihood and, if nothing is available, they will have to find some means of subistence or die of starvation. Take

1. This, it is fairly obvious from the percentages, refers to the labour for ceor the employed labour force.
2. Here again, the concept of total population is to be understood in the above restrictive sense of the labour force.

the converse case, and assume that all the responsible offices in Government are given to non-Muslims. In such a case, 3 per cent of the population will suffer, but 97 per cent may be in the enjoyment of all those benefits which flow from the introduction of self-government. In fine arts and in works of skill and craftsmanship Muslim artisans and workers will have a complete hold, and will be in the enjoyment of benefits which follow the restrictions of export of money from the country and also through other reasons. It is therefore, akin to madness if benefits of the three per cent are allowed to prevail to the deteriment of the remaining 97 per cent. I have always wondered that Musalmans do not realize that under the present system of government Musalmans are the greatest sufferers. Nothing produces greater effect on our British rulers than to be subjected to agitation. For them, agitation in the press and on platforms produces greater terror and fright than even the sound of cannon balls. Since the Musalmans are not experts in the arts of modern agitation and do not possess a powerful press, they have not got the means of giving publicity to their own legitimate claims and aspirations. For these reasons, many officers ignore Muslim claims altogether. An instance in point is the annulment of the partition of Bengal, which proved how the British Government entirely ignored the existence of the rights of the Muslim community, who formed an overwhelming majority of the population of East Bengal. Only a few days ago, Lord Ronaldshay, Governor of Bengal, told an audience in Dacca that the annulment of Partition was undertaken for the benefit of the people of East Bengal. His Execllency must have thought that 65 per cent of the population of the Province of East Bengal, consisting of Muslims who were most definitely against the annulment, were not representatives of the population of East Bengal; but that the 35 per cent, who were non-Muslims, were the real representatives. This was so because the 35 per cent were unceasingly vocal and the 65 per cent were quiet as lambs, and depended solely on the sense of justice of the British rulers. They were soon undeceived. They were completely ignored, whereas the vociferous Hindu agitators got what they wanted. All this again shows that it is not always the legitimate rights of Muslims which can protect the community; but that in many cases, they have to depend on the British rulers, sense of justice, which is influenced by various means beyond the power of the Muslims to adapt.

But this is not all. Under present conditions, every Government official, whether British or Indian, is after all a mere human being, and the only check on the exercise of his unlimited powers is his innate sense of justice and loyalty to duty. If he wants to be merciful and just, there is nothing to fear; but if he is bent on exercising his unlimited powers as an autocrat, there is nothing left to the helpless oppressed but to sit down and die. A very apt illustration of what I mean is afforded by the disturbances which took place recently in Calcutta, popularly known as the Calcutta Riots.

The Recent Calcutta Riots

I will refer to the events connected with these riots briefly, because a full report has already been published by the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, and a more detailed report, after a careful local enquiry, by the non-official Investigation Committee. As you are all aware, the *Indian Daily News* of Calcutta, in its issue of the July 27, 1918, published matter containing a most objectionable and reprehensible reference to the holy *rowza* of the Prophet. The Bengal Muslim League immediately summoned a special meeting, passed a resolution strongly condemning the action of the *Indian Daily News* and calling upon the Editor to offer an unqualified apology. The attention of the Bengal Government was immediately and pointedly drawn to the incident, but to no effect. But this was not all. The Bengal Government was indifferent, while the Editor of the paper showed an attitude of utter defiance. Upon this, the Muslim League arranged a meeting of renowned divines from all over Hindustan, with the object of making the British Government fully aware of the outraged feelings of the Muslim community. The meeting was scheduled to meet on December 8-10, 1918. Things went on smoothly till August 31, when the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, wanted to know certain particulars from the organizers of the meeting. This information was supplied, and on December 3, the Governor consulted a large number of Muslim leaders regarding the proposed Muslim meeting. The organizers of the meeting told the Governor that it was impossible to stop the meeting at that stage and they asked permission to wait in deputation on His Excellency to explain the whole situation and the reasons for going on with their meeting. The prayer for a deputation was rejected. On December 4, the Government banned the proposed meeting, and a communique was issued explaining the attitude taken up by the Government. One of the chief reasons referred to the fact that the meeting was scheduled to take place only a few days before *Bakrid*, and the Government apprehended that, in taking revenge for the publication, in an Anglo-Indian paper, of a most provocative statement, the Musalmans might turn the sacrificial dagger into an instrument for the annihilation of the Hindus. What better logic could be expected from a civilized Government like the British? All this exasperated the Muslims, and they decided to disobey the prohibition and hold the projected meeting. On December 7, I was asked to intervene and to stop the meeting. The Commissioner of Police further assured me that if the meeting were stopped, he would arrange with His Excellency to receive a deputation. On December 8, no meeting was held as previously notified, and I was told that His Excellency would receive the deputation the next day at 3 p.m. At about noon, the Muslims insisted on going to the Government House to know the result of the deputation. The more the Muslims tried to force their way, the more the police stood in their way, and began pushing the

Muslim crowd backward. Ultimately, the police fired on the dense Muslim crowd, killing one and wounding two Muslims. The inevitable happened, and riots broke out in all directions. Unruly elements found their opportunity of rapine and plunder. So the military were called out, and they, along with armed police, were given full liberty to use their guns in any way they liked. On December 10, a number of sepoys rushed into the Colootollah Mosque and attacked the Muslims, killing two and wounding eight innocent persons. Actual statistics are not forthcoming, but it is believed that the number killed far exceeded 500, and might even have been approximately 1,000.

As regards these riots, two points have to be kept in mind. First, that the riots did not break out because the Muslims held the projected meeting in defiance of prohibitions or that they disobeyed orders; quite the contrary, on the first day no meeting was held, because Muslims obeyed Government orders; nor would there have been any meeting on subsequent days—the people only wanted to approach the Governor to permit the meeting to be held. Maybe some enthusiasts even went to Government House to hear the Government decision. But the police intervened and tried to hold back the Muslims by force, and ultimately shots were fired by the police on an excited mob. This, and nothing else, led to one of the biggest riots known in Calcutta. Secondly, the moment the meeting was banned, I personally went to all high and responsible officials to have the prohibitory order withdrawn, and I gave a personal guarantee, along with about a dozen Muslim leaders, that the meeting would be held under the most peaceful conditions, that there would be only one or two speeches by very responsible persons with a view to allay public feelings, and restore peace. When all entreaties failed, I beseeched His Excellency to allow me to explain to the meeting, in only a few minutes, why the meeting was being abandoned. But all in vain; Government was adamant, and the only reply to our entreaties was reckless military and police fire. The non-official commission which the League had set up has published a detailed report and fully supported the public point of view. Government retaliated by publishing a resolution exonerating the officials from all blame, and bestowing the highest eulogies on the military and the police. Only recently, the Secretary of State for India publicly expressed approval of the action of the Governor of Bengal and of the police and the military. One is tempted to ask, why is the public version different from that of the Government? The answer is clear. Neither the Governor nor the Secretary of State saw things with their own eyes, they never had occasion to see what the police and the military had been doing in the streets and bye-lanes of Calcutta. They depended on reports of the police themselves, and it would be unnatural if the police were to report against themselves. And lastly, according to rules of official routine and etiquette, the Governor and Secretary of State look upon official reports as divine inspirations. Such is the sanctity attached to official reports all over the country, although officials never mix with the

people to see things for themselves, first hand, and although they claim to be the bulwark of the protection of the right of the people against any oppression of their own countrymen. All these things happen under British rule; could things be worse if British rule were replaced by Indian home-rule?

Detention of Muslim Leaders

One of the most regrettable and heart-rending errors committed by Government, as a result of the blind acceptance of the one-sided official reports, has been the policy of the detention of prisoners without trial. Some of the most venerated and popular of our leaders have been deprived of their liberty as a result of this inhuman policy, in consequence of which the whole country is seething with disaffection and discontent. The cases of Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Mahmudul Hasan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and others come uppermost to our minds rent with deep and inexpressible sorrow.

Questions Relating to the Khilafat and Muslim Holy Places

Brethren, I fully realize that I have already trespassed too much on your time and patience, but I cannot resume my seat without a brief reference to the questions relating to the Khilafat and the protection of our holy places. You have heard the speech of Dr. M.A. Ansari on both these points. He has dealt with all questions relating to both these vital affairs so thoroughly that there is hardly anything for me to say. In my opinion, the question of the Khilafat should be dealt with by Muslims themselves without interference from non-Muslims, and our holy places should also be immune from non-Muslim influences. We should object to having anything to do with political mummers who outwardly profess Islam and claim some amount of influence in public. The revolt of the Sherif of Mecca has endangered the future of our holy places, and the world of Islam is watching with sorrow and anxiety the effects of the Sherif's declaration of Independence. I wish to leave these questions to be dealt with by the revered Ulema whom I see present here; but I cannot but say a few words on one point which is likely to escape the notice of officials. All questions relating to the Khilafat and the protection of our holy places are intimately bound up with the vital articles of our faith. Our rulers are in the habit of distorting political problems by setting up their tools and sycophants to defend official points of view; but however entertaining this pastime may be in the case of political affairs, it is fraught with danger if the experiment is tried with reference to questions relating to our religious views. We are loyal subjects of the rulers, and are prepared to prove our loyalty in actual practice by making sacrifices. But this temporal loyalty is subject to the limitation imposed by our undoubted loyalty to our faith. We wish to warn our rulers that in making sacrifices one after another, the dividing

line may soon be reached; and we need hardly emphasize that in case there is a conflict between Divine Laws and the mandates of our rulers, every true Musalman will allow the Divine Commandments to prevail over human laws, even at the risk of laying down his life.

Conclusion

The heart-rending events which I have tried to bring to your notice ought to be sufficient to put a quietus to communal strife, and to teach every patriotic Indian and every Englishman who is a sincere well-wisher of the Empire to try to put an end to those causes which are gradually leading Hindustan to inevitable ruin. This is not the time when we should waste our energy in quarrelling over the number of seats which different interests should secure in any future scheme of self-government. It is true that it is extremely important that all communities should be given an equitable share in moulding the destiny of our common motherland. But we should also remember that the numbers of seats in Legislative Assemblies are by no means an end in themselves; we should all strive for that complete freedom which is the goal of all our ambitions. We should learn to rise above petty squabbles and, if necessary, to sacrifice self on the altar of duty. Even from the point of view of the protection of their own interests, the Indian Muslims would be well-advised to forget their differences with other communities and to secure their help and co-operation in all efforts at self-improvement. We shall lose half our strength if, in the protection of our own interests, we do not secure the co-operation of our non-Muslim brethern. Recent events have made it clear that in times of real danger, our non-Muslim brethren will never desert us or leave us to our fate. During the recent Calcutta riots, it was a Hindu newspaper named *Amrita Bazar Patrika* which boldly espoused the Muslim cause. I take this opportunity of publicly acknowledging the services of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and of *Bharat Mitra*, an organ of the Marwari community in Calcutta, and the help and assistance we have received from leaders of the Hindu community, who never hesitated to assist us with their invaluable advice and co-operation. It was through this help and co-operation of Hindu leaders, so ungrudgingly given, that we could make it possible to set up a non-official commission of enquiry in Calcutta. I am referring to all these events only to show that it is not true that Hindus and Muslims always cut each others throats, but that they also render each other material help and assistance in times of difficulty. I would also like to tell our rulers that England now being practically the strongest Power in the world, a contemplation of such dazzling eminence may fill the heads of Englishmen with the wine of vanity and pride. But whether they are sober physically or not, they should be sober in the discharge of their duties in the responsible positions that they occupy; and I would earnestly appeal to our rulers to investigate matters themselves, instead of relying blindly on the reports of police officers and on flattering eulogies of

office-seekers and title-hunters. These apparent friends have not the courage to tell the truth, and are in reality among the greatest enemies of British rule in India. The educated classes in India may be severe critics, but, under all circumstances, their sole aim has been to broaden the base of Government so that British rule may endure for as long a time as possible. There is a class of Englishmen who vainly think that there can be no end to British rule in India, and that it will endure for ever. This is a vain delusion. It is only the Kingdom of God that will endure till the end of time; human empires will have their rise and fall, as has been the case since the creation of the world. Standing here in Delhi, in the midst of the glimmering phantoms of departed glory, one is forcibly reminded of the hollowness of human vanity and the nothingness of man. Empires have risen and fallen on the soil of India, leaving no trace behind, and even so will one day be the fate of the British Indian Empire. We want the British people so to behave themselves that when the awful end comes, and Providence writes fiat on the British Raj, Britishers may not have cause to be ashamed of their epitaph. The British should not forget that their policy in India is capable of material improvements. The Laws administered should be just and humane, not barbarous and autorcratic. In particular, all repressive laws in India should be abolished. They may be worthy of the Czar or the Kaiser, but are unworthy of the genius of the British race. The Press Act and the Arms Act should be repealed forthwith, and the Defence of India Act should be so completely effaced from the statute-book as to leave no trace behind.

After all this, I cannot help remarking that it is essential that the British rulers should give up their policy of looking upon the educated classes in India with an eye of suspicion. It is an insult to the Indians themselves to suggest that the educated sections of the community have no sympathy for their unfortunate illiterate brethren. The records of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League bear witness to the anxiety which the educated classes have always felt for the masses in India. It would be unnatural if educated Indians had no feeling for their less educated brethren. After all, they are bones of our bones, flesh of our flesh; we have lived among them and we have to die among them, and we are bound up with them in death and in life. Wherever and whenever the poor cultivators of India have been in difficulty, it has been men like Gandhi and others, and not the foreigners, who have rushed to their aid and rendered them assistance. In all our demands for legitimate self-government, our eyes have always rested on a very wide canvass in which the demands of the masses are writ large, and which can never escape our attention. Our rulers need not have the slightest doubt that in case we succeed in wresting the reins of power from foreign hands, we will not in any way forget the legitimate claims of the millions of our illeterate brethren who constitute the real, effective population of the country.

Brethren, I have finished. I offer you my grateful thanks for the honour

you have done me in calling me to this exalted position and for the patience with which you have listened to me.[1]

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ELEVENTH SESSION

The League passed a number of resolutions, including one on self-determination, which was on the lines of the Congress resolution. Regarding the Peace Conference, the League demanded the right of sending their representative by election. The repeal of the Press Act and the Arms Act was sought and the Katarpur Eed riots were deprecated. The resolution on the latter subject called upon the Hindu leaders to take effective steps to prevent the recurrence of such incidents. Another resolution demanded an inquiry into the administration of the C.I.D. The League also opposed the excess profits tax on the ground of the people and the severe famine prevailing throughout the country.

The following resolution was passed, the speakers emphasizing that it was the innermost wish of the Muslims of India:

> Having regard to the fact that the Indian Musalmans take a deep interest in the fate of their co-religionists outside India, and that the collapse of the Muslim Powers of the world is bound to have an adverse influence on the political importance of the Musalmans in the country, and the annihilation of the military powers of Islam in the world cannot but have a far-reaching effect on the minds of even the loyal Musalmans of India, the All-India Muslim League considers it to be its duty to place before the Government of India and His Majesty's Government the true sentiments of the Muslim community, and requests that the British representatives at the Peace Conference will use their influence and see that in the territorial and political redistribution to be made, the fullest consideration should be paid to the requirements of the Islamic law with regard to the full and independent control by the Sultan of Turkey, Khalifa of the Prophet, over the holy places and over the Jazirat-ul-Arab as delimitated in the Muslim books. The League further hopes that in determining the political relations of the Empire, for the future, His Majesty's Ministers shall pay the fullest consideration to the universal and deep sentiment of the Musalmans of India, and that resolute attempts should be made to effect a complete reconciliation and lasting concord between the Empire and Muslim states, based on terms of equity and justice, in the interests alike of the British Empire and the Muslim world.

The following resolution was also carried:

> The All-India Muslim League views with great dissatisfaction the

1. Typed document.

unreasonable attitude of the Government in not releasing Maulana Mohammad Ali and other Muslim internees, even after the signing of the Armistice, and urges their immediate release in order to allay Muslim feelings. In view of the vague nature of the charges framed against them by the Committee of Enquiry appointed by the Government to investigate their case, the League strongly protests against the continuation of the internment of Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mohammad Ali.

Mr. Wazir Hussein, who spoke on the resolution, said that in the case of the two Ali brothers it was not only injustice but oppression.

The Session was dissolved after passing a hearty vote of thanks to the President.[1]

1. Compiled from newspaper reports.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

TWELFTH SESSION

AMRITSAR, DECEMBER 29-31, 1919

The Twelfth Session opened on December 29, 1919, in the Bande Matram Hall, Amritsar. The presence of Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew—who had been elected Chairman of the Reception Committee while suffering incarceration on the orders of Sir Michael O'Dowyer, the Lieut-Governor, and had since the Royal proclamation been released in time to be present—evoked a wild enthusiasm. Before the proceedings began, it was announced that Mr. Mohamed Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali had been released and would be in Amritsar the next morning. The news was received with applause. The proceedings commenced at 1-30 p.m. Most of the prominent Congressmen were present: Pundit Motilal Nehru, Pundit Madan Mohan Malviya, Mrs. Annie Besant, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. Bamanji, Mr. B. N. Sharma, Mr. Gokaran Nath Misra, Mr. Bukshi Tek Chand, Mr. Ramaswami Iyer, and others. Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew delivered his welcome address, and Moulvi Sanaullah, who had been elected Acting Chairman of the Reception Committee, while Dr. Kitchlew was in prison, then read his speech in Urdu. Thereafter, Hakim Ajmal Khan delivered his presidential address.[1]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS[2] OF

HAKIM MOHAMMAD AJMAL KHAN

Amritsar, where we are now holding the annual gatherings of the Congress and the All-India Muslim League, has been the scene of incidents

1. Based on various reliable sources.
2. The introductory portion of this Address, which included reference to the incidents of violence at Delhi, is not available.

which shall ever remain indelible and ugly blots on the history of the British Raj in India. But the fact that, in spite of the most depressing and dispiriting happenings, the citizens of Amritsar have made it possible for the Congress and the League to hold their sessions here calls for our admiration for these spirited patriots; and while fully appreciating their courage, perseverence and manliness, we must testify that they have, by their behaviour, furnished an ocular demonstration of the fact that martial law and its tyrannies are as powerless to silence the voice of truth as they ever deserve to remain. But the responsibility for the occurrences whether of Lahore, Amritsar or Kasur must primarily be placed at the door of the Government, who have so far been ruling India without the least regard for the desires of their subjects, and the passage of the Rowlatt Act is a concrete illustration of that disregard. This legislation was unanimously opposed by all the elected Indian members of the Legislative Council, and every section of the Indian population raised its voice against it. But the Government turned a deaf ear to all these voices out of tender regard for the fetish of prestige making it possible for all the woeful events of Delhi and the Punjab to follow which we and our coming generations are never likely to forget. It is not given to any common individual to appreciate the particular necessity for enacting the Rowlatt Act. It is generally asked why the legislation of the Rowlatt Act was deemed essential, while such effective weapons as the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, the Press Act and the Defence of India Act were available in the armoury of repressive enactments, and more especially when, rightly or wrongly, the proclamation of martial law, by means of an ordinance was fully within the limits of Government's competence. If, however, the question of prestige alone is responsible for the passage of the obnoxious legislation, then I fear the consequences of the enactment have been more deleterious to the Government's prestige than the other state of affairs might possibly have been.

Mistake in the Punjab

Passing now from this initial blunder of the Government of India, we come to the Punjab where we meet with an abundant store of mistakes. To begin with, the late Lieutenant-Governor of this Province speaking from his privileged place in the Provincial Legislative Council said that drastic proceedings would be taken against the opponents of the Rowlatt Bill. I am not sure how far such a threat, coming as it did from the representative of a constitutional Government, could be regarded as proper: for the entire activity of the Punjab involved in the struggle against the Rowlatt Act was strictly within constitutional limits. The ex-Satrap's pronouncement of the minatory words referred to above was tantamount to declaring the mere protest against any legislation undertaken by the Government as criminal. One, however, does not know under what law such an offence would fall. A possible rejoinder may be that under the Defence of India Act, whose elasticity

in obedience to the official will has become notorious, any constitutional activity of this kind may become punishable. Enthusiastic protests and demonstrations took place in other provinces as well, but the heads of those provinces did not feel the necessity of resorting to minatory declamations, nor did it become necessary for them to have recourse to shooting and killing people, and delivering their provinces over to military authorities for martial law. It was this flagrantly misguided and repressive activity which last April 3 and 5, took the form of muzzling Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew, the two popular leaders of Amritsar. Not content with this blunder, the pace of mistaken activity was accelerated; and on the 10th of the same month these leaders were deported from Amritsar. This deportation was undertaken at a time when responsible officials fully anticipated disturbing consequences—'a fact' elicited by Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad in his cross-examination of Mr. Miles Irving, who admitted having anticipated agitation as the result of the deportation of Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal.

In view of these circumstances the responsibility for all that followed the flagrantly unwise order of deportation must necessarily be laid at the door of the authority from whom the order emanated, particularly when we know that previous to the blunder, there was no trace of any public excitement of the kind anticipated. A hartal followed as an inevitable result; but according to Mr. Jarman, then Municipal Engineer of Amritsar, there were no signs of disorder, notwithstanding the cessation of business. In fact, Mr. Miles Irving himself admits, in his statement, that previous to the firing at the bridge, the crowd did not seem disposed to rioting, but wanted to make a representation to the head of the district for the restoration of the deported leaders. So far from there being any testimony in the official evidence to the crowd being disorderly, it shows that the crowd passed Europeans and Government buildings on its way to the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow without signifying any inclination to interfere with them; their desire to petition the Deputy Commissioner for the restoration of their leaders; their not being in possession of sticks or lathis at the time, which are all evident proofs of their peaceful disposition. But the atrocity of opening fire on them was perpetrated in spite of all this, which resulted in the regretable occurrences at the railway station, the banks and other places involving the loss of European lives (which I deplore as deeply as any other man), and once again the Deputy Commissioner had recourse to firing. All was quiet from the 10th to the 12th.

Jallianwala Bagh Firing

The next day was the well-known Baisakhi festival, and a considerable assemblage of men took place in the Jallianwala Bagh, which was gallantly and courageously attacked by General Dyer, who had, previous to reaching the spot, decided to open fire on them. In his evidence before the Hunter Committee, he proudly boasted that he "fired and fired well", for "little

firing" was, in his opinion, "bad".

He further admitted that he had made no medical arrangements for the wounded, as all the hospitals were open to them. Finally, replying to Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Khan, he affirmed that there was no difference between mere civil disorder and rebellion. It is to be profoundly deplored that the lives of His Majesty's subjects are entrusted to the care of men who are capable of boastfully proclaiming that they "fired and fired well", who are ignorant of the difference between the menial offence of ordinarily riotous disorder and the heinous crime of rebellion, and who are incapable of realizing that the wounded cannot attend hospitals without somebody's aid. The Commander-in-Chief may profitably open some institutions for teaching such men the difference between ordinary disorders and grave rebellions, the common sense about the inability of the wounded to walk to hospitals without any help, and finally to instruct them in the elementary principles of humanity, which require that human life should be treated as valuable and should not be taken without the profoundest consideration. For a member of a fair and democratic people to have the wantonness to set his heart on firing on fellow-beings without taking adequate thought is a revoltingly execrable atrocity. It deserves to be mentioned with poignant anguish that Indian blood was recklessly made to flow in Jallianwala, with the outrageous result that so far over 500 dead have been traced. In reply to the Hon'ble Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya's interpellation in the Council, official admission went up to 290; but Amritsar's Deputy Commissioner's evidence has unmasked the reality in the amusing statement admitting the number of persons killed as three, four or five hundred —the uncertainty of hundreds deserves marked attention. This figure has been corroborated by General Dyer himself, who admitted having fired 1,650 rounds, which according to him may have killed 400 to 500 men. This firing becomes all the more indefensible and deplorable when we are told that it was quite possible to disperse the crowd in Jallianwala without recourse to firing, as admitted by General Dyer in the course of his cross-examination.

Another matter which deserves to be specially mentioned is the operation of martial law before it had been actually proclaimed on the night between the 15th and the 16th of April. On April 11, the administrative control of the District was delivered up to General Dyer, and punishments and orders began to emanate from him. One is, however, left wondering what legal sanction these proceedings had behind them. Do these evidently unconstitutional proceedings, resulting as they did in the loss of more than 500 lives of His Majesty's subjects, not entitle one to expect that at least the persons who are directly liable for these deeds of violence will receive the punishment which they richly deserve?

Who can forget the outrageous crawling order of General Dyer, by which human beings were compelled, under pain of punishment, to degrade themselves to the level of animals? And who can ever forget the infamous

floggings? Did not this very General, in the course of his examination by the Hunter Committee, assert that India was the "land of salaams", where Indians "understood and ought to understand salaaming". Indians owe it to the honour of their country now to fully grasp the lesson of this assertion and to demonstrate, by their behavior in future what they have learnt by it.

Other Incidents in the Punjab

Amritsar's occurrences reacted on Lahore and elsewhere in the Punjab; and a wave of indignation, caused by these wrongs, swept over the Province. The hartal of the April 6, passed off peacefully at Lahore; but the news of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest, effected under orders of the ex-Satrap of the Punjab, soon had its effect on the people of Lahore, who assembled in a large crowd to go to the Government House with the object of appealing to the Lieutenant-Governor for the cancellation of his order. The crowd was stopped on the Mall and turned back; and it is stated that the crowed was first fired on while returning, and again while it was nearing Lahori Gate. On the 11th people were busy with the obsequies of the dead, and on the 13th they held a meeting in the Badshahi Mosque to express their sorrow. Some people, however, stripped and burnt the clothes of a C.I.D. officer, which at all events, was a regrettable act. As the people came out of the mosque on the termination of the meeting, they were fired on by the military at some neighbouring place. Then came the arrests of some of the well-known and able leaders of the people such as Lala Harkishan Lal, Pundit Ram Bhuj Dutt, Mr. Duni Chand, Bar-at-Law, and others who could under no circumstances be suspected of countenancing any kind of disorder, and who had made every possible effort to maintain peace and order in the town. But we are all painfully familiar with the treatment they received in return for their civic labours, and I advisedly refrain from dilating on this painful topic.

It seems that the late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, desired to benefit not only his own Province by his 'Nadirshahi' reign but wanted to extend its blessing to other parts of India as well. He had proposed to penalize *The Independent* newspaper from his seat in Lahore, but the Government of the United Provinces did not prove amenable to the wisdom of undertaking the duty of carrying out each and every whim of His late Honour. It is, however, regrettable that this newspaper's office could not escape the distinction of a police search. It is understood that he was also instigating the Delhi authorities to proclaim martial law and desired to have other provinces in the same boat with his satrapy, so that it might evade being marked out as a solitary example; but he failed to achieve his end. He had Mr. Goverdhan Das arrested in the Madras Presidency solely on the ground that the latter had dared to furnish a correct account of all the events of the Punjab and its ruler to the press, and that the wires which Pundit Rambhuj Dutt could not, on account of his arrest, send to the Secretary of

State and the Viceroy, were despatched by him. He was ultimately prosecuted, and has not yet been restored to us. All the occurrences of the Punjab were almost wholly due to reactionery methods. Had wiser counsels prevailed, there is ample reason to believe that not a single life would have been lost. If fire had not been opened on the unarmed crowd in Amritsar, if Mr. Gandhi had not been arrested, and if the advice of the leaders had been listened to, it can be stated without fear of contradiction that, so far as the Punjab was concerned, no untoward incident would have taken place.

The late Lieutenant-Governor did not content himself with proclaiming martial law in some cities, but gave a *carte blanche* to men of such pronounced 'competence' as General Dyer, in Amritsar, and Col. Frank Johnson, in Lahore. The latter, in his evidence before the Hunter Committee, has said that 277 persons were tried by the summary courts, out of whom 207 were convicted and 66 were whipped, the total number of stripes ammounting to 800. The latter figure included men who were publicly flogged. The Colonel has also opined, if not in so many words, that this method of punishment was full of the milk of human kindness. Further, he is responsible for the statement that the people liked the martial law and were grateful to him for maintaining peace and order. It seems that people who manifested such remarkable admiration for martial law were not lucky enough to have a taste of the punishment which was brimful of kindness, otherwise they would have been less eager to express their partiality for such a regime. He has further stated that on the 10th, when fire was opened on a crowd of about 8,000 men on the Mall, it resulted in the loss of one human life and five or six wounded, which was due to the fact that the firing of the police force was very much below third class. It is a pity that none of the members of the Hunter Committee appears to have asked the gallant Colonel what in his opinion would have been the result of firing by one who had hardly ever shouldered a gun on a crowd of 8,000. The only answer according to Frank Johnsonian logic could be that none would have been injured at all. It is noteworthy that Col. Frank Johnson likes the jails immensely, and seems to regard them as unusually comfortable. If jail is really the place of such comforts, it would have been the most proper thing for the Colonel to send there those of his admirers who expressed their deep appreciation of the martial law.

Lieutenant Col. Frank Johnson, who holds a high rank in the army, and who can unmistakably be considered an expert in military matters, has further observed that "whipping is equal to a thousand soldiers" in military equation, of course. Col. Johnson should certainly be sent to the front on some future occasion, so that in an actual engagement he may, by dispensing with soldiers, prove the striking effectiveness of the weapon he has discovered—alas, at the conclusion of the late war—and vanquish the enemy with its aid. The credit of the discovery must ever belong to this renowned

and gallant soldier. Later on, he has also deposed that the order to shoot any person who stood in the way of opening shops emanated from him; and again he has affirmed that as peace in the city depended upon the cessation of the hartal, no punishment could be too severe. It is alleged that the martial law notice which was posted on the Sanatan Dharm College building was torn down by some unknown person and led the Colonel to detain the 500 men belonging to the College, who were made to march long distances in the heat of summer. They were let go after two days' detention. On this point, Sir C. Sitalvad asked him if he considered it the proper discharge of his duty to march five hundred students to the fort under the burning sun of Lahore; and the reply of the merciful and justice-loving Colonel was that he was prepared to do it again, if necessary. We learn from this gallant officer that he was responsible for punishing one thousand and eleven students. These punishments are in addition to those inflicted by the police. In answer to a question on this point, the chivalrous Colonel is reported to have stated that information was received that many students were insulting English women, and that was why he looked upon his orders, which were undoubtedly severe, as right and just, and he would continue to hold that opinion. It is a pity no one asked him on which dates after the 10th European women were seen out, and who were the boys complained against. Is it not deeply regrettable that on the strength of baseless and absurd rumours or predelictions, poor students were subjected to subtle tortures which are truly barbarous, and shall ever continue to be regarded so.

He admitted his responsibility for a ridiculous order before the Hunter Committee, according to which no two 'natives' could walk abreast in front of a European, lest the latter should be provoked to commit a breach of the King's peace.

And again, I feel a certain commiseration for this Colonel, within whom burnt the fire of conscience with a steady flame, when he confesses his weakness in having punished a magistrate for interfering with a marriage procession and for having the offenders, including a priest, flogged. The reason why I feel compassion for the Colonel is that in my opinion this order of the magistrate did nothing to offend against justice, but perhaps necessity and expediency required it, for it brought out the real character of the likely ends which came within the operation of martial law. If two 'natives' could not walk together in front of a European lest the latter should be provoked to commit a breach of the peace, in the case of a marriage procession, the fear of a graver disturbance would be thoroughly justified.

In this instance, by arresting a marriage party which was supposed to be defying the martial law, in so far as it carried with it the potentialities of a breach of the peace, and flogging it, the one beneficial result which followed was that the whole city came to know of the incident, and the Colonel was saved the inconvenience of administering this punishment to others, as the

example must have terrorized the whole city. I am, therefore, truly grieved that Col. Johnson during his 'strong administration', betrayed the weakness, induced by qualms of conscience, of dismissing a magistrate who, keeping the maintenance of peace and order in view, had, all in a *bona fide* way, ordered this supremely merciful and sublimely kind mode of chastisement. I wonder if this magistrate would care to bring the matter to the notice of Sir Michael O'Dwyer (for it was during His ex-Honour's term of office that an honest maintainer of peace was so unjustly treated), and prefer charges for the Colonel's dismissal! It would be unjust to overlook the incident of the Badan appeal against the noble and gallant Shahi Mosque (*sic*) and the closing of its doors upon Mohammedan mosque-goers, for it constitutes the most illustrious episode of the O'Dwyerian rule, never likely to be effaced from our memories. It would be an act of folly for the Musalmans to complain against this outrage. They should see for themselves that it was here that a C.I.D. officer was stripped of his clothes, and the only merciful punishment for so wanton a disregard of the all too fine susceptibilities of the Department could be closing the Mosque altogether for the time being. If it had remained open, and the same incident had been repeated, the consequences for the Musalmans would have been very grave indeed. It was also possible that the people might congregate there on the pretext of saying prayers, but really conspire against the Government, and then, Col. Johnson or the civil authorities would have been obliged to adopt severe measures. Moreover, the Musalmans should remember that if the Colonel closed the *Langar Khanas*, meant for distributing food among the poor and the hungry, because "rebellion also could be promoted there" (against which grave contingency the city had to be guarded), the closing of the Mosque must have been dictated by tender regard for the benefit of the Mohammedans themselves. It was apparent that their not congregating there for prayers would insure them against the catastrophe resulting from fanning the flame of rebellion. This Mosque may have been closed on another possible ground. On the 12th, when a number of Musalmans were returning from it, the Colonel's guard was attacked in the rear (the Colonel is silent as to how and with what weapon) and perhaps an accidental but vigorous dead set was made at the Colonel himself, with the help of a big or trifling brickbat.

Placed in such a helpless situation, if the Colonel ordered firing and some lives were lost, the matter should not assume the magnitude of a complaint; for according to the recently propounded princiciple already referred to while dealing with the evidence produced before the Hunter Committee in Delhi, only "a trifling number of men were killed to save a large number from decimation". If the Colonel had refrained from firing it was quite within the pale of possibility that the centre of the army would have been rushed, which would have led to more deaths among the crowd than actually took place on the 12th.

Endowed with a rare genius, this war-lord anticipated that if the citizens threw any bombs, the lives of his soldiers would be lost in vain; and to provide against such a contingency, he had kept two aeroplanes in readiness to go up at a given signal and drop bombs on the city. This wisdom-propelled precaution achieved a remarkable end, namely that the citizens were (according to the perverse imagination of the gallant Colonel) prevented from using their hand grenades, and the Colonel's army, through his foresight and God's grace, remained intact and quite safe.

After describing the incidents at Lahore, we come to Kasur. The following is a bare statement of facts gathered from the evidence of official witnesses who appeared before the Hunter Committee:

On April 11, a public meeting was held at Kasur, at which speeches were delivered about the Rowlatt Act.

A hartal followed the news of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest and continued till the 12th.

On the 12th, a procession of people carrying black flags proceeded towards the station, when, according to the evidence of Mr. P. Marsden, the Sub-divisional Officer, the leaders declared that the British Raj had come to an end. The people attacked the railway station, godown goods, waggons, and passenger trains, and looted all the cash which they found there. Similar incidents took place at Khem Karan and the station was damaged at Patti.

At the Kasur Railway Station, a train was stopped. Two soldiers who were travelling on this train fired one or two shots on the crowd, after which they were attacked and killed. The crowd was shouting that two of their men had been killed (which meant that they meant to avenge their death).

On the same day, 300 Indian and 50 British soldiers reached Kasur, under the command of Captain Macray, and on April 16 he declared martial law before a public meeting held at the Town Hall. The total number of arrests made was 172, out of which 51 persons were convicted, and the rest were discharged or acquitted. In addition to these, two persons were shot by the sentry, because they failed to reply when challenged—one of them was a deaf mute! During this period the people were subjected to various punishments which must be mentioned:

A case was put up in which people were imprisoned, and they were obliged to answer the calls of nature where they were.

Some persons were made to draw lines on the ground with their nose, as vouched by some reliable persons. But the military officer responsible for this punishment stated that he did not make such an order; he had only ordered men to prostrate themselves on the ground, which was a form of salaaming.

The headmaster of a high school and an aged man were flogged.

On May 3, a public gallows was erected, but was subsequently removed by the order of the Punjab Government.

The Headmaster of the Municipal Board School complained that the boys disobeyed his orders. He was, therefore, asked to send any three boys for punishment. As the three boys sent by the Headmaster were physically weak, a second order was sent to him to furnish three robust boys; who were selected and sent and were punished for the misfortune of being physically strong.

The Headmaster of the Islamia School had made no complaint against his boys, but three lads from this school too were similarly punished.

The entire male population of Kasur, numbering some eight to ten thousand, were summoned for identification several times, and were ordered to bare their heads.

The police searched the houses of eight pleaders, and arrested several others, including those who had helped the Government to maintain peace and order. Mr. Dhanpat Raj, Pleader, was arrested without any evidence of any kind against him.

Persons were flogged before prostitutes, who were collected to witness the punishment.

Forty persons were flogged, each receiving 18 stripes on an average, and some students were publicly flogged.

From 20 to 25 persons were given the fancy punishment of 'skipping', which was said to be good for their health.

A poet who had been arrested was asked by Capt. Doveton, the Martial Law Administrator, to write an ode in his honour and was released in reward for it.

How can one characterize these punishments except as being a leaf out of mediaeval history? In the present age, inflicting such punishments, and proudly boasting about them, can only come from individuals wholly devoid of human attributes.

The occurences of Gujranwala were still worse. Here the unarmed civil populace was bombed from aeroplanes for the first, and let us hope, for the last time in India.

On April 6, hartal was observed. But previous to this, on April 5, a public meeting was convend at which people were enjoined to observe hartal— in speeches, which according to Colonel O'Brien, incited the people to acts of lawlessness. On April 14, a disturbance took place as described in official evidence, which led to the burning of the station, the cutting of telegraph wires, and damage to the court buildings. Government property and railway stations were partially damaged in 14 places other than Gujranwala. Some Europeans were also assaulted at some of these places. But the most heinous crime alleged to have been committed at Ramnagar was the burning of the King's effigy, after which some people went to bathe in the river.

On the 14th, aeroplanes were sent to Gujranwala where six bombs were dropped. The damage done by two of these bombs is stated to be six

killed and six injured. Colonel O'Brien's evidence is silent about the damage done by the four remaining bombs. He has given the total number of casualties as 27, including 11 killed, which figure appears astonishingly small, in view of the frequent bombing and machine-gunning from the aeroplanes.

Colonel O'Brien then goes on to say that at 11 the same morning, the police fired on the people for the first time when Mr. Heron was assaulted. On the second occasion, a crowd crossing the railway line was fired on without any reason; after which wherever people collected, they were fired on. It does not require very hard thinking to come to the conclusion that the gallant Colonel's memory has played him false in regard to the number of casualties. It is, one might observe with regret, the inferior shooting by the police which deprived certain persons of the satisfaction of doing justice to Gujranwala.

Colonel O'Brien asserted that the order could be restored only with the help of the army, and martial law would not have been necessary if summary courts had been established. However, according to Col. Macray everything emanated from the Punjab Government, of whose will the district authorities were mere instruments.

A catalogue of all the wrongs committed before or after the announcement of martial law would be rather prolix, but a few concrete illustrations would not be out of place. Enumerated thus are:

1. Flogging publicly.
2. Refusal to admit people to bail.
3. The arrest of persons, on information supplied by the police, without due inquiry.
4. Handcuffing and marching those under arrest a distance of two miles through the bazar, preceded by two municipal commissioners, one Hindu and one Musalman. (Most probably to ridicule Hindu-Muslim unity.)
5. Sending 23 arrested persons of Lahore by cattle trucks, and marching them through the bazars of Lahore.
6. Punishing a police sergeant for failing to give evidence as directed.

Gentlemen, this is a brief but deeply sad tale of the inhuman reaction of which the fair Province of Punjab has been the victim. I have refrained from dwelling on all the atrocities in detail for the obvious reason that you yourselves are fully familiar with them.

Conclusions Regarding Delhi and the Punjab

I have, after carefully weighing all the circumstances, arrived at the conclusion that the Delhi and Punjab occurrences were due to a series of blunders. I see behind all these happenings one mistake after another, like those committed by a physician, who causes endless harm to the patient, by failing to diagnose the disease. Had not the Rowlatt Act been passed in the teeth of the opposition referred to, not the smallest event of an untoward

nature would have taken place in Delhi or the Punjabi! The enactment of this legislation brought the Satyagraha movement into existence, which was considered the last remedy. It was not translated into practice in Delhi, but the better part of the country regarded it as an acceptable idea. As I have already said, not a drop of blood would have been shed in Delhi, if better counsels had prevailed. The Chief Commissioner certainly acted with patience, and largely helped to save the situation; but all that occurred in Delhi is traceable to the mistakes of other officials. Had no firing taken place at the Railway Station, as none took place in the King Edward Park, the situation would have been peacefully overcome.

Coming to the Punjab, the Amritsar happenings clearly show that the initial blunder consisted in the muzzling and deportation orders served on Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew, which emanated direct from Lahore, without previous consultation with the man on the spot, who had every right—being entrusted with the sole responsibility of keeping order in this District—to be consulted in respect to so delicate a matter.

This led to all the sad occurrences which followed. I have a right to ask any right-minded person whether, in his opinion, any of the gruesome events we all know, and which have been referred to above, would have come to pass, if the initial blunder had not been perpetrated? Similarly, but for Mr. Gandhi's arrest at Palwal and the firing on the crowd at Lahore, there was no fear of any untoward event at Lahore. The crowd could easily have been dispersed by other means, as represented by the leaders to the authorities at the time. The occurrences of Kasur and Gujranwala, too, arose out of like blunders, otherwise the demonstrations would have ceased in a short time, as generally happened everywhere.

Lord Hunter's Committee

The Disorders Inquiry Committee was appointed in response to India's constant demand for a searching inquiry into these occurrences. It commenced its work in November, at Delhi, regarding the Delhi and the Punjab occurrences. We have no right to pronounce any premature judgment and must patiently await its report. Although our bitter experience of such committees in the past has been abundantly depressing, we must wait and see, and refrain from expressing any opinion. Considering the fact that the findings of the Hunter Committee will, at most, have a moral effect, we cannot have any very high expectation of it, nor can we fail to observe the more or less inconsequential nature of its labours; for has not the Indemnity Act taken the wind out of its sails, by guaranteeing impunity to officials whose appalling infractions would, in a court of law, have assumed the magnitude of grave crimes? This Act also covers the mistakes committed previous to the operation of martial law, and goes as far back as last March 30. It is therefore not a matter for wonder that delinquent officials are encouraged to confess

their crimes with unseemly audacity, for they feel that they have a right to say and do worse things.

As borne out by the procedure adopted at Delhi, it was not originally intended by the Congress Committee to boycott the Hunter Committee. But their modest request for the enlargement of certain Punjab leaders (who are suffering incarceration for no crime other than that of being leaders), with a view to securing the best non-official evidence, was rejected; and they were constrained in the last resort, regretfully, to decide that they should refrain from leading any evidence before the Hunter Committee, but produce the same before the Non-Official Committee, which is also doing its work. The non-official report will, no doubt, present the other side of the picture in bright colours. I am of opinion that General Dyer, Colonel Frank Johnson and some others have greatly lightened the task of the Non-Official Committee. In fact, India may be fully content with reprinting the statements of those witnesses and circulating them widely in England to bring home to the British the real nature of the share of some of their able representatives in ruling India, and also to let them have an idea of the value and worth these men attach to Indian lives. There is, however, a good deal of work before this Committee, and we hope it will take early steps to publish, both in India and in England, the evidence it has collected.

It is India's misfortune that the men at the helm of her affairs seem to be actuated with the belief that the central principle of government must ever be repression.

Although the evidence daily accumulating drives one to the conclusion that repression always leaves a vigorous dynamic force in its wake, yet our Government prefers to adhere to its antiquated political creed, its daily increasing deleterious results notwithstanding.

If Lord Curzon laid India under a debt of gratitude by the partition of Bengal, Sir Michael O'Dower has done nothing less, by his *Nadirshahi* rule in the Punjab, and of which we shall soon begin to be conscious. Sir Michael will have occasion to be proud of his achievement, if political activity is snuffed out in the Punjab. But, if the real political life of the Province begins after his strenuous efforts to stamp it out, the ex-Satrap will have occasion to realize the magnitude of his blunder. He will then realize that the bitter poison he ministered to the Punjab, actually proved the elixir of life to her.

The New Reforms

The forthcoming reforms will, no doubt, go a certain length to affect the antediluvian nature of the existing constitution. But, so long as India's share in the Central Government is not of a really satisfactory nature, we cannot hope to have seen the last of the massacre of Jallianwala and the bombing of Gujranwala. We have not the least doubt about the good inten-

tions of the Rt. Hon. Edwin Samuel Montagu, who, we fully realize, has not merely taken endless pains to achieve the successful conclusion of his efforts in regard to the Reform Scheme, but has evinced great preseverence and statesmanship, in winning the goal, in spite of the reactionary efforts of certain parties. He has established his claim to be regarded a true well-wisher and benefactor of India. But we cannot help observing that these reforms fall short even of the minimum demand of India.

Judging the recommendations of the Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons relating to the Central Government in the light of the announcement of August 20, 1917, we are constrained to say that they do not fulfil the promise vouchsafed to us. Nor can it be said that increasing the number of Indian members of the Central Executive Council means the devolution of responsibility in the real sense. Such effect as it may possibly have must needs be confined to the moral sphere. It is, however, satisfactory to note that the Joint Committee has rejected the Grand Committee, and recommended the constitution of the Council of State as a true revising chamber, which seems to be free from the defects of the former and curtails our apprehensions. The Joint Committee has offered useful counsel with regard to the selection of the President of the Indian Legislature. It is rightly advised that great deliberation should be exercised in selecting for this office one who, apart from being a man of acknowledged ability, should also possess experience of parliamentary principles and procedure. Provincial Governors are invested with the power to dismiss ministers, which, in other words, means that the ministers will be subject to executive pressure, which may prove an impediment in the way of the realization of legitimate and beneficial aims which they may have in view. It will also give rise to a belief in the country that the possibility of the Indians availing themselves of the modest share allowed to them in the Provincial Councils has been curtailed to a certain extent in this way. Then, who does not know that Bombay, Bengal and Madras are the advanced provinces of India, and that they are certainly ahead of certain other provinces in the fields of education, commerce and political activity? Would it not evoke their resentment when they find that they get nothing more than commerce, industry and education in 'transferred subjects', although they are, without the least doubt, entitled to much more. To allow provincial legislatures responsible control only over commerce, industry and less important subjects is decidedly a disappointment for India. When we realize that we have no 'fiscal autonomy', which is the essence of our demands regarding economic control, without which commerce and industry must needs remain in a static and lifeless condition, we can hardly entertain any hope of developing our commerce and industry. With reference to the subject of education, no opinion can be formed regarding some of the reservations hinted at in the Joint Committee's Report until they are before us in a definite form. But I hope, as authoritatively stated in reliable circles, education will be a completely

'transferred subject'. A good step seems to have been taken in respect to the question of franchise. The Joint Committee has liberalized the principle of franchise by recognizing the demands of the depressed classes. But Indian leaders are unable to understand why the rulers and subjects of Native States are put on the same footing as British Indian subjects in regard to the right of vote and election, and it is difficult for them to extend a warm welcome to this innovation. The Joint Committee does not appear generous in not applying the principle of enfranchisement to women as a whole, although its adoption is left to the choice of different provinces. It can, however, be safely asserted that the right has not been altogether overlooked. It would have been advisable to select some provinces for the operation of the right, after it had been even partially recognized by the Joint Committee.

It would be a great injustice to declare those convicted for more than six months ineligible for election for five years. Unless a reservation is made in favour of those who are convicted of offences relating to the State, such as S. 124 A, we will be deprived of some of the best men of our country, who have been the victims (from time to time) of executive blunders.

I regret to say that the Bill fixes the period of our political schooling at 10 years, which, compared with other courses of instruction, appears to be long and tedious, especially because we are left in a state of uncertainty. At the conclusion of this period, supposing the Parliamentary Committee does no more than make immaterial recommendations, at the end of 10 years, it would not be possible to predict the number of decades for which India may have to wait for the attainment of complete self-government. This uncertainty could be disposed of by adhering to the Congress-League Scheme. Unless there is a definite promise that India will get self-government within 15 or 20 years, it is futile to expect India for ever to continue to value the modest gift of the Reform Scheme. The appointment of a Parliamentary Standing Committee for advising the Government on important Indian matters is satisfactory inasmuch as it promises to rescue India from the cold indifference which has been her lot so far. It signifies that a welcome beginning of the process of realizing India's importance is being made. It is now essential for India to have a permanent organization in London to co-operate with the Parliamentary Committee when necessary, and to place Indian aspirations before Britain more prominently. It would be quite appropriate to entrust this task to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress and the London Branch of the Muslim League, but it is necessary to consider the ways of making them more useful. At present it will be our duty to devote special attention to the rules which are going to be appended to the Reform Act. If we fail to devote to this task the time which it deserves, the few benefits now accruing to us may also dwindle. However, looking at the Reforms as a whole, we should welcome them as the first stone of the foundation of self-government. We must not allow the occurrences of the Punjab, and the question of

Turkey, to prevent us from taking that interest in them which as Indians it is our duty to do. Although we are not likely to forget the deep agony caused by the occurrences of the Punjab and the events relating to the holy places, the Khilafat and Turkey, we should, while continuing our constitutional struggle, make a united effort to make the Reforms successful, as on that will depend our future development.

Hindu-Muslim Unity

The secret of the success, not merely of the Reform Scheme, but of all the work which is being done by Indians in India and abroad, lies in Hindu-Muslim unity. There is no need to look back, as both these communities have now fully realized that unity alone can be the firm foundation of India's real improvement and future progress. Although war is rightly regarded as a calamity, the share the World War (now happily ended) has had in forging the links of unity between these two great communities, entitles us to say that the War has bequeathed India a legacy which is likely to prove the key to the success of the national self-realization of India. I must, however, confess that there are certain matters which at times come in the way of the full realization of this blessing. Those who are inspired by a genuine desire to serve their country cannot be affected by any differences of race or creed, which are the same to-day as they were before. Hindu-Muslim relations, however, appear to be infinitely more satisfactory than they have been in past years. The question of Government appointments is no longer capable of engaging our attention to any appreciable degree, and although political rights were the subject of much controversy between them before, the Congress-League Compact of 1916 went a very long way to settle that matter. Such other matters as the League and the Congress may still require to have an understanding about will, I am sure, be easily settled between them on some appropriate occasion.

I shall, therefore, address myself to the one question which has an importance quite its own, and which is none other than the preservation of cows. We have, for some time past, been indulging in indirect allusions and vague hints, and to my mind it is high time that this question was dealt with in clear and specific terms with a view to reaching a satisfactory conclusion. Some of the methods which some of our Hindu brethren have at times permitted themselves to adopt for the attainment of their object have, in certain instances, undoubtedly proved highly objectionable, and naturally tending to defeat the very purpose aimed at. But to-day, when both Hindus and Muslims are marching together through a new era, when various differences are gradually, but surely, being transformed into varied phases of unity, the possibility of the resumption of such fruitless efforts is becoming remote. In fact, we are now inspired by that spirit of patriotism which is sure to prove the key to the solution, not merely of the question of the preservation of

cows, but also to the final settlement of all other differences. When two sections begin to co-operate in a spirit of loving comradeship, sharing one another's burdens, the inevitable result follows and their differences, passing through various phases of mutual toleration, finally merge in a community of interest.., and the very differences are transformed into the surest basis of united endeavours.

Our Hindu compatriots have, for some time past, been making genuine efforts to meet us more than half-way, and deserve our sincerest gratitude for their goodwill. It is, indeed, a testimony to their keen reelization of the needs of nation-building. It therefore behoves us, as inheritors of a noble creed, to reciprocate their amiable regard with greater warmth and goodwill to demonstrate that our faith teaches us that every good act deserves a better return. Our Hindu brethren enthusiastically and spontaneously observed the Khilafat day with us, and in closing their business to share our sorrow, they evinced remarkably large sympathies. They cheerfully bore great commercial loss only to prove their sincere regard for our sentiments in regard to a matter which was exclusively religious, and could claim their interest in no other way. Can these sincere demonstrations of friendly regard and goodwill go for nothing? Most certainly not; nor can they possibly fail to evoke deserving responses from a people not dead to all noble feeling. Again, what but the promotion of commendable reciprocity and co-operation in exclusive religious matters can be a surer guarantee of India's future welfare and progress? Indeed, this is the only point on which we are without the least hesitation unanimously agreed. The matter which is entirely for Muslims to decide is what practical step they are going to take to demonstrate their appreciation of this principle, to reassure their Hindu brethren. Not a soul among Musalmans would hesitate to vouchsafe the necessary assurance. In fact, they should enthusiastically respond to such a call, and do whatever they legitimately can to consummate such an object. They should, in so far as it lies in their power, refrain from acts calculated to wound the susceptibilities of their compatriots.

We are, and should be, fully cognizant of the fact that cow killing seriously annoys our fellow-countrymen. But before holding out any assurance to them, we must first see in what light our religion views this question. We must also determine the extent to which *qurbani* is enjoined upon us—irrespective, of course, of the slaughter of cows. According to Islam, *qurbani*, or sacrificial offering, is a *Sunnati-Muwakkidah* (a practice observed by the Prophet and emphatically enjoined on his followers) which Musalmans, as Musalmans, so long as they can afford it, must observe. Now, it is a matter of choice to fulfil this observance by sacrificing camel, sheep, goat or cow, which simply means that any of these animals can be fit offerings. Crores of Indian Muslims must be strangers to the slaughter of a camel for the fulfilment of this observance; but none of them can possibly be accused of the

slightest religious omission. On the contrary, Musalmans of Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Tripoli and Asiatic Turkey have been faithful to this observance without ever having slaughtered a cow; and I am confident no erudite Mufti can maintain that these Musalmans have failed to observe the Sunnat (practice of the Prophet) or have been guilty of any religious shortcoming. If any Musalman dares to call a religiously legitimate act illegitimate, he certainly commits a sin.

I consider it appropriate at this stage to recount some of the *ahadees* (religious traditions) according to which the sacrifice of animals other than the cow is entitled to preference. For instance, Ummi-Salmah (the Holy Prophet's venerable wife) says that the Prophet once observed "if any of you sees the crescent heralding the month of Zil Haj and desires to sacrifice a goat...." which obviously indicates that by tradition Arabs were in the habit of sacrificing goats. According to another, our Prophet said that of all sacrificial animals, the sheep was preferable; if we reserve sheep alone for the offering, we will be complying with this tradition. However I would refrain from expatiating on the religious aspect of this subject as, properly speaking, it relates to the domain of the doctors of theology. If having regard to all these circumstances, Musalmans devoted their attention to this subject, of their own accord, and elected to sacrifice animals other than the cow, they would have the proud privilege of being regarded as the first to take the initial step towards ensuring the internal peace of the country, and they would in this way also be repaying the debt of gratitude, under which they have recently been laid by their Hindu compatriots. I earnestly appeal to my Muslim brothers, to consider calmly what I have said about this question, and if they arrive at the conclusion at which I have arrived, it will be up to them to show what value they attach to the great principle of unity, and what practical response they are ready to make (with particular reference to religious susceptibilities) to the forward step already taken by the Hindus in the direction of that goal. If I am asked to specify the practical steps to be taken in this direction, I would recommend that the Muslim residents of Kashi, Ayudhia, Muthra and Bindraban (the sacred places of the Hindus) should begin the operation of the principle enunciated above, and efforts should simulateneously be directed to the propagation of the same idea in other places.

I must confess that it is a question which belongs to the vast and heterogeneous population of 70 million Musalmans scattered all over India, and our efforts will take time to bear fruit, but this consideration should not discourage us from making an immediate beginning. I am also of opinion that unless some organized institution is entrusted with the propaganda, we must despair of any practical achievement in this respect. The Muslim League, of all the institutions, is by far the most suited for this purpose; and I hope it will offer itself for the sacred work and perform it with the wisdom and zeal which it deserves. I also hope the Muslim League will receive

adequate and willing co-operation from the zealous members of the Khilafat Committees. In the first place, I trust that my views on this subject will evoke no adverse criticism from any quarter; but in view of the fact that the Muslim community, like all other communities of the world, is composed of men of varied ways of thinking, I shall not mind any onslaught, for I am conscious that my humble suggestions spring from the depth of honesty and are not from any motive to please or annoy anyone.

The Khilafat, Holy Places and the Ottoman Empire

Gentlemen, I now propose to deal with a question whose importance cannot be exaggerated. Although Indian Muslims have expressed their views fairly and fully on various occasions, it is my special privilege and duty, as the President of the League, to survey the entire question of the Khilafat, the holy places and the Ottoman Empire. In order to let the responsible ministers and the people of Great Britain have the occasion to realize the real bearings and importance of this question, we must clearly state the truth regarding the relations existing between Turkey and the Musalmans of the world and the Indian Muslims.

Islam is not merely a faith, but a system which knows no colour nor race. It teaches its followers the wholesome lesson of Muslim brotherhood, which secures every proselyte, hailing from England, America or Africa, that equality of treatment which is the imperishable heritage of Musalmans. The ordering of such a peerless[1] socio-religious system creates inviolable bonds between one Muslim and another. It is not a mere collection of ritual and other religious observances, but is so deeply rooted in organic ethics that any attempt to detach it from politics would amount to laying the foundation of a system wholly unlike it. According to our faith, the Prophet of Arabia, who is an example of perfection to all, presented this system as an ideal for the world, and when Providence, in His boundless Wisdom, took him away from us at the conclusion of his spiritual mission, his worthy followers worked for the success of his teaching in a manner to which the chronicles written by friends and foes, and the vastness of the circle of the followers of Islam, bear adequate witness. I, however, do not feel the necessity of tracing the entire origin and development of the Khilafat at this stage; for the curious can find ample material in books of history. I shall content myself with affirming that to-day it is the descendants of Osman the Great (the Ottomans) who by common acceptation are invested with the responsibility of Khilafat (spiritual sovereignty), and on account of which the entire population of the Muslim world has, ever since the day Khilafat devolved on Ottoman sovereigns, owed them that spiritual allegiance which has manifested itself to-day in the acute unrest

1. Used here in the sense of without peer classes and not the more usual one of without equal.

among Musalmans all the world over. The Ottoman sovereigns have for a long time been the custodians of the holy places of Islam, protecting them against non-Muslim usurpation. It is, therefore, only natural for Musalmans to wish to see the Ottoman Empire sufficiently powerful to be able to guard the holy places against the nefarious designs of covetous or adventurous aliens. Turkey has, in her career in history, been the shield of Islam, having for centuries shed Turkish blood in defence of Musalmans in various battlefields, and has, therefore, been specially endeared to Muslims of the world. These are some of the salient reasons which explain the painful anxiety with which the Muslim world is awaiting the last word of the Peace Conference in regard to the Ottoman Empire. The Indian Muslims, who have been under British rule for more than a century, and who have on several occasions furnished undeniable proof of their practical loyalty to the British Crown, were impaled upon the horns of a most painful dilemma when war came to be declared on Turkey. They wanted to be single-minded; but while, on the one hand, they had the soundest religious scruples against going to war with or helping any one against Turkey, on the other, the adoption of a neutral position was calculated to expose them to the charge of shirking the fundamental duty they owed to their own State. Lord Hardinge, the ex-Viceroy of India, realizing the acuteness of the Indian Musalman's predicament, made the famous announcement regarding the protection of the holy places with which we are all adequately familiar, and which went a long way to placate and reassure the Indian Muslim. We then relied on the assurance that the war between England and Turkey had nothing to do with religion, and regarded the above-stated announcement as a pledge that no attempt would be made to deprive Turkey of her custody of the holy places, and determined to help the British with men and money. Giving our first thought to the allegiance we owed to the Crown, we not merely fought against the Turks, but offered all the pecuniary assistance we possibly could for the successful prosecution of the War. Musalmans did not play so great a part in the European theatres of the War, as in the battlefields of Syria and Mesopotamia. They fought shoulder to shoulder with the British and Australian soldiers in the famous Dardanelles campaign against the Sultan of Turkey, in defence of the British Crown, and took prominent part in the service which others were rendering to the Empire. In Syria especially, of all sections of Indians, Musalmans seem to have been most in evidence, a fact admitted by responsible persons. The Indian Muslims, who have ever been earnestly desirous to see the improvement of Turko-British relations, are painfully aware that in spite of their devout hopes to the contrary, the treatment of the Turks by British statesmen has almost invariably been detrimental to the former's interests.

Anglo-Turkish Relations

Casting a glance at the history of the period of Anglo-Turkish alliance

we first find that the vast and fertile country of Egypt passed from the real suzerainty of the Turks into the virtual possession of England, after the Island of Cyprus had been ceded to England, in return for her securing lenient terms for Turkey in the Treaty of Steffano following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. The conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin led the Prime Minister of Italy to address the English Premier regarding Italy's designs on Tripoli, when the latter replied that the right opportunity had not then arrived; for "the quarry should be pursued when lame or wounded." In 1911, long after this exchange of views, Italy invaded Tripoli and the Turks wanted to send their troops through Egypt to resist Italy's brigandage. This procedure, however, the friendly Britain successfully vetoed. On the outbreak of the last Balkan War, Mr. Asquith, the late Premier, enunciated the principle that whatever the result of the war, it should not effect the boundaries of the belligerent countries. Later on, when the tables seemed to be turning and the Turks had, owing to disorganization, to retreat, the same upright Premier was pleased to observe that the victor could not be deprived of the fruits of his conquest. In connection with the same war, the armistice was concluded just before the Turks' possession of Adrianople, when the delegates of the belligerents met under the presidency of Sir Edward, now Viscount Grey (the ex-Foreign Secretary of Britain), who fully exerted his influence to secure Adrianople for the Bulgars, a demand the Turks would not concede. Then Anwar Pasha, followed by a large number of troops, proceeded to rescue the beseiged Turkish division, with the result that Adrianople fell into Turkish hands. But Turkey's old and faithful ally Britain continued to insist on the evacuation of Adrianople.

The unnamable atrocities the Greeks and Bulgars perpetrated on Macedonian Musalmans during the Balkan war were such as to horrify any civilized people, and M. Pierre Loti, the famous French writer, profoundly moved by them reduced them to a poignantly pathetic and immortal narrative. No voice, however, was raised on behalf of England against these atrocities, and no hand was stretched to succour the victims. In fact the indifference displayed on this occasion tended to encourage the appalling intentions of the Balkan tyrants.

Again, it is common knowledge that Mr. Gladstone did not merely lack sympathy for the Turks, but devoted life-long endeavours to the extinction of European Turkey, and all his utterances regarding the Turks were hard-hearted and brimming with prejudice. Nor is Viscount Grey, his faithful disciple, free from this accusation, for he too has exercised his powers to the detriment of the Turks. Although British statesmen's hostile attitude against the only recognized Muslim Power seems to have been more or less consistent, the Indian Musalmans made another effort to let bygones be bygones, and placed ready reliance on the present Premier's pledge, contained in his well-known speech of January 5, 1918. He prefaced this pledge by asserting

that his utterance contained, not merely the thoughts of the Government, but of the whole nation, and not merely of the nation, but "of the entire British Empire", and then proceeded to say, "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race." No pledge can be more unambiguous or more confident, nor can a clearer utterance be expected from a responsible minister of any other power. But the news which subsequently filtered down from Paris began to alter the features of this promise, and finally the well-known Sheffield speech of the Premier perpetrated its complete disfigurement, demonstrating to the world the fragile nature of so-called 'pledges and promises', which seem to be the slaves of circumstance, changing as circumstances change.

We were assured that the War would not affect the holy places, but we find almost all of them in non-Muslim hands to-day; and yet unsophisticated Muslims are expected to detect no violation of the promise vouchsafed to them in such a state of things. We Musalmans desire it to be distinctly understood that we regard both Mecca and Medina as being in non-Muslim hands, because the Sherif himself appears to be a creature of Christendom. The other holy places are situated in similar or even worse circumstances. Leaving these two pledges aside, we find that some of the War aims and assurances most frequently reiterated by the Allies during the period of the War were: (1) that the War was waged in defence of justice and right; (2) that it was being fought for the emancipation of backward and small nations; (3) that it was not a religious struggle, but was meant to secure, to all the peoples of the world (irrespective of colour or race), the blessings of justice and freedom; (4) that it was undertaken to end tyranny and aggression and to terminate the usurpation of the rights of others; (5) that the vanquished were not to be dealt with severely, but would have their legitimate rights duly considered, and (6) that there were to be no territorial annexations!

Now it is the moral responsibility of those who propounded these aims and vouchsafed these assurances to explain to the world their real meaning as they now appear in the light of current events. Let them explain which of their pledges or aims has been satisfied or violated by permitting Greece to occupy Smyrna and its neighbouring districts and by equipping France, England and Italy with authority to hold sway in Syria, Mesopotamia and Adalia, respectively. Conscious of what they have done, they are in a better position to expound to the world the spirit which has characterized their treatment of the Ottoman Empire and Muslim rights, and they alone can state whether Muslim nationalities have suffered aggression and oppression or not. Will they be so good as to explain to the people of this world, in unequivocal terms, which nationalities have been selected (irrespective of race or creed) for the fulfilment of their War aims and assurances? Whether they decide to justify themselves or not, let the world realize the truth of it

all. It is to be profoundly deplored that England's responsible ministers appear determined to impair the credit which she should do all to maintain in Asia. The Asiatics, too, now seem prepared to give such specious promises the credit they deserve. Where, indeed, are the famous 'Fourteen Points' of President Wilson, which the Turks and others accepted as basic principles, which led first to the welcome armistice and then to the conclusion of hostilities? Why has the paragraph referring to Turkey, which repudiated the annexation of territory and promised "secure sovereignty" to the Ottoman Empire over its Turkish possessions, now become a dead letter? What has become of the "principle of self-determination"? Let those who read and relied on this principle also peruse the proceedings of the National Association of the Syrians, clamouring for freedom, whose voices fall on deaf ears. The majority of the Syrian population is vociferously demanding the preservation of its liberty, but tender regard for French ambition required that Syria should be delivered up to France. Is it anything but an undisguised travesty of the principle of self-determination?

The pathetic narrative of the infamous treatment meted out to the Turks does not end here, for they were subjected to trying ordeals even during the period of armistice. Pressure was brought to bear on them after the cessation of hostilities to evacuate Holy Medina, with the object of handing it over to Husain, the Sherif. Thus they were foricibly deprived of the last vestige of sovereignty over the Holy Land, and the treacherous Greeks were suffered to land their troops at Smyrna and occupy neighbouring districts about the same time. Considering that the Turks had surrendered their arms, and their troops had been demobilized, the Greeks met with no resistance whatsoever in achieving their nefarious end, but were encouraged to perpetrate appalling atrocities.

The Khalifat-ul-Muslimeen afterwards recounted this situation with poignant anguish in the course of an interview he granted to a European journalist. His Imperial Majesty said: "Why should the faults of the Government be expiated through massacaring, sacking and raping thousands of peaceful inhabitants in Asia Minor by Hellenic troops and Greek hands, whose atrocities are well known to you? . . . cities are burnt, thousands of people are killed unjustly, and with the greatest ferocity. The excitement and despair amongst my people are very great. It looks as though a new war is raging already. But the terms of the armistice indirectly protect the Greeks, with whom we are not at war, and deprives us of every possibility of defending ourselves against their crimes. At the same time the armistice disarms us. Our troops are demobilized. Before things get worse, the Powers must put an end to this butchery."

What hard-hearted Musalman can read these words of the Khalifat-ul-Muslimeen without being visibly moved; and what human being can help being deeply touched by reading the graphic description of the tragic plight

of His Imperial Majesty's innocent subjects. The reprisals the Turks visited upon insurgent Armenians are magnified and termed 'atrocities' and are widely circulated in Europe to excite indignation and horror against the Turks; but if the Turks themselves are the victims of barbarous atrocities by Greeks and Armenians, the philanthropic champions of humanity close their ears against their shrieks of agony. Are we to regard this as the criterion of the superior civilization which Europe seems to be proudly presenting as an ideal to the world?

Is this an illustration of the sublime love of humanity of which the cultured nations complacently boast? Time and again we are confidently assured that religious prejudice does not weigh with Europe. But the trend of events proves the contrary. Turkey has not committed the slightest breach of the terms of the armistice, and yet she has been subjected to the kind of treatment detailed above, whereas perfidious Italy has defiantly trampled under foot the decision of the Peace Conference regarding Fiume, and still her violent affront is patiently tolerated. Again Rumania, a much smaller State than Italy, in spite of being guilty of unmitigated brigandage in Hungary, has consistently treated the demands of the Council as unworthy of notice, thus behaving with unbridled defiance of international obligations. But her audacious reclacitrance is met with dignified toleration, possibly because she is a Christian state. Emphatic claims are being put forward for the mandatory control of Turkish provinces; but faithless and backward Bulgaria is considered fit not merely to enjoy full freedom, but to have an 'outlet to the Sea', although she, too, threw in her lot with Germany and fought against the Allies alongside of the Turks (without the admittedly clean methods of the latter). Nor is this all to complete the melancholy tale of religious prejudice against the Turks, for there are still other events which drive the point home. The Premier, while decorating General Allenby with an order commemorating the conquest of Palestine, preferred to call the Palestinian campaign a 'crusade' reviving the more or less forgotten and centuries-old memories of a series of religious hostilities between the Christians and the Muslims. The Prime Minister's resuscitation of this obsolescent term implies that the Powers of Christendom have not yet allowed the old memories to abate; and it is a mistake to regard the ancient series of crusades as terminated, since in winning the latest crusade, General Allenby, the Richard I of his time, has rendered Christendom that distinguished service which even his royal predecessor failed to accomplish.

Can we ask the Minister, who has rescued the centuries old term 'crusade' from oblivion, if according to him the Indian Muslims and unfortunate Arabs bled and died on the Syrian battlefield to win a battle, which this second Richard I won with the help of troops, two-thirds of which were Muslim, to be called a crusade afterwards? Let these ministers remember that their present policy, and such flagrant indiscretions as the one just described are

not merely a subtle source of pain to the 75 million Musalmans of India, but are calculated to sow the seeds of a potential estrangement throughout the Muslim world, which if suffered to grow may not prove conducive to calm contemplation of the undesirable results likely to follow.

In spite of all this the Indian Muslims have not swerved from the path of duty, and have remained firmly loyal. It is confidently hoped that they will in future continue to display the patience they have so far shown, and unflinchingly adhere to their primary civic duty. But how is the Government discharging the responsibilities with which it is burdened on behalf of the Musalmans? Let us consider the concrete acts which answer this query.

Muslims and the Paris Peace Conference

The Peace Conference, which undertook the grave duty of pronouncing a final decision regarding not merely some Muslim peoples, but virtually regarding the entire Muslim world, proceeded with its onerous work without consulting a single Muslim representative. It was not considered necessary to observe the elementary principle of hearing the party, the question of whose life and death had to be decided, and it has not yet been considered proper to admit a Muslim representative to the Conference with which rests the pronouncement of the final verdict on Islam.

We are cognizant that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and Mr. Montagu represented the Indian Muslim wishes to the best of their ability before the Peace Conference, and we are deeply grateful to both of them. But may we know what objection there could possibly be to the selection of a Muslim representative? And why, indeed, was so modest and legitimate a demand of Indian Muslims relegated to the scrapheap? The request made to the Prime Minister for receiving a deputation to present the views of Indian Muslims met with a cold reception, for the Premier was not ready to waste his precious time in listening to such useless matters. In the end memorialization was resorted to, although without securing any satisfactory assurance. We are thankful to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford for the reference he made to this subject in his opening address to the Imperial Council, in its September Session of 1919, when he assured the Indian Muslims that he had done his best to represent the feelings and views of Indian Muslims to the Secretary of State. We must also thankfully acknowledge His Excellency's allusion to the Indian Musalman's acute anxiety regarding the question of Turkey, contained in the speech he made last November 24 at Madras. He said "I realize to the full and sympathize most deeply with the anxiety felt by all Muslims in India regarding the result of the negotiation of peace with Turkey. Knowing how strong those feelings are, I took measures to secure that their views should be represented fully to the Home Government and to the authorities assembled at the Peace Conference. Special Muslim representatives were delegated to Paris to attend the Peace Conference;

and whatever may be the result of these negotiations, and this must depend on factors which affect interests other than those of India or England, Indian Muslims may rest assured that their feelings have been fully represented. You may have noticed that Mr. Bonar Law, speaking in the House of Commons on November 3, said that the British Government was fully aware of the interest of Indian Mohammedans in the future of Turkey, and that they would give, as they had already given, full weight and consideration to their views''.

We, however, find no word either in His Excellency's or in Mr. Bonar Law's utterances which may allay the anxiety we feel. In fact no responsible representative of His Majesty, either here or in England, has yet permitted himself to breathe a word which may even savour of the assurance we Musalmans of India are awaiting with bated breath. We are fully aware that the result of the peace negotiation with Turkey depends on factors which affect interests other than those of Britain, nor are we blind to French or Italian interests, of which the former seem to figure prominently in the considerations likely to determine England's attitude. We are, at the same time, tolerably certain that England's will be the decisive voice in the final settlement with Turkey; and therefore we are constrained to regard what may follow these negotiations as the result of England's strength or weakness. If England realized the true significance and friendly feelings of more than 300 million Muslims of the world, as against the comparatively paltry economic advantages to be derived from Mesopotamia, she would display less solicitude for the interests of France and Italy, and secure a just and honourable settlement with Turkey, ushering in a wholly new era.

We are sincerely thankful to Mr. Montagu for undertaking the responsibility of correctly interpreting our views to the Peace Conference. In one of his speeches he was good enough to observe that he and his colleagues (Lord Sinha and H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner) insisted before the Council of the Four that nothing short of a just settlement on the basis of nationality would satisfy the Muslims, nor was any other settlement possible. That indeed, would satisfy the Musalmans, but surely a "settlement on the basis of nationality'' cannot possibly imply that England and France should become the rulers of Arabia under the specious pretext of holding a 'mandate', a new-fangled invention bequeathed by the late War. Nor can that principle be said to have been respected by exposing Smyrna to the tyranny of the Greeks. The Muslims will be satisfied only when independence (in the true sense of the term) is secured to the Arabs and other Turkish subjects by assigning Turkey the mandate to administer their provinces, subject to the supervision of a League of Nations not swayed by more than one vote of each country. The Muslims know that the right to hold a mandate (if mandatory government is at all necessary) in any of the lands previously under Ottoman rule primarily belongs to Turkey, because the people inhabiting these lands are predominantly Muslim in faith, and no non-Muslim Power can under any pretext have the

right to hold sway over them. The Musalmans cannot be expected to forget that these lands have been the cradle of Islam, where the holy places are situated, and where no non-Muslim can ever have even the semblance of the right of mandatory or any other rule. Trampling upon Muslim sentiments in this respect would mean creating not transitory but perennial unrest in the entire Muslim world, which would otherwise mean the deliberate awakening of unfriendly feelings in an otherwise unobtrusive people.

Muslim and Non-Muslim Conception of the Khilafat

In the speech already referred to, we find Mr. Montagu assuring his Muslim fellow-subjects that no word had been used during the discussions at Paris, officially or otherwise, to show that any one was foolish enough to comtemplate meddling with the question of the Khilafat, which was purely for the Musalmans to determine. Nor did he think the holy places, or any sacred building, were at the time in any danger of interference. The first portion of this utterance is far from reassuring to the Mohammedans. We are not appealing to any one to refrain from interfering with that aspect of the question which is a matter of faith; for we know all the powers of earth are not puissant enough to change the religious convictions of any people. I can imagine no one to be so foolish as to ground his appeal to Britain on so obvious a misconception. On the contrary, our representations are based on the ground that temporal power is the chief factor of the Khilafat, which, it is feared, will be destroyed by dismembering the Ottoman Empire as contemplated. The Khilafat must not be reduced to the position of His Holiness the Pope at Rome, with his influence extending to spiritual confines only. And again, I am unable to understand the import of the second portion of his assurance regarding the immunity of the holy places. Who, indeed, to-day is the real ruler of Hijaz (where Mecca and Medina, the cities of the Prophet, are situated) behind Husain the Sherif, and who is holding and administering Baitul-Muqqadas (Holy Jerusalem), Karbala, Najaf-i-Ashraf, Kazmain-Sharifain, Baghdad and other places, in fact the whole of Jazirat-ul-Arab (the entire region where the holy places are situated)? If the occupation of the holy places by non-Muslims does not spell danger for them, it is difficult to assign any meaning to the word.

Appreciation for Support of Some Englishmen

It would be rank ingratitude if we failed to acknowledge the eminent services rendered to Islam by some of the high-souled Englishmen who have proved that England is not destitute of men ready to espouse any cause based on righteousness and justice. In this connection, the names of Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, Captain Aubrey Herbert, Sir Theodore Morrison and Professor E. G. Browne are worthy of special mention, and the fair and sympathetic attitude of Mr. C. F. Andrews and some other Britishers entitles them to our

thanks. I may, at this stage, take the liberty of reproducing below some valuable excerpts from a speech Mr. Pickthall recently delivered dealing with this difficult Muslim Problem. He said:

"They say the Turkish Empire has always been abominably misgoverned. Well, I know Turkey pretty well, and I declare that there was less discontent per head of the population in the Turkish Empire even in the worst of times than there has been in the British Empire at any time in my rememberance." In reference to Armenian massacres, he says, "They talk of horrid massacres from time to time. These massacres have never been on one side only. They were due to the seditious propaganda organized by the powers of Europe—chiefly Russia. And I say that any state, even the most civilized, subjected to the kind of treatment Turkey has received from Russia and other European Powers for a century would show precisely the same symptoms as Turkey has shown. You cannot thrust claws into a living frame without convulsions."

Then, dealing with the charge that the Turks were pro-German, he states in categorical terms: "In 1913, the Young Turks wished that England should assume the instructorship of the whole Ottoman Empire, the army included, for 10 years. Their object was, of course, to get protection against the designs of other European Powers during a period of reconstruction and reform. The mere suggestion was refused." He continues, "The men, like Enver Pasha, who had voted for the suggestion as a forlorn hope, said: You see they dare not act alone. England has become the tail of Russia. She has sunk to the position of a third class power. The only chance which now remains to us is Germany." Further he says: "The pro-British part of the Committee (of Union and Progress)—the majority—were disappointed, but still persisted. They kept whittling down the offer, seeking to make it acceptable till it amounted to no more than a request that England would provide a certain number of Inspectors for Armenia, to superintend the reforms which the Turks were trying to push forward in those provinces against the whole force of Tsarist intrigue. The force of that intrigue in eastern Anatolia all through 1913-14 amounted to a state of war. The Tsarist agents were using all the means at their disposal, and they had much larger means than the poor Turks possessed, to discredit the Turkish Government. They tried to work up wholesale massacres of Muslims and Armenians quite indifferently—massacres which were to serve as a pretext for the Russian occupation of the country—massacres which the Turks did all they could do to prevent! Western Europe could not be brought to believe that Russian intrigue was what it was—so barefaced, so ruthless—and the Young Turks thought that if they could get Englishmen in charge of those provinces, England at any rate would be bound to know and believe. England was bound to help them in Armenia by the terms of the Cyprus Convention. Well, that request was granted, as we all believed. It was refused months

later. Surely if these English Inspectors had been sent to Eastern Anatolia, if England had not turned up a 'Scrap of Paper', the last Armenian massacres would not have taken place." A clear consideration of all these matters leads to the one inference which has been embodied in the foregoing words.

Persia and the Anglo-Persian Agreement

The plight of Turkey was nearly enough to break the hearts of Indian Muslims, for whom news of the Anglo-Persian Agreement (calculated, in our opinion, to seal the doom of another Muslim Power) proved to be the last straw on the load of Indian Muslim anxiety.

Persia in her palmy days was a source of culture and enlightenment to Indian Muslims, and they are deeply indebted to her. With respect to the lines along which their social, traditional and literary development has proceeded, the Indian Musalmans cannot help entertaining a grateful regard for, and calling Persia their 'kind, old teacher'. I have already said that brotherhood (or the fundamental relationship which knits together the entire Muslim family of the world) is the cardinal principle of Islam, and therefore moved by feelings which suffuse the consciousness of the Musalmans (as a result of the intense realization of that teaching), they cannot help being gratified or grieved, as the case may be, at the preservation and prosperity or the decay and extinction of Muslim States. These feelings and sentiments, springing from the fundamentals of Islam, remain unaffected by unessential differences of various persuasions. We, therefore, observe that the Shia section of Musalmans, whose views regarding the essentials of the Khilafat question do not coincide with those of the Sunnis, are as intensely interested in the preservation of the Sultan's temporal power as they could possibly be in the welfare of Iran (Persia); and the entire Sunni population has as tender a feeling for Persia as any living Shia can possibly have.

Whether it be the Musalmans of Turkey or of Persia, both Sunnis and Shias and all other followers of Islam, are equally interested in and own spiritual kinship with them, and that is why Indian Muslims are deeply affected by the agreement recently concluded between the British Government and Iran. The latter seems to have been the object of the former's attentions, on account of her (Persia) being a neighbour of India, and those attentions have long been materializing in the form of a definite policy. Persia has for years been the object of English and Russian diplomacy, aiming at the extension or restriction of respective 'spheres of influence', and as a consequence of this, all the hopes of a prosperous future, raised during the latest period of her evolutional struggle, were dashed to the ground. A severe blow was dealt to the hope of her economic development by causing the resignation of Mr. Shuster, her well-wisher; her political freedom had been imperilled to the point of extinction by the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1909. However, the great European War, whose painful aftermath is not over yet, resulted

in the termination of the said Agreement, because Kerensky's Government declared it unconscionable and invalid. Had the Russian withdrawal been foollwed by British withdrawal, Persia would have been the recipient of a blessing. But now it appears that responsible British statesmen were awaiting the end of the War; and no sooner had favourable results made their appearance than they began to bestow their attention upon Persia, finally securing the conclusion of the agreement under review.

We are now compelled to look upon Persia as the Egypt of Asia. We fully expect English capitalists to construct railways and roads for motor services. And we may be sure to see the Finance Department completely overhauled, the audacity of men given to speculation materially pruned agriculture largely improved, oilfields worked by more capable men; but it appears that in regard to the factors on which depends the evolutional development of the Persian people, Persian hands and feet are in danger of being bound. Persia may now cease to have any conception of political liberty, and despair of working the resources of the country or accomplishing any real economic development with the aid of the country's capital. Henceforth Persia will be obliged to maintain a very low standard of education, and will be so juxtaposed as to be obliged to relieve her officials of much of the burden of their responsibility, as a consequence of which their efficiency will be undermined, and she will be constrained to depend on some other Power for a supply of experts—all these factors will contribute to the disappearance of her real freedom.

Apropos of the Anglo-Persian Agreement which is talked about in Europe and Asia to-day, I give below the gist of some of the articles which throw light on the nature of this Agreement.

By Article 1 of Part I of the Agreement (in so far as the parchment is concerned on which the agreement is indited), the Government of Great Britain "reiterates in the most categorical manner possible" the undertaking "to respect absolutely the independence and integrity of Persia", and thereby in a way incur a responsibility. According to the second and the third Articles it undertakes "to supply, at the cost of the Persian Government," advisers and experts "for the several departments of the Persian Administration," including, of course, Finance and Military Departments. These two Articles vitally react on the first, for if the Persian Government is committed to entrusting her military and finance to British advisers and specialists, it is obvious that the agreement reaches down to the very root of Persia's independence, otherwise guaranteed in the first Article. The third Article further stipulates, on behalf of Great Britain, the supply of "officers, munitions and equipment of modern type at the cost of the Persian Government," thereby relieving Persia of much of the difficulty she might otherwise have encountered. Then Persia was granted a loan of £ 2,000,000 from England on interest at 7 per cent per annum, payable by instalments in 20 years, and by

way of security of repayment she assigns England the receipts of all the revenues and customs of various provinces. England also assumes the responsibility of co-operating with the Persian Government in "encouraging Anglo-Persian enterprise" by means of the "construction of railway and other forms of transport", thus enhancing the means of and facilitating communication. Further, Sir Percy Cox has secured the relinquishment, by the Persian Government, of any claim she might otherwise have made to be indemnified for the damage "caused by British troops during their presence in Persian territory"; and as a token of reciprocal return, the British Government has agreed to claim no "cost for the maintenance of the said troops sent to Persia owing to Persia's want of power to defend her neutrality"!

If Persia, in her anxiety to defend her neutrality, requested the British Government to send British troops, she certainly cannot fairly claim any indemnity for any damage caused by the troops, and not to burden her exchequer with the cost of the maintenance of these troops must necessarily be regarded as an act of obliging generosity. But if the presence of British troops in Persia was a strategic and ineluctable necessity dictated by foresight in regard to the defence of India, on the one hand, and the provision against the enemy descending by way of Persia on the advanced troops in Mesopotamia, on the other, I fear that securing the relinquishment of Persia's claim can hardly be based on fairness.

In fine, the complex problems connected with Turkey's present plight, and the virtual extinction of Persia's freedom, are some of the most fruitful and potent causes of the present unrest throughout the Muslim world, which, in my humble opinion, does not derive sustenance from sources of a temporary nature, because it lies down in the depth of faith, and its temporary abatement should not be treated as a sign of its complete subsidence. It has, as we are all aware, brought the Khilafat Committee into temporary existence to voice the true Muslim feelings and to secure the just treatment of Turkey and the preservation of the integrity of Persian independence. It is hoped that they will continue to respect the ethical duty imposed upon them as subjects of the Government, whose protection they enjoy, while banishing all hesitancy and timidity in giving fearless expression to their views—all within constitutional limits—during this crisis and after it. May the Khilafat Committee succeed in achieving what they have come into existence for, and may it not be found necessary to perpetuate or prolong its existence.

Muslim Abstention from Peace Celebrations

Gentlemen, allow me here to say a few words regarding the abstention of the Muslims from the official peace celebrations. The Muslims of India, along with other Indians, would willingly and enthusiastically have participated in the celebration, whatever its form, if the cessation of the war concluded in favour of the Allies had brought real peace and tranquility in its

train. But at a time when the only surviving Muslim Power appeared to be in imminent peril of being absorbed and the Muslim holy places had been weaned from Muslim custody, their abstention from the celebration could hardly be viewed as unjustified. Their religion forbade any participation in such a rejoicing; and whenever there is any conflict between the command of their faith and the wishes of officials, their first duty will be to obey the former, which no earthly consideration can possibly override.

Gratefulness to Hindus and Mahatma Gandhi

In this respect we Musalmans are deeply grateful to the Hindus for sharing our sorrow with sincere willingness, and giving enthusiastic expressions to their sympathatic feelings. The abstention of Hindus from peace celebrations (which included the suspension of business for some time in the evening for three or four days, and co-operating with Musalmans in observing the directions issued by the Anti-Peace-Celebrations Publicity Board) out of regard, among other things, for Muslim sentiments, has made a deep impression on the Musalmans; and I trust the spirit which has achieved this result will continue to operate in the interest of preserving the impression created. At the same time, I confidently trust that in future the Musalmans will co-operate willingnly with their fellow-countrymen in all matters which may be of special and exclusive interest to the latter. I cannot at this stage help mentioning the revered name of Mahatma Gandhi, an acknowledged leader of our country, whose active sympathy, springing as it did from the depths of unalloyed sincerity and a correct conception of righteous action, has won him the grateful and reverential affection of all Musalmans of India. If thankfulness can be expressed in words,let me in the name of the Indian Muslim community thank the Hindus and Mahatma Gandhi from the bottom of my heart.

Renewed Plea for Internees

Permit me, now, to say a word about the unfortunate Muslim and other internees, whose sufferings in exile have not known abatement in spite of the termination of the War. It seems as if the question of the release of our *Peshwa* (revered guide), Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hussain, and our brothers, Mr. Mohammad Ali, Mr. Shaukat Ali and Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, has ceased to engage the attention of the Government. The Musalmans, after having done what was possible for them to do, and having failed to secure the early release of these devotees to the national cause, were hoping that after the cessation of the War, the Government would, at any early date, turn its attention to the question of releasing the internees—a hope doomed to disappointment! If, however, this listlessness of the Government continues, it will be time for a systematic public movement to draw the attention of the Government to this question.

It is, however, devoutly hoped that such a necessity will not arise, that the

Government will be found ready to reconsider the question of their release, and will terminate the painful period of their separation from us.

Conclusion

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sorry to have occupied so much of your valuable time, but the singular gravity of the present crisis in the Muslim world, and the vital questions arising out of the Punjab situation compelled me to linger on the points dealt with in my address, even to the exclusion of some other important problems. I sincerely thank you for the patient hearing you have accorded me, and crave your indulgence for the omissions and shortcomings patent on the face of my humble although honest and sincere submission. I am aware that the exceptional nature of the events now happening in the Muslim world has led me to dwell at length on topics of exclusively Muslim interest, but I have done so advisedly and in the confident hope that it cannot, at this time of day, lead any one to doubt the Musalmans' vivid consciousness of the solemn duty they owe to their motherland. As children of the soil, they know and fervently desire to fulfil their duty to the country of which they, in common with Hindus, Christians, Parsis and other communities, are the proud inheritors. They have, I can assure all concerned, realized to the full the solemn call of the motherland, and the sacred duty of patriotism. I am proud to declare that the time has come when the necessity for exhorting people to live up to the highest standards of patriotism is rapidly diminishing; for the mysterious tide of human progress is pushing its sweep forward, and the humblest being is becoming conscious of how to live and die for higher ideals. For India the unseen future holds a magnificence and splendour compared with which the most glorious grandeur of her past will be but small. Let all hands of men as well as of women join to unveil that vision.[1]

Subsequent Sittings

Next day, December 30, the League resumed its sitting, and the Secretary, Syed Zahur Ahmed, read the annual report, which was passed.

The revised draft constitution of the League was then taken into consideration and slight changes introduced. The next two or three resolutions were then passed, and at that stage Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali arrived at the meeting. At once the huge gathering stood up on their feet and greeted their beloved leaders, now returned after long years of cruel internment, with a reverberating chorus of joy. For the time being, resolutions were dropped, and the great Ali Brothers were pressed to speak. They then addressed the meeting, and the audience was moved to tears.

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1. *The Indian Annual Register, 1920.* Part I, pp. 417—454.

The League then adjourned and met again next day to pass the remaining resolutions. After the usual thanksgivings, the Session came to a close.[1]

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE SESSION

I. The All-India Muslim League tenders its homage to the person and throne of His Majesty the King Emperor, and assures him of the steadfast and continued loyalty of the Musalman community of India. (From the Chair.)

II. This meeting of the All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of the deep loss which the community has sustained by the sad and untimely death of the late Sheikh Mohammad Umar, Bar-at-Law, of Amritsar, and Secretary, Anjumani-Taraqqi-i-Talim Musalman, Amritsar. (From the Chair.)

III. This meeting of the All-India Muslim League expresses its sense of deep grief at the sad and untimely demise of the late Nawab Syed Mohammad of Madras. (From the Chair.)

IV. That the Report of the Honorary Secretary be adopted. (Proposed by Dr. M. A. Ansari and seconded by Mr. Shaukat Ali).

V. This Session of the All-India Muslim League, while thanking H.E. the Governor of Bombay for announcing in Council the strict neutrality of the Government in religious matters, and in further issuing a public warning to that effect, strongly urges the necessity of a sifting inquiry by H.E.'s Government into the complaints of improper conduct of certain Sindh Officials in connection with the Khilafat question. (Proposed by Agha Mohammed Safdar, seconded by Moulvi Mohammed Akram Khan, and supported by Malik Lal Mohammed).

VI. In view of the strong desire of the Muslim Community to have definite provisions for the protection of its interests, this League urges upon the Government that the following safeguards be adopted in the forthcoming reforms:

(*a*) Musalmans should be adequately represented in the public services of the country.

(*b*) Musalmans should have representation on Government Universities in the same proportion as the representation accorded to Musalmans on the Legislative Council in the province concerned may be.

(*c*) The Urdu language and Persian characters should be maintained in courts and public offices in those provinces where they are in vogue, and Urdu should be employed as the medium of primary education in the aforesaid provinces.

(*d*) Musalmans should be afforded facilities, protection and help in the observance and performance of their religious rites, ceremonies and usages

1. *The Indian Annual Register, op. cit.*

without any restriction. (Proposed by Mr. Masud-ul-Hasan, seconded by Mr. Fazlur Rahman, supported by Mr. Noor Mohammed and Syed Jalib.)

VII. The All-India Muslim League resolves that the All-India Congress Committee be asked to appoint a Committee, at an early date, to confer with a committee of the Council of the League, in order to arrive at an understanding on questions arising out of the Reform Act, 1919, and the demand for complete Responsible Government. (Proposed by Syed Zahur Ahmad, seconded by Dr. M. A. Ansari.)

VIII. This meeting of the All-India Muslim League places on record its deep-seated belief that the new era ushered in by the gracious Royal Proclamation cannot bear fruit unless and until full liberty of thought and expression is granted to the people of India, and the various restrictions placed on that liberty, by the manner in which the Press Act has been and is being administered and the various other obstacles placed upon Indian journalism in general and Muslim journalists in particular, are immediately removed. (Proposed by Syed Jalib and seconded by Choudhri Ghulam Haider Khan.)

IX. This meeting of the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that with a view to reciprocating the good feelings shown towards the Musalmans by their Hindu brethren and to strengthening the growing unity between them, Musalmans of India should, on the occasion of the *Bakrid* festival, substitute, as far as possible, the sacrifice of other animals in place of cows. (Proposed by Dr. M. A. Ansari and seconded by Mr. Tasadduq Ahmad Khan.)

X. That the All-India Muslim League, voicing the Muslim public opinion, adheres to the principle of separate representation for the Muslim community, and strongly urges upon Government the immediate necessity of applying the said principle to local bodies in provinces where it has not yet been applied. (From the Chair.)

XI. That this meeting of the All-India Muslim League urges on the attention of the Government of India the imperative necessity of repealing the Press Act, the Defence of India Act, and the Rowlatt Act. (From the Chair.)

XII. The All-India Muslim League, representing 80 million Musalman subjects of His Imperial Majesty, King George V, Emperor of India, expresses its sense of gratitude for the spirits in which the Royal Proclamation has been addressed to the princes and people of India on the occasion of giving Royal assent to the Government of India Act, 1919.

The League trusts that the rights of the Indian people to direct their own affairs and safeguard their interests, without which the progress of the country cannot be consummated, will be secured ere long under His Majesty's loving sympathy, and earnestly joins in His Majesty's prayer that India may grow to the fulness of political freedom in the near future.

Further the League feels confident that the royal act of clemency in granting general amnesty to political prisoners and detenues would go far to remove "the bitterness existing between the people and those responsible

for the Government of the Country''.

And lastly, the League assures His Imperial Majesty of the cordial and hearty welcome which the people of India would accord to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, during his visit to their country in the coming winter. (From the Chair.)

XIII. In view of the fact that the enquiry in the Punjab disturbances is yet pending, this meeting of the All-India Muslim League refrains from expressing its opinion in the matter at this stage, but cannot help drawing the attention of the British Parliament to the shocking disclosures made by General Dyer in the evidence before the Hunter Committee in the hope that Parliament will take early steps to see that justice and the British reputation for fairness are fully vindicated. (Proposed by Syed Raza Ali and seconded by Mr. Mumtaz Husain.)

XIV. This Meeting of the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that, in view of the admission made by General Dyer in his statement before the Hunter Committee, he is not fit to remain in command and should be immediately relieved of his duty as a preliminary to legal proceedings being taken against him.

This Meeting of the League is further of opinion that the entire policy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer is under enquiry and, in view also of the fact that he approved of General Dyer's cold-blooded and calculated massacre in the Jallianwala Bagh, he should be relieved of his connection with the Army Commission as a preliminary to legal proceedings being taken against him. (Proposed by Mr. Abul Kasim, seconded by Moulvi Mohammed Yaqub, and supported by Moulvi A. Deen).

XV. This Meeting of All-India Muslim League is of opinion that His Excellency Lord Chelmsford has forfited the confidence of all sections of the Indian population, and that he should immediately be recalled from India. (Proposed by Mr. Mumtaz Husain and seconded by Choudhry Khaliquzzaman.)

XVI. This Meeting of the All-India Muslim League expresses its deep disappointment at the disregard shown by the British Government to the repeated representation made by Indian Musalmans, through their representatives in England and India, regarding the question of Khilafat, the holy places and Jazirat-ul-Arab, and feels constrained to express that no settlement contemplating the dismemberment of Turkey would ever satisfy the Indian Musalmans, but keep them in a state of perpetual dissatisfaction and discontent, for the grave consequences of which they shall not be responsible. Under these circumstances, the Musalmans would be fully justified to carry on all the possible methods of constitutional agitation open to them, including a boycott of the British Army, if it is likely to be used outside India for Imperial and anti-Islamic purposes. (Proposed by Peer Syed Mohammad Fazal Shah, Sajjadanashin of Jalalpur Shareef, seconded by Moulana Muhammad Fakhir, and supported by Moulana Hasrat Mohani.)

XVII. This meeting of the All-India Muslim League shares with all the Muslim world the belief that His Imperial Ottoman Majesty Sultan Waheed-ud-Deen Mohammad is the recognized Khalifa of Islam, and places on record its deep-seated and unshakable devotion to the sacred person of His Imperial Majesty as successor of the Prophet and the head of Islam. This meeting further resolves that a message conveying the spiritual homage of the Musalmans of India be transmitted to the Khalifa through proper channels. (Proposed by Mulana Sanaullah and seconded by Mr. Abul Qasim.)

XVIII. The All-India Muslim League expresses its deep sympathy with the political aspirations of the nationalists of Egypt to get the principle of self-determination applied to their country in accordance with the terms of the Peace Conference, and is grieved at the methods adopted to thwart their ambitions. (Proposed by Mr. A. Majid and seconded by Choudhri Khaliquzzaman.)

XIX. In the opinion of the All-India Muslim League, the time has come when the Indian Muslims should make a determination to use only such piece goods as are manufactured in India. (Proposed by Moulana Hasrat Mohani and seconded by Dr. Abdul Kareem.)

XX. In view of the fact that full effect has not yet been given to the general amnesty clause of the gracious Proclamation of His Majesty the King Emperor, and that the persons in the Punjab tried by the Martial Law Commissioners, the summary courts, the area officers and the tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act, the detenus and deportees, have not been released, this meeting of the All-India Muslim League expresses its earnest hope and trusts that the fullest effect will immediately be given to the letter and spirit of the Royal command. (From the Chair.)

XXI. While fully appreciating the labours of the Right Hon'ble Samuel Edwin Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, in connection with the Government of India Act of 1919, the All-India Muslim League deeply regrets that full responsible Government, for which India is fit, has been withheld, both in the Central and in the Provincial Government, and that the principle of self-determination has not been applied to her in accordance with her demands.

It therefore considers the Reforms inadequate and unsatisfactory, and trusts Parliament will establish full responsible Government in India at the earliest opportunity. In the meantime, the League calls upon Indians to demonstrate their capacity for complete self-government by availing themselves of such opportunity as is now offered to them in the reforms recently enacted, which the League recognizes to be a definite step towards the goal of full responsible Government. (Proposed by Mr. Barkat Ali and seconded by Dr. M. A. Ansari.)

XXII. That the following amendments be made in the Constitution and Rules of the League:

(a) In Section 2 (b), add 'religious' after 'political'.

(b) For Section 3 (a), substitute the following: A Musalman is a resident of British India or of any of the feudatory States of India or of any other part of the British Empire provided that in the last case he has not been out of India continuously for five years.

(c) In Section 3 (c), omit 'Literate (but)'.

(d) In Section 5, for the existing proviso substitute the following: viz., Provided that the applicant shows sufficient cause as to why he is not a member of a Provincial Muslim League.

(e) For Section 7, substitute the following: If the subscription of a member be in arrears for over a year, the Honorary Secretary shall give him notice to pay, and if he fails to pay within a month after such notice, he shall be liable to have his name removed from the list of members by a resolution to that effect passed by the Council of the League.

(f) In Section 9, for '12 to 20' substitute '20 to 50'.

(g) At the end of Section 10, add: "provided that no person shall hold an office of the League for more than two terms consecutively.

(h) In Section 12, rule 1, substitute '300' for '150'.

(i) In Section 12, rule 2, double all the figures, and sub-divide the figure against Central Provinces and Berrar as follows: C.P. 5, Berar 3.

(j) In Section 13, substitute '12' for '20', and for the second sentence thereof substitute the following: If the subscription of a member be in arrears for over a year, the Honorary Secretary shall give him notice to pay, and if he fails to pay within a month after such notice, he shall be liable to have his name removed from the list of members by a resolution to that effect passed by the Council of the League.

(k) The following Section shall be added, viz. Section 40: The delegates of all affiliated bodies shall be entitled to attend, take part and vote at annual meetings of the League as if they were members, on payment of a fee of Rs. 10 each.

(l) Add the following proviso to Section 20: provided further that the above proviso and the requirement of a quorum shall not apply to adjourned meeting.

(m) In Section 25, add 'delegates' after 'received from'.

(n) At the end of Section 37, add the following proviso. Provided that all appointments carrying a salary of over Rs. 50 a month shall be subject to the sanction of the council.

(o) The following Section shall be added—Section 41: At each Annual Meeting a Subjects Committee to revise and adopt the resolutions to be put forward for its consideration, shall be formed so as to include all the members of the Council, and the representatives elected by the members of the League who are not members of the Council and the delegates for each Province jointly, provided that the number of such elected representatives

for any Province shall not exceed one-half of the maximum number fixed for the Council from that Province.

23. That the following office bearers be elected:

(a) President- Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Bar-at-Law, Bombay.

(b) Honorary Secretary: Syed Zahur Ahmad, Vakil, High Court, Lucknow.

(c) Honorary Joint Secretary: Choudhri Khaliquzzaman, Vakil, High Court, Lucknow, and Mr. Masud-ul-Hasan, Bar-at-Law, Moradabad.[1]

1. *The Text of the Resolutions Passed at the Twelfth Session.* Pamphlet printed by K.C. Banerjee at the Anglo Orientel Press, Lucknow, 1920.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

EXTRAORDINARY SESSION

CALCUTTA, SEPTEMBER 7, 1920

The All-India Muslim League commenced its special session in Calcutta on the ground floor of the Town Hall at 9 o'clock on Tuesday morning, September 7, 1920. The hall was decorated with flags and foliage. Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the League, occupied the Chair. The attendance was very large, the hall being quite full. Three mottos spanned the breadth of the hall, bearing, in bold white letters on a red background, the following inscriptions: 'Remember Jallianwala Bagh,' 'Be true to your religion' and 'Liberty is man's birthright'. Among those on the platform were Mrs. Annie Besant, Mrs. Jinnah, Mrs. Yakub Hussain, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. M.K. Gandhi, Mr. Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Moulvi Zafar Ali Khan, Mr. Shaukat Ali, Moulana Akram Khan, Mr. Fazlul Huq, Mr. Erfan Ali, Swami Sradhananda, Mr. Ramamurti, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. Rambhuj Dutt Chaudhuri, Mr. Duni Chand, Mr. C. Vijaya Raghava Chariyar, Lala Gridhari Lal, Dr. S. Kitchlew, Syed Ali Nabi, Mr. Jamunadas Dwarkadas. and Pundit Gokaran Nath Misser.

On either side of the presidential table, stood a Khaki-clad volunteer with drawn, sword, but to the evident relief of those nearest to them, the swords were sheathed before the meeting began. The audience took exception to the flags of the Allies which, amongst others, flaunted in the meeting hall. Mr. Shaukat Ali pointed out that the decoration of the hall had been entrusted to a contractor who had hung these flage, and the Secretary of the League, being very busy, had not noticed them; but after the morning's sitting was over the flags in question would be removed.

The proceedings opened with a recitation from the Quran, after which Hakim Moulana Abdul Rauf, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the audience, speaking in Urdu. The President, who was garlanded amidst cheers, then addressed the assembly.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. M.A. JINNAH

I have been called upon to preside over the Special Session of the Muslim League by virtue of its Constitution, which does not permit the election of a President except in the case of an annual session. The responsibility, therefore, of placing the grave aspects of the present situation before you has fallen to me as the President of the League. I am not going to tire you with weary details. We have met here principally to consider the situation that has arisen owing to the studied and persistent policy of the Government since the signing of the Armistice. First came the Rowlatt Bill—accompanied by the Punjab atrocities—and then came the spoliation of the Ottoman Empire and the Khilafat. The one attacks our liberty, the other our faith. Now, every country has two principal and vital functions to perfrom — one to assert its voice in international policy, and the other to maintain internally the highest ideals of justice and humanity. But one must have one's own administration in one's own hands to carry it on to one's own satisfaction. As we stand in matters international, India's voice is represented through His Majesty the King of England's Government, although nominally we happened to have two Indians who were supposed to represent us, they were neither the chosen nor the accredited representatives of India. The result was that notwithstanding the unanimous opinion of the Musalmans, and in breach of the Prime Minister's solemn pledges, unchivalrous and outrageous terms have been imposed upon Turkey and the Ottoman Empire has served for plunder and been broken up by the Allies under the guise of Mandates. This, thank God, has at last convinced us, one and all, that we can no longer abide our trust either in the Government of India or in the Government of His Majesty the King of England to represent India in matters international.

The Indian press is flooded by accounts of occurrences in the Colonies which show but too well how India is sacrificed to the individual interests of these Englishmen who have settled in these Colonies which India's manpower and India's work power have built.

And now let us turn to the Punjab. That Star Chamber Legislation named after the notorious Chairman of the Rowlatt Committee was launched by the Government of Lord Chelmsford, and it resulted in those 'celebrated crimes' which neither the words of men nor the tears of women can wash away. "An error of judement", they call it. If that is the last word, I agree with them—an error of judgement it is and they shall have to pay for it, if not to-day then to-morrow. One thing there is which is indisputable, and that is that this Government must go and give place to a completely responsible Government. Meetings of the Congress and the Muslim League will not effect this. We shall have to think out some course more effective than passing resolutions of disapproval to be forwarded to the Secretary of State for India. And we shall surely find a way, even as France and Italy did—and

the new-born Egypt has. We are not going to rest content until we have attained the fullest political freedom in our own country. Mr. Gandhi has placed his programme of non-co-operation, supported by the authority of the Khilafat Conference, before the country. It is now for you to consider whether or not you approve of its principle; and approving of its principle, whether or not you approve of its details. The operations of this scheme will strike at the individual in each of you, and therefore it rests with you alone to measure your strength and to weigh the pros and the cons of the question before you arrive at a decision. But once you have decided to march, let there be no retreat under any circumstances.

In the mean while, there sits in Olympian Simla a self-satisfied Viceroy who alternately offers his sympathies to us unfortunate Musalmans and regrets Mahatma Gandhi's "foolish of all foolish schemes", being fortified with a 'character' from His Majesty's Government sent in a recent Despatch from 'Home'— the word Home is in inverted commas. This is the 'changed angle of vision' on which we heard such high-sounding phrases during those critical stages of the war when India's blood and India's gold was sought and unfortunately given—given to break Turkey and buy the fetters of the Rowlatt Legislation.

One degrading measure upon another, disappointment upon disappointment, and injury upon injury, can lead a people to only one end. It led Russia to Bolshevism. It has led Ireland to Sinn Feinism. May it lead India to freedom. The unsatisfactory character of the 'Reforms' evolved by the timidity of Mr. Montagu and the prejudice of Lord Chelmsford, marred by its own rules and regulations, and worked under the influence of Lord Chelmsford's Government, offers us, if I may quote the words of a well-known author, "license for liberty, and license does not compensate for liberty".[1] We may have Indians as Lieutenant-Governors and Governors and, for the matter of that, Viceroys. That is license, but that is not liberty. What we want is true political freedom of the people, not posts and positions in Government. Secondly, the unusual haste displayed in the passing of the Rowlatt Act before the new Council, and contrary to universal opinion, only goes to illustrate the policy of the Government. And when, in the Punjab, this universal opposition against the Rowlatt Act manifested itself through constitutional methods, it fell to the lot of the Lieutenant-Governor to dishonestly characterize it as "open rebellion". Only his administrative genius could have conjured up a vision of 'open rebellion' in a country whose people have been brutally unarmed, and only his cowardly spirit could have requisitioned the application of martial law, secure in his knowledge that, weaponless, there could be no retaliation. Martial law was introduced; the manner and circumstances of its proclamation and its administration was

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1. **Here a repetition of the quotation has been omitted.**

calculated to destroy political freedom, political life, not only in the Punjab but throughout India, by striking terror into the hearts of its people. The majority report of the Hunter Committee is one more flagrant and disgraceful instance that there can be no justice when there is a conflict between an Englishman and an Indian. The Government of India, with its keen sense of humour and characteristic modesty, proceeds to forward a resolution in its despatch to the Secretary of State commending its conduct, blind to the fact that they were in the position of an accused passing judgement.

Now, let us turn to the great "error of judgement", the judicious finding of the Cabinet which itself is no less an error of judgement and that was duly wired to us by Reuter. To follow up events in sequence, I must mention the Parliamentary debate which forgot the Punjab and discussed general Dyer. Of course Mr. Montagu hadn't the time to put India's case before the House, being far too busy offering personal explanations. And then the blue and brainless blood of England, to their crowning glory, carried the infamous resolution of Lord Finlay.

And what of the sacred land of the Crescent and Star and the blue and golden Bosphorus — its capital seized and the Khalifa virtually a prisoner, its territories overrurn by Allied troops—groaning under an imposition of impossible terms. It is a death warrant, not a treaty.

These are the enormities crying aloud, and we have met to-day face to face with a dangerous and most unprecedented situation. The solution is not easy and the difficulties are great. But I cannot ask the people to submit to wrong after wrong. Yet I would still ask the Government not to drive the people of India to desperation, or else there is no other course left open to the people except to inaugurate the policy of non-co-operation, though not necessarily the programme of Mr. Gandhi.

I do not wish to detain you any more, but before I sit down I will say this, remember that united we stand, divided we fall—and throughout your discussion I beg of you not to lose sight of that. I am certain that every member of the Muslim League will rise to that high sense of duty which he owes to his community and his country; and in the course of our deliberations and discussion—whatever the differencess of opinion may be—, we must give credit to each other that each in his own way is doing his best for his motherland and for his home and for his country. In that spirit, I would urge upon you to proceed with your deliberations, and I have no doubt that the collective wisdom, the united wisdom, of the best intellect of the Musalmans will not fail to find a solution of the question which we consider, from a purely Musalman point of view, a matter of life and death, namely, the Khilafat question. I have no doubt that with over 70 millions of Musalmans, led by the best intellect and brains of the community, success is assured.[1]

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1. *The Indian Annual Register*, *1920*, Part III, pp. 217—221.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

THIRTEENTH SESSION

NAGPUR, DECEMBER, 30-31, 1920

The Thirteenth Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League commenced on December 30, 1920, at Nagpur.

Dr. M. A. Ansari, the President of the Thirteenth Session, delivered a detailed speech, in the course of which he expressed sympathy with the sufferings of Ireland and Egypt, and discussed the question of the Khilafat threadbare. The devices of the Allied Governments, the Treaty of Severes, the effect of the treaty on the Muslim world—all these questions were dealt with at considerable length. He also discussed the Khilafat Delegation's work in various Allied countries in Europe. He dwelt upon the Punjab question, and severely criticized the Despatch of the Government of India. He then proceeded to discuss other aspects of the situation in India.

EXTRACTS FORM THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF DR. ANSARI

The Khilafat and the Punjab questions naturally bring one to a consideration of the methods by which these wrongs should be redressed and their repetition made impossible. It is not only the question of the Khilafat or the Punjab, the repressive legislation or the shameful treatment of Indians in different parts of the British Empire, but it is the spirit behind the individual actions which has to be fought and conquered. To any one who tries to look deeper, it becomes obvious that these specific actions are the natural outcome of the notion of superiority of the West over the East, the greed and lust of power, the desire of exploitation of the weaker nations for the benefit of the stronger, and the determination of the Western nations to perpetuate the bondage and slavery of Asiatic people. It is, therefore, not only a question of India's honour and freedom, but of a great struggle for the emancipation of

all the enslaved Asiatic people from the thraldom of the West. In the foregoing observations, I have endeavoured to show that all the talk about liberation of the weaker nations from an oppressive yoke, the right to freedom of subject nationalities and the principle of self-determination indulged in by the Allied statesmen have been a delusion and a snare. The question then arises whether we in India are going to do anything to discipline and organize ourselves in order to gain our rights, or are we going to continue the old policy of mendicancy, petitioning others to grant us our inherent rights.

Non-Co-operation

So far as the Musalmans are concerned the principle of non-co-operation is not a new idea; rather it is a clear and definite injunction of the divine *Shariat* which the Musalmans of India had in their forgetfulness consigned to oblivion. At the commencement, some members of the Khilafat Committee and some of the leading Muslim divines brought this matter before the public; and when the question was carefully discussed, as regards the application of this principle, it was decided that the present times furnish all the circumstances and the conditions laid down in the Muslim *Shariat*. It has therefore become binding that we should practise non-co-operation against the opponents of Islam.

Mahatma Gandhi's far-sighted mind saw, in this Muslim religious principle, an effective method of wide application, well suited to the present political requirements of the country and entirely in conformity with the principle of Satyagraha. His whole-hearted and single-minded advocacy of this principle resulted in its adoption by all the great political organizations representing the views of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of this country. Non-co-operation is based on the obvious truth that no Government can carry on the administration of a country without the active co-operation or passive acquiescence of the people inhabiting that country. And if the Government of the country be unjust and heedless of the rights and liberties of the people, the only peaceful way of reforming the recalcitrant Government is to cease co-operation with it.

The consideration of this principle from the ethical point of view need not detain us very long. In order to have any wrong done to a people redressed, it is not enough that a few individuals should be cognizant of the wrong: the entire people, or at least a large majority of them, must feel the wrong. Then again the mere fact of feeling a wrong does not absolve you from your moral duty; you must refuse to help the wrong-doer in perpetuating the wrong, and by creating a very strong public opinion, you must make the repetition of that wrong impossible.

As regards the religious aspect of this principle, I shall only discuss it briefly from the Muslim point of view. The Muslim *Shariat* enjoins *tark-i-mawalat*, or the abandonment of friendship (which means no connection of

love, service or help), with those non-Muslims who are enemies at war with Islam and Muslim countries. Again the Holy Quran imperatively demands that Musalmans should behave righteously, affectionately and in a friendly manner towards all those non-Muslims who are neither at war with Muslims nor are they assailants intending to invade or occupy their territories. "Allah does not forbid you respecting those who have not made war against you on account of (your) religion, and have not driven you forth from your homes, that you show them kindness and deal with them justly; surely, Allah loves the doers of justice. Allah only forbids you respecting those who made war upon you on account of (your) religion, and drove you forth from your homes and backed up (others) in your expulsion, that you make friends with them and whoever makes friends with them: these are the unjust." (Quran: *Sura-i-Mumtahanah* 60: 8-9) And Allah says: "Oh you who believe! Do not take my enemy and your enemy for friends. Would you offer them love while they deny what has come to you of the truth?" (Quran: *Sura-i-Mumtahanah*—60:1).

It is not necessary to lay stress on the fact that non-co-operation is not only a political or a moral necessity to a Musalman, it is a religious obligation and hence a graver responsibility attaches to him in carrying it out.

Survey of Progress

A brief survey of the progress of non-co-operation during the last three months would be helpful in forming an estimate of its wide-spread acceptance and the steady manner in which it is spreading.

The boycott of Councils by the nationalists has been complete. The electors have also given a very clear verdict against the so-called Reformed Councils. The exact figures are not yet available, only rough estimate can be made. In a vast majority of the constituencies, the percentage of electors who recorded their votes was about 10; in a small number, between 10 and 25; and in only a few, above 25. No amount of explanation would convince the world that so far as the people of India are concerned, they would care to have anything to do with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

The response which the young people of India have given has been very substantial and most encouraging, and this in spite of the difficulties and obstacles which have been placed in their way by the educational staff and authorities.

I cannot help feeling proud of the fact that the students of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, gave a lead in this matter. You have all heard how that august assembly of the Trustees of the M.A.O. College, gathered in an informal meeting at Aligarh, gave scant hearing to the call of their religion, in which was also involved the cause of their country's honour and freedom. You know how the feeble voice of those who invited them as a matter of conscience to give up the Government grant-in-aid, to disaffiliate

their College from the Government University and to ntionalize it fell on deaf ears. You are aware in what an insolent and overbearing manner the Government-bidden, packed majority rejected our demand and condemned our action. Then followed the insufferable high-handedness of the College authorities, who stopped the food, water-supply, sanitary arrangements and medical aid of the non-co-operating students. And lastly, the culminating act of the infuriated, panic-stricken authorities was to turn out the student from the College with the help of the police force.

All the while, intimidation, persuasion, social and moral pressure were being brought to bear on these students. But they stood firm and behaved with marvellous patience and fortitude. They left the College peacefully and quietly to take up their abode in the new quarters of the National Muslim University.[1] Ever since then a campaign of calumnies and vilification has been deliberately carried on against the Principal, his supporters and the students of the new institution. The Aligarh College authorities have descended in their rage to the lowest depth, and have thrown away all decency and decorum to the winds. The columns of the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* have been opened to the vilest abuse and all the available English and vernacular dailies are requisitioned for this propaganda of invective, calumny and scandal. But with the help of the band of those staunch, sturdy and strong minded young students, the newly inaugurated National Muslim University has gone on daily adding to its number, until six bungalows have now been rented to accommodate the students who have joined the University. We have no fear for the future. We have full faith that our University will go forward on its march of progress, and one day, God willing, the old institution, being purged of all its evils, will merge into the new.

The sister National University at Ahmedabad, with Mahatma Gandhi its Chancellor and that noble and brave man, Mr. A. T. Gidwani, as the Principal, will keep the torch of learning alight in Gujrat, illuminating the darkness of the institutions where knowledge is only a concomitant of moral and mental slavery.

The Khalsa College, the Islamia College of Lahore, and the Hindu University students are putting up a brave fight. Our best wishes are with them in their efforts to break the fetters which still enslave them.

Our sincere congratulations and good wishes are offered to the Board of Management and students of the Nadwat-ul-Ulema at Lucknow, for the way in which they have refused the Government grant.

As for the national schools, so many are daily coming into existence all over the country that it is difficult at present to furnish a complete list. There is a great future for education on national lines; and if non-co-operation does nothing more than remove the evils of the present system of education,

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1. Jamia Millia Islamia.

it shall have fully justified its inception.

Swadeshi goods have received a great impetus from the movement of non-co-operation. Everywhere larger and larger numbers of people are taking to wearing cloth manufactured in India. We do not have reliable data to give exact figures, but the opening of *Swadeshi* stores and emporia all over the country is a sure index to the increased use of Indian goods. Though handspun yarn and handlooms are still in their infancy, it is not too much to hope that there is a sure future for this branch of Indian Industry.

The response of the lawyers, one feels constrained to admit, has been very poor. The number of those who have given up their practice is probably the largest in the Madras Presidency and the least in Bengal. Arbitration courts are in the process of formation in a number of big centres. Speaking for Delhi, although we have not yet fully organized our courts, the number of cases already disposed of is nearly one hundred.

There have been a fair number of renunciations of titles and honorary posts. Considering the class of people who generally hold them, this number is not discouraging.

Criticisms of Non-co-operation

So far criticisms against non-co-operation have been made from three groups of people, viz, the Moderates, the European and Anglo-Indian papers, and Government officials . . .

Those who call the programme of non-co-operation destructive do not seem to have carefully read the programme. If they had, they would have seen that there is construction going on simultaneously with destruction: for instance, with the boycott of the Councils, there is simultaneously the education of the electors regarding their deamand for full *Swaraj*; with the withdrawal of students from schools and colleges, there is the establishment of national colleges and schools. So far as the teaching institutions are concerned, the aim is to nationalize the existing institutions (*vide* the Nadwat-ul-Ulema College, Lucknow); and it is only when the authorities refuse to give up the Government grant-in-aid that the need of withdrawing students from them and opening new institutions is felt. Hence the responsibility of destroying existing institutions is not entirely on the shoulders of non-co-operators, but also of those who refuse to give up the Government grant-in-aid—although in many cases, they admit the evils arising from the grants. Similarly in the case of lawyers, the suspension of their practice in Government courts will be followed by the formation of arbitration courts where a number of them may find work. Moreover, the critics forget that non-co-operation is not an end in itself, but simply a means to attain *Swaraj*, which surely is the most constructive of all constructive things.

It is forgotten by the critics that non-co-operation is non-violent, and the very fact of its eschewing violence of every kind shows that it is not

based on hatred or enmity against any individual. Not only does it (non-co-operation), include the preaching and practice of non-violence, but the non-co-operator is strictly enjoined to make it his personal concern to consider the life, honour and property of every man, English or Indian, sacred and inviolable. It is fully realized by non-co-operators that any violence would end in the utter failure of this method of achieving *Swaraj*. Whatever bitterness exists is the result of the Government's action regarding the Punjab and the Khilafat. It can fairly be claimed that non-co-operation has had the effect of lessening the bitterness and directing the thoughts and energies of the people towards self-discipline, self-sacrifice and organization. Sacrifice, not hatred, is the basis of non-co-operation.

It has been demonstrated, both during the Punjab disturbances and at other times, that if the masses have been controlled and diverted from violence and fury, it is by means of satyagraha and the non-co-operation movement. It is the fashion of the opponents of non-co-operation to describe every act of lawlessness as the result of non-co-operation. Facts prove just the contrary. Non-co-operation appeals to the finest instincts of the people, whether they are educated or ignorant. It preaches law and order, it preaches self-discipline and self-sacrifice, it preaches non-violence.

The very fact that the money (received by educational institutions) is called 'Government grant-in-aid' and is given and accepted as a bounty from the Government shows that, although the money comes from the tax-payer's pocket, it is given as a gift from the Government to the people. It becomes all the more degrading that money collected from the people is used by the Government for imposing irksome conditions and restrictions on the people. Can it be truthfully said that this money is used as freely, and without any let or hindrance, as the money received as a contribution from people at large? Can these institutions, while receiving the Government grants-in-aid, stop meddlesome inspectors of schools from visiting these institutions and generally misdirecting their work? Can these institutions use textbooks of their own choosing, or invite any one to lecture to the boys on the economic slavery of India or any such subject? It is clear that by giving this pittance the Government controls the institutions fully and completely, though the money may be our own; and if anything is fatal to the free growth of our educational institutions, it is Government control, whose admitted aim is to denationalize Indians and make slaves and clerks of them.

Another criticism pre-supposes that the Councils confer some real benefit on the people. Past experience and the constitutions governing the new Councils prove otherwise. The Councils have no control over the army, the navy, foreign relations, the Civil Service, the Imperial Educational Service, the Indian Medical Service, finance, fiscal policy, and indeed on anything that really matters regarding the government of the country. The Governors and the Viceroy have still got unlimited powers of veto. What

would be the use then of going to these Councils and wasting time in useless debates?

The Government Attitude

At first the attitude of the Government was that of ridicule. Every epithet that could show the movement in a bad light was used. Nothing could be more futile or ill-advised. It was said that the movement was bound to fail by reason of its intrinsic inanity. The nature of this visionary scheme was unpractical. It was the most foolish of all foolish schemes. But the ridicule did not kill this movement, and the Government had to assume a less contemptuous way of dealing with the situation. A solemn effort was made to rally the supporters of Government. The Moderates were asked to organize themselves to destroy this movement; otherwise it was threatened that repression would be started. In spite of the efforts of the faithful Moderates, this inane movement did not die; and as the efforts 'to laugh out' the movement missed the mark, ridicule by Government and inane efforts of the Moderates soon changed to words and deeds full of gravity, and the mighty Government felt constrained to resort to coercion, the last weapon in its armoury. Repression, which was started by the prosecution of a number of people, has now given place to gagging large and important sections of the Indian people by the application of the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act of 1911, part of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908, to politically advanced areas. Nor is this all, for worse things still appear to be in store for this 'laughable' movement. After all, if it was only a contemptible fly, which it was supposed to be, where is the necessity of killing it with a sledge hammer used with the force of a giant?

Conclusion

So far I have dealt with facts familiar to all, and covered what is well-known ground. But may I, without intending to weary you, add a few more words? There appears to be a kind of deadlock between the bureaucracy and the people of this land, from the point of the view of the Government, and all because India has awakened, after age-long slumber, to a keen sense of self-respect, self-reliance and self-organization: because India is now determined not to submit to any 'secondary position' in matters which are primarily her and her children's concern. She has awakened to a strong sense of present thraldom and helotry—and also of her legitimate heritage of freedom. The bureaucrat is still thinking in the obsolete terms of governing with the mailed fist covered by the velvet glove, because he cannot reconcile himself to the perfectly valid claims of self-respecting India, and continues to dream sweet dreams of gaining yet another lease of autocratic life—for exploiting the rich resources of our country and the noble and self-effacing nature of our poor intimidated countrymen. The deadlock is inevitable, because while

we have ceased to think in terms of slavery, the heartless bureaucratic machinery, incapable of imagination, continues to work as before we refused to be exploited; and the Government devises cunning plans to ensnare us, to coax, cajole or coerce us into submission. But they forget that we are no longer inspired by any but the highest ideal of complete *Swaraj*, which leaves no room for any bargains for seats on legislative bodies or transferred subjects. So long as we do not have plenary powers to control, guide and change the entire government of our country . . . to suit the interests of the largest number of our contrymen, why must our friends continue to din into our ears the virtues of the 'advance' the new conditions mark? So long as they do not divest themselves of the mentality which cannot cease to talk of 'advances and concessions', there is no hope of the deadlock coming to an end. To us, however, who are determined to redeem our birthright at any cost, excepting violence, the state of affairs described as a deadlock marks the beginning of our self-organizing efforts. The Government have forfeited our confidence by violating their pledges, eulogizing tyrants, and supporting perpetrators of inhuman atrocities and other exhibitions of a sad want of morality. The feeling of distrust has permeated the masses not only of India, but of the whole East, as borne out by what the Egyptians, the Arabs, the Kamalist Turks, the Persian nationalists, the Chinese and last, but not the least, the Japanese have at different times, and independently of one another, said in non-official or semi-official organs of opinion. This also appears to be the opinion of even such a partisan as Sir Valentine Chirol.

To win the co-operation of India, there is nothing for our alien friends but first to disabuse their minds of (ideas of) domination, race-supremacy and kindred evils, secondly to do ample penance for past wrongs—such as the dismemberment and the subjugation of the Khalifa's temporal and spiritual empire, and the massacre of Jallianwala—and lastely to recognize, in unmistakable terms and in actual practice, the sovereignty of the people of India.

As regards the suggestion about a conference of leaders of public opinion, it may be said that in the present state of high tension in the country no good purpose can be served by attempting any rapprochement before there has been a complete vindication of the people's honours and sovereignty. No one can say that the wanton blows that are being dealt at the self-organizing efforts of honest patriots can ever result in any pacification. There is no trace of any willingness on the part of Government or certain important sections of anti-Indian Europeans (the consideration of whose views seems to weigh so much with the bureaucrats) to descend from the clouds—there appears to be a good deal too much of the 'pride of power'.[1]

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1. *The Indian Annual Register, 1920,* Part III, pp. 222-230.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE SESSION

I. The All-India Muslim League deeply deplores the sad demise of the late Sheikh-ul-Hind Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan Sahib of Deoband, whose sacrifices and selfless devotion in the cause of Islam and the country had endeared him to the community, and whose fearless and unequivocal exposition of the *Shariat* at the most critical period of Muslim history, patient sufferings in the far off prison of Malta in the cause of religion, and simplicity and purity of life, have left a great legacy to Muslim India; and the League offers its heart-felt condolence to the bereaved family of the Maulana, and prays that God will give him rest in heaven. (From the Chair.)

II. The All-India Muslim League expresses its deep sorrow on the sudden demise of Mr. Mumtaz Husain, Bar-at-Law, of Lucknow, who had endeared himself to the Muslim community by his untiring zeal for the cause of the Khilafat and in whom the country has lost an able advocate, an honest patriot and a devoted worker; and the League expresses its sympathy with the bereaved family. (From the Chair.)

III. (a) The All-India Muslim League reaffirms the resolution passed as its Special Session in Calcutta regarding non-violent non-co-operation.

(b) The League places on record its satisfaction at the progress the non-co-operation movement has made generally, and in particular, at the boycott of the Councils by the nationalists and at the refusal to exercise their right of voting by the vast majority of the electors of the various constituencies established under the Reform Scheme; and in view of the unmistakable attitude of the electors, the League calls upon those who have secured seats on the various Councils, in direct opposition to the will of the electors, to resign their seats; and in the case of those who fail to do so, the League advises the electors to have no political connection whatsoever with the so-called representatives.

(c) The League also expresses its sense of appreciation for the response made to the call of duty by the youth of India; and while emphasizing the absolute necessity of the immediate severance of all connection with Government or Government-aided colleges and schools, calls upon the owners and trustees of all the educational institutions to forthwith give up Government aid and disaffiliate themselves from Government-recognized universities; and the League, at the same time, requests parents and guardians to withdraw their sons and wards from Government-aided or controlled institutions, without any further delay; and it also calls upon adult students to withdraw from such institutions.

(d) The League further urges upon the lawyers and the litigants to immediately boycott Government courts and to establish, encourage and popularize arbitration courts.

(e) Lastly the League exhorts the people of India to encourage Indian

industries by the exclusive use of *Swadeshi* goods and by establishing home industries.

(Proposed by Hakim Ajmal Khan, seconded by Tasadduq Ahmed Khan Sherwani, supported by Maulana Azad Subhani and Moulvi Shamsud-din Ahmed.)

IV. While reaffirming the resolution passed by the League at the Amritsar Session regarding the cow sacrifice, and exhorting the Musalmans of India to continue unabated their earnest efforts in that direction, the All-India Muslim League appeals to its Hindu brethren to refrain from securing legislative or other compulsory measures which it fears would only add to the difficulties of the situation.

V. That Rule 2 of the All-India Muslim League be amended so as to read as follows:

The objects of the All-India Muslim League shall be:

(a) the attainment of *Swaraj* by the people of India by all peaceful and legitimate means;

(*b*) to protect and advance the political, religious and other rights and interests of the Indian Musalmans;

(c) to promote friendship and union between the Musalmans and other communities of India;

(*d*) to maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Musalmans of India and those of other countries.

(Proposed by Moulana Mohammad Ali, seconded by Mr. Mohammad Husain, supported by Mr. Khaliquzzaman, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Moulvi Majeed Bakhsh.)

VI. The All-India Muslim League expressess its deep sense of appreciation at the work done by the Khilafat Delegation in Europe under the intrepid and able leadership of Moulana Mohammad Ali, than whom a more courageous, outspoken and withal moderate and correct interpreter of the Muslim obligations and Indian sentiments could not be found. (From the Chair.)

VII. Having regard to the fact that the Esher Committee Report[1] has unmistakably expressed the capitalistic and imperialistic designs of the British statesmen by suggesting the utilization of Indian manhood for the aggressive policy of British conquests, the All-India Muslim League exhorts the people to save their soldiery from moral degradation by increasing their effort for the attainment of *Swaraj* at the earliest possible date. (Proposed by Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and seconded by Abdul Bari Mohammed Saqi.)

VIII. The All-India Muslim League, while disapproving the action of the trustees of those educational institutions which have not given up Government aid and have not disaffiliated themselves from the Government Universities, places on record its appreciation of the whole-hearted response to the

1. A report on the Indian Army by a committee chaired by Lord Esher, 1919-20.

call of duty made by the Nadvat-ul-Ulema at considerable financial sacrifice, setting a noble example for other institutions to follow. (From the Chair.)

IX. In view of the numerous prosecutions of national workers by the Government, the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to various places in the Punjab and Delhi, and the suppression of volunteer organizations, the All-India Muslim League feels confident that the determination of the people of India would continue undaunted to pursue the path marked out for the emancipation of their country. (Proposed by Mr. Mohammad Habib Shah and seconded by Agha Mohammad Safdar.)

X. The All India Muslim League advises the owners, trustees and managing boards of all Muslim educational institutions, religious or otherwise, to immediately start technical classes with a view to encouraging home industries, particularly weaving and spinning. (Proposed by Moulana Hasrat Mohani and seconded by Mr. Moazzam Ali.)

XI. In view of the fact that the Indian National Congress, the All-India Muslim League, the Sikh League, the Khilafat Conference, and other public bodies have declared their determination to attain *Swaraj*, and in view of the fact that the alliance of neighbouring states with Great Britain is conceived, not as a plan for the protection of Indians, but for strengtnening the British hold on India, and in view of the fact that Indians have no quarrel with Afghanistan, and inasmuch as Great Britain has been able, mainly through her Empire in India, to disrupt the dominions of the Khilafat, the All-India Muslim League begs respectfully to advise His Majesty Ghazi Amir Aman Ullah Khan, the independent ruler of Afghanistan, to reject any advance on the part of the Government of India for a treaty of alliance with Great Britain.

Further, in view of the further fact that this League is confident that neither the Afghan nation nor their Government has any designs on the independent existence of the people of India, this League hopes that both the nations will cultivate friendly relations between themselves and learn to rely upon each other's goodwill. (Proposed by Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, seconded by Mr. Khaliquzzaman, and supported by Moulvi Nazir Ahmed Khojandi.)

XII. The All-India Muslim League heartily welcomes the establishment of the National Muslim University[1] at Aligarh, and congratulates Principal Mohammad Ali upon his intrepid leadership, and his students upon the invincible courage displayed in the performance of their duty in the face of great provocations and hardships; and the League calls upon the public to give the University their best moral and material support. (Proposed by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and seconded by Moulvi Abdul Kadir Siddiqi.)[2]

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1. Jamia Millia Islamia (later moved to Delhi).
2. Official Report of Resolutions. Anglo-Oriental Press, Lucknow, 1920.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

FOURTEENTH SESSION

AHMEDABAD, DECEMBER 30, 1921

The Fourteenth Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League opened at Ahmedabad on December 30, 1921, under the presidency of Moulana Hasrat Mohani, in a specially erected *pandal*. The attendance was large. Mr. Abbas Tayabji, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates, traced the history of the Muslim League, and concluded that after the great help of the Hindus on the Khilafat question, and after finding that the League and the Congress had the same object in view, he thought the League should cease to be a separate and distinct body.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MAULANA HASRAT MOHANI

After the welcome address, Maulana Hasrat Mohani delivered his presidential address in Urdu, of which the following is the English translation.

Gentlemen, while thanking you for electing me to preside over this session of the All-India Muslim League, I wish to say in all sincerity that the importance of this session of the League, in which the fate of Hindustan is to be decided, required the choice of a person abler than myself, such as Maulana Mohammad Ali, Dr. Kitchlew or Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, to preside over its deliberation; but, unfortunately, the Government has forcibly taken away the first two gentlemen from us. I expressed my inability to accept the responsibility. Consequently, as the proverb goes, "if thou dost not accept it willingly, it will be forced on thee", this great duty was placed on my weak shoulders. I wish to discharge it to the best of my ability. Success is in the hand of God.

The Aims of the League

The present condition of the League appears to be very weak indeed; but this does not in the least derogate from its real importance, for it was the All-India Muslim League which actually realized the first and the most essential condition of Indian independence, Hindu-Muslim unity; and now that it has been achieved, it is the duty of the League to maintain it also. Besides, it is on the platform of the League that all sections of political opinion amongst the Musalmans, extremists or moderates, have so far been, and in future, too, will probably be, brought together. Before going into the cuases of the weakness of the League, it will be better to enumerate the aims and objects of the League. These are (1) the attainment of *Swaraj* by the people of India by all peacefull and legitimate means; (2) to protect and advance the political, religious and other rights and interests of the Indian Musalmans; (3) to promote friendship and union between the Musalmans and other communities of India; (4) to maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Musalmans of India and those of other countries.

The first of these is also known to be the creed of the Congress. Therefore, so long as the word *Swaraj* is not defined in consonance with Muslim desire, and the means for its attainment are not amplified, it is only natural that Muslim interests in the League should be meagre. The third object, Hindu-Muslim unity, is the common object both of the League and the Congress. The fourth object, the unity of the Muslim world, which has been, along with other questions, connected with the Khilafat, has been specially taken up by the Khilafat Committee. There remains only the second object, that is the protection of the special interests of the Musalmans. As to this, so long as a much greater and more important object, that is, the attainment of *Swaraj* still remains unachieved, people would rather direct their united efforts against the common enemy than look after their special interests. They will be attended to when the time comes for it. As if these causes were not sufficient in themselves to decrease the influence of the League, its rules and regulations were, unfortunately, so framed that, while public opinion has developed at a rapid pace, most members of the League have not moved an inch from their first position. As a result, the League remains nothing more than an old calendar. It is very necessary to remove the causes of the weakness of the League and to remove them immediately; for in proportion as we approach nearer and nearer to the goal of *Swaraj*, the need of the League will be felt more and more, because questions of special Muslim rights will rise again with greater importance when India is free.

Our first duty, therefore, should be to reduce the fee for the membership of the League and thus increase its members, who will choose their League representatives every year. The members to the Council of the

Provincial and the All-India Muslim Leagues should be chosen, as in the case of the Congress, every year.

An Indian Republic or a United States of India

But the most pressing necessity of all is a change in the first object of the League to suit changed Muslim conditions. Everyone of us knows that the word *Swaraj* has been definitely left vague and undefined in the creed of the Congress. The object of it has been that, if the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs are settled on the lines of our demands, then *Swaraj* within the British Empire will be considered sufficient; otherwise efforts will be directed towards the attainment of complete independence. But, gentlemen, from the Muslim point of view, it is not enough that we should stand for complete independence alone. It is necessary to decide upon the form that it should take; and in my opinion it can only be an Indian Republic or on the lines of a United States of India.

Besides this, the term 'peaceful', which defines and restricts the scope of the legitimate means for the attainment of *Swaraj* in the Congress creed, is opposed to the nature and religious aspirations of the Musalmans. Therefore, in the creed of the League, the words 'possible' and 'proper' should be substituted for the words 'legitimate' and 'peaceful'. I will explain the matter in detail. The Musalmans should understand clearly that they derive a two-fold advantage from the establishment of an India Republic: firstly, the general benefit which they will undoubtedly share along with their Indian brethren as citizens of a common State; secondly, the special advantage which the Musalmans will derive from it is that, with every decline in the prestige and power of the British Empire, which to-day is the worst enemy of Muslim countries, the Muslim world will get breathing time and opportunity to improve its condition. Gentlemen, in spite of the present Hindu-Muslim unity, many serious misunderstandings and suspicions still exist between these two great communities of Hindustan, and it is of primary importance that we should grasp the true nature of these misunderstandings. The Hindus have a lurking suspicion that given an opportunity, the Musalmans will either invite their co-religionists from outside to invade India or would, at least, help them in case they invaded to plunder and devastate Hindustan. These misunderstandings are so deep-rooted and widespread that, so far as my knowledge goes, no Indian statesman has escaped them, except the late Lokamanya Tilak. On the other hand, the Musalmans suspect that on the achievement of self-government, the Hindus will acquire greater political powers and will use their numerical superiority to crush the Musalmans. Gentleman, it is quite clear that these misunderstandings can only be overcome by a conciliatory discussion and mutual and intimate understanding; and it is an essential condition of this mutual understanding that the third party should not come between them.

Hindus and Muslims

The generality of Musalmans, with few exceptions, are afraid of the numerical superiority of the Hindus, and are absolutely opposed to an ordinary reform scheme as a substitute for complete independence. The primary reason for this is that in a merely reformed, as contrasted with an independent government, they will be under a double suspicion: first, a subjection to the Government of India, which will be common to Hindus and Musalmans; secondly, a rejection by a Hindu majority, which they will have to face in every department of Government. On the other hand, if the danger of the English power is removed, the Musalmans will only have the Hindu majority to fear. Fortunately this fear is such that it will be automatically removed with the establishment of the Indian Republic; for while the Musalmans, as a whole, are in a minority in India, yet nature has provided a compensation in the fact that the Musalmans are not in a minority in all provinces. In some provinces, such as Kashmir, the Punjab, Sind, Bengal and Assam, the Musalmans are more numerous than the Hindus. This Muslim majority will be an assurance that in the United States of India, the Hindu majority in Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces will not be allowed to overstep the limits of moderation against the Musalmans. Similarly, so long as a completely liberated India does not come into the hands of the Hindus and Musalmans themselves, the Hindus will always be suspicious that, in case of a foreign invasion, the Musalmans would aid their co-religionist invaders; but on the establishment of the Indian Republic, which will be shared in common by Musalmans and Hindus, there will be no possibility of such a suspicion, for no Musalman would desire that the power of even a Muslim foreigner should be established over his country.

The Mopla Rebellion

Gentlemen, I have just stated it as a necessary condition of the Hindu-Muslim compromise that the third party, the English, should not be allowed to step in between us. Otherwise, all our affairs will fall into disorder. Its best example is before you in the shape of the Mopla incident. You are probably aware that Hindu India has an open and direct complaint against the Moplas, and an indirect complaint against all of us, that the Moplas are plundering and spoiling their innocent Hindu neighbours; but possibly you are not aware that the Moplas justify their action on the ground that, at such a critical juncture, when they are engaged in a war against the English, their neighbours not only do not help them or observe neutrality, but aid and assist the English in every possible way. They can, no doubt, contend that, while they are fighting a defensive war for the sake of their religion and have left their homes, property and belongings, and taken refuge in hills and jungles, it is unfair to characterize as plunder their commandeering of money, pro-

visions and other necessaries for their troops from the English or their supporters. Both are right in their complaints; but so far as my investigation goes, the cause of this mutual recrimination can be traced to the interference of the third party. It happens thus: whenever any English detachment suddenly appears in a locality and kills or captures the Mopla inhabitants of the place, rumour somehow spreads in the neighbourhood that the Hindu inhabitants of the place had invited the English army for their protection, with the result that after the departure of the English troops, the neighbouring Moplas do not hesitate to retaliate, and consider the money and other belongings of the Hindus as lawful spoils of war taken from those who have aided and abetted the enemy. Where no such events have occurred, the Moplas and Hindus even now live peacefully side by side; Moplas do not commit any excesses against the Hindus, while the Hindus do not hesitate in helping the Moplas to the best of their ability.

A National Parliament

I have wandered far from my purpose. I meant to emphasize that, in the first clause dealing with the aims and objects of the League, the word *Swaraj* should be defined as complete independence in the cause of an Indian republic. Otherwise, there is a danger that in the presence of a third party, self-government within the British Empire, instead of being beneficial, might actually prove injurious. The second amendment necessary is that the methods for the attainment of *Swaraj* should be amplified. In the place of 'peaceful' and 'legitimate' means 'possible' and 'proper' should be permitted. Thus, on the one hand, the opportunity of joining the League will be given to those who do not honestly believe in non-co-operation as the sole path of salvation, recognizing the possibility of other methods and adopting them also. On the other hand, the amendment will remove the complaint of those who believe that non-co-operation cannot, under any circumstances, remain peaceful to the last, and who, while subscribing to the creed of the Congress, and to the first clause of the section dealing with the objects of the League, as a matter of policy and expediency, refuse to admit it as a faith for all times and circumstances—or to remain non-violent even in intention.

Gentlemen, there are only two possible means of replacing one government by another. One is the destruction of an existing government by the sword and the establishment of another in its place—a method which has been followed in the world thus far. The second alternative is to sever all connections with the present government, and to set up a better organized government parallel to it, and to improve and develop it till the old order is dissolved and the new takes its place. Friends, to achieve this object, we must immediately set up, on a separate and permanent foundation, our courts, schools, arts, industries, army, police—and a national parliament. Non-violent non-co-operation can only help to paralyse government, it cannot maintain

it. The question now is, can such a parallel government be established only through non-violent non-co-operation—of course, provided the rival government does not interfere with its establishment—a condition which is obviously impossible. The rival government will certainly interfere. We might contend that we will proceed on with our work silently and quietly and in spite of governmental interference, as is being done at present. A stage will, however, be reached ultimately, when action on peaceful lines will become absolutely impossible; and then we shall be forced to admit that a parallel government can be started, but not continue to the last through peaceful means.

Governmental Policy

Examples of Government repression are before your eyes. First, it attempted, through the Karachi trials, to prevent the Musalmans from openly proclaiming the articles of their faith. When the people, undaunted by this decision of the Government, preached throughout the length and breadth of India that it was unlawful to serve in the army, the Government slowly overlooked these activities, fearing that a mere repetition of the Karachi resolution might lead to disaffection in the Army. And in order to divert the attention of the people from these activities, it suddenly, but deliberately declared the enrollment of volunteers unlawful, so that it might get an opportunity of striking at the non-co-operators. Like moths that gather to sacrifice their lives around a lighted candle, the advocates of civil disobedience swarmed forward to break this declaration of Lord Reading and cheerfully went to jail in their thousands. This is undoubtedly an example of self-sacrifice and self-effacement which will rightly move Mahatma Gandhi to ecstasy; but we detect another truth hidden in this demonstration of happiness and joy. It reveals to our eyes the last stages of both the repression of the Government and the patience of the people. The people are, no doubt, prepared gladly to bear and suffer the hardships of a few days of imprisonment; but on the declaration of martial law, the non-violent non-co-operation movement will prove totally insufficient and useless. Amongst the Musalmans, at least, there will hardly be found a man who will be prepared to sacrifice his life uselessly. A man can only have one of two feelings in his heart when faced by the barrel of a gun: either to seek refuge in flight or to take advantage of the law of self-preservation and despatch the adversary to hell. The third alternative of cheerfully yielding up one's life to the enemy, and considering it to be the one real success, will remain confined to Mahatma Gandhi and some of his adherents and fellow-thinkers. I, on my part, fear that in general the reply to martial law will be what is commonly called guerilla warfare . . . The responsibility lies with the representatives of the Musalmans.

Consequently, as representatives of the Musalmans, the members of

the All-India Muslim League should consider it their duty either to refrain from adopting non-co-operation as their creed, or to free it from the limitation of keeping it either violent or non-violent; for it is not in our power to keep non-co-operation peaceful or otherwise. So long as the Government confines itself to the use of chains and fetters, non-co-operation can remain as peaceful as it is to-day; but if things go further and the Government has recourse to gallows or machine guns, it will be impossible for the movement to remain non-violent.

The Duty of Muslims

At this stage, some people would like to ask how it is that, while the Hindus are content to adopt non-violent non-co-operation as the means for attaining independence, the Musalmans are anxious to go a step further. The answer is that the liberation of Hindustan is as much a political duty of a Musalman as that of a Hindu. Owing to the question of the Khilafat, it has become a Musalman's religious duty as well.

In this connection, I should like to say just one word. The glories of Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the conclusion of the recent Franco-Turkish Treaty might create an idea in some people's minds that the evacuation of Smyrna by the Greeks is certain, and the restoration of Thrace to the Turks, if not certain, is within the bounds of possibility. Consenquently, they might entertain the hope that the struggle in the Near East is coming to a close. I want to warn all such people that the claims of the Musalmans of India are founded more on religious than political principles. So long as the Jazirat-ul-Arab (including Palestine and Mesopotamia) are not absolutely freed from non-Muslim influence, and so long as the political and military power of the Khilafat is not fully restored, the Musalmans of India cannot suspend their activities and efforts.

Muslim Demands

As regards the Khilafat, the Muslim demands are these: (1) that in the pursuance of the promise of Mr. Llyod George, Thrace and Smyrna, along with the city of Symrna (Izmir), should remain under purely Turkish control, so that the political status of the Khilafat-ul-Muslimeen which is essential for the Khilafat, should suffer no diminution; (2) all non-Turkish control should be removed from Constantinople, the shores of Marmora and the Dardanelles, in order that the Khilafat at Constantinople may not be under non-Muslim control, which is essential for the Khilafat; (3) all naval and military restrictions imposed on the Khilafat should be removed, as otherwise, the Khalifa would have no power to enforce his orders ; (4) the Jazirat-ul-Arab, including the Hedjaz, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, should be free from all non-Muslim influence, and not be under British mandate; as it was the death-bed injunction of the Prophet. It should be noted that in the fourth demand, we wish

the English to give up their mandate over Mesopotamia and Palestine, and to remove their influence from the Hedjaz. As to the questions of whether the Arabs will acknowledge the Sherif of Mecca or the Sultan of Turkey as their Khalifa, or whether the Arab Government of Hedjaz, Mespotamia and Palestine will be independant or under the suzerainty of the Khalifa, these will be decided by the Musalmans. We do not want non-Muslim advice and assistance.

A Congress-League Compact

In my opinion, gentlemen, the most pressing necessity of Hindustan is the immediate conclusion of a definite compact between the Congress and the League. The Congress should not enter into any negotiations with the Government concerning *Swaraj* (1) until the minimum Muslim demands with regard to the Khilafat are satisfied; (2) on the other hand, the Muslims should definitely bind themselves to the assurance that, even though their demands with regard to the Khilafat are satisfied, the Musalmans of India will stand to the last by the side of their Hindu brethern for the attainment and preservation of Indian independence. Such a compact is all the more necessary because there are sings that the enemies of Indian independence—and we have to confess with regret that a number of deceitful Indians are working with the foreigners — are concentrating all their efforts on wrecking Hindu-Muslim unity and creating distrust and misunderstanding between the two communities. On the one hand, the Musalmans are being enticed by false hopes with regard to the Khilafat question. On the other, some showy toys of political concession are being prepared as a gift for the Hindus, even before the stipulated period of 10 years. It is intended that in their simplicity, the Musalmans should consider the return of Smyrna, etc., as the satisfaction of their Khilafat demands, and slacken their efforts for the attainment of *Swaraj;* while the Hindus should be misled into taking a further instalment of reforms for *Swaraj* itself, or at least, its precursor, and begin to consider the Khilafat an irrelevant question. There can be only one solution for all these problems. Hindus and Musalmans, after mutual consultation, should have Indian independence declared by Mahatma Gandhi, so that in future the English may have no possibility of deceiving, nor India of being deceived. After the declaration of independence, the Congress and the League will have only one object left: that is the preservation of *Swaraj*. January 1, 1922, is the best date for the purpose, because we would thus have fulfilled the promise that we made to attain *Swaraj* within this year—and the people of India will achieve success in the eyes of God and man.[1]

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1. Sources: (a) Sankaran Nayar, Sir C.: *Gandhi and Anarchy*. Govt. Printing Press, Madras. (b) *The Indian Annual Register*, 1922, appendix I, p. 68.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE SESSION

I. This Session of the All-India Muslim League considers it necessary that the activities of the League should be extended by the formation of Provincial and District Leagues wherever they do not exist and by the infusion of more life and usefulness into them in those Provinces and districts where they do exist. (From the Chair.)

II. This Session of the All-India Muslim League humbly tenders the assurance of its unshakable earnest faith to the Porte of the Khalifa, His Majesty Ghazi Sultan Mohammad Wahiduddin VI, the Khalifat-ul-Muslimeen and Khadim-ul-Harmain-ish-Shareefain and resolves that this loyal assurance be communicated to His Majesty the Khalifa. (From the Chair.)

III. This Session of the All-India Muslim League heartily congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha upon the success which he has won in the Greco-Turkish war, in recognition of the magnificient service rendered by him to Islam, and prays that the Almighty God may grant him a long life and may continue to make his activities more and more fruitful in the interests of the Islamic world. (From the Chair.)

IV. This Session of the All-India Muslim League considers that having regard to the exigencies of the situation and to the urgent needs of the Angora Government, it is imperative that all possible financial assistance should be rendered to it by the Indian Musalmans, and that for this purpose, it is necessary that the latter should concentrate their attention for the time being on this object, and the members of the League should everywhere co-operate with the Khilafat Committee organizations in making such collections. (From the Chair.)

V. Having regard to the fact that no independent and impartial statements relating to the Mopla troubles have yet been publishd, that the Muslim public, not being prepared to accept the accuracy of the accounts issued from Government sources, look with horror and resentment upon the severe sentences, including sentences of death, passed upon the Moplas by the Military Courts, in spite of the fact that thousands of them were killed and wounded in the military operations directed against them, and that particular horror and dismay have been created by the railway train incident that resulted in the death of 70 Mopla prisoners by suffocation, among Muslim circles that regard the Government officers in Malabar responsible, for such barbarous conduct, with contempt, this Session of the All-India Muslim League appoints a committee of the following members, viz. M. Mushir Husain Kidwai (Barabanki), G. M. Bhurgri (Sindh), Hon. Syed Raza Ali (Allahabad), Abbas S. Tyabji (Gujrat), and Moulvi Syed Murtaza (Trichinopoly), with power to add to their number, for the purpose of making an enquiry into the causes and incidents of the Mopla troubles by investigations on the spot in Malabar. This Session of the League also expresses its regret at the misconduct of Moplas

who may have caused any trouble to the Hindus without just cause. (Proposed by Khawaja Abdul Rahman Ghazi and seconded by Sardar Ali Saheb, Maulana Azad Subhani, S. Abbas Tyabji, Moulvi Syed Murtaza.)

VI. This Session of the All-India Muslim League heartily congratulates Shreeman Baba Gurdat Singhji, the great organizer of the Sri Guru Nanak Steamer, who willingly surrendered himself, after seven years' fruitless search by the Government, as a sacrifice for the nation, and also congratulates the other Sikh leaders who have preferred imprisonment to the restriction of their religious rights and liberty, and congratulates the Sikh comunity on their non-violent spirit at the time of the Babaji's arrest and on other occasions, in spite of great provocation by the police and the Military. (From the Chair.)

VII. This Ses ion of the All-India Muslim League calls upon all those Muslims who do not believe in full non-co-operation or in the principles of non-co-operation, but who still insist upon the redress of the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs and upon the immediate establishment of *Swaraj*, to popularize carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving, and for that end to preach and practise the use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments. (From the Chair.)

NOTE: The following resolution was rejected in the Subjects Committee, but the President of the Session permitted its discussion on the condition that no votes were taken thereon and the resolution was taken as rejected, as it was rejected in the Subjects Committee:

> Whereas the persistent course of action on the part of the British Government in the past has left no ground for the assurance that the Islamic world or the Jazirat-ul-Arab shall be preserved from non-Muslim political predominance, thereby making the safety of the Khilafat, as it should be according to religious requirements, precarious so long as British Imperialism lasts, and whereas the latter also renders the full development and prosperity of India impossible, it is therefore necessary to make an attempt to put an end to British Imperialism, and there is only one right method of doing so, viz., that the Indian Musalmans, should, in co-operation with other communities, seek complete independence for India; this is the view which the Musalmans take of the demand for *Swaraj*, and they sincerely hope and expect that other communities shall take the same view of it. (Proposed by Maulana Azad Subhani; seconded by Moulvi Fazlur Rahman; opposed by Syed Raza Ali.)[1]

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1. Official Text of the Resolutions, compiled by Syed Zahur Ahmad. Printed at the Students Commercial House, Lucknow, 1922.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

FIFTEENTH SESSION

LUCKNOW, MARCH 31—APRIL 1, 1923

First Sitting

The Fifteenth Session of the All-India Muslim League commenced at Lucknow on March 31, 1923. The business of the day was restricted to speeches by Lt. Shaikh Shahid Hussain, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Mr. Bhurgri, the President of the League.

In the course of his address, Lt. Shaikh Shahid Hussain said: "The Khilafat question has been solved, not by futile appeals, nor by costly deputations, but by the trusty sword of the keepers of the Khilafat, the Turkish nation led by the glorious hero of Islam, Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha[1], thus saving Islam from accepting favours or being under obligations to Europe." In regard to the transference of the Khalifat, he said, "Professor Margoliuth, in a recent publication sarcastically remarks that, while during the war the Muslims were laying down the proposition that the temporal and the spiritual power must remain united according to the *Shariat* in the person of the Khalifa, and were accusing the Allies of attempting to destory it, after the war the National Assembly of Angora (Ankara) adopts the policy of dividing the temporal and the spiritual power of the Sultan Khalifa. If the news is true, then the National Assembly of Angora has to justify its action according to the *Shariat* before the Muslim world. We are not in any way bound to accept any such measure contrary to our religious commandments. As far as I understand from the *fatwa* of Muslim jurists, the spiritual and temporal power

1. Who after completing his defeat of Greek occupying forces in Anatolia by 1922, had secured an honourable peace at the Lausanne Conference in 1923, which abolished the unacceptable Treaty of Sevres and the Capitulations.

of the Khalifa cannot be separated. There can be no second pope in Islam. At the same time, a Khalifa cannot be an autocrat. I am sure of one thing, that if out of sheer disgust at the action of the ex-Sultan, or owing to the necessities of diplomacy during the peace negotiations, they have been misled into this action, the defenders of the Khilafat will soon rectify the error, when it is pointed out to them by competent Muslim authorities. It is the duty of our ulema to make this point clear that the *Shariat* laws cannot be tampered with. The Angora National Assembly will put itself right by restoring to the new Khalifa the rights conferred on him by the Shora. As I said, it is a domestic matter and its solution does not appear to me to be a difficult one."

Hindu-Muslim Unity

Lt. Shahid next passed on to the question of Hindu-Muslim unity. In his opinion, there had been some progress in the direction of Hindu-Muslim unity for which credit was due to some selfless workers. He added, "The soreness created in elections to various Public bodies has been removed to a great extent by separate communal representation. The far-seeing policy of the Muslim League which was so much suspected at the beginning has justified itself. In the apparent disunion, we see the goal to final unity. During the transition period, one ought not to be surprised if it is not all plain-sailing. This state of affairs is likely to continue till the country has advanced to a pitch where it will break these artificial bonds of its own accord. You, distinguished brethren, in your wisdom, will have to devote your attention to its solution. But brethren, if you agree with me, then till that happy time comes, the safest and the surest guarantee of the progress of the country lies in individual and communal advancement."

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. BHURGRI

The address of Mr. Bhurgri, the President of the All-India Muslim League, is a long speech in six sections, beginning with a note of hope that a more or less workable Turkish peace treaty is in sight. The address is divided into two parts, one dealing with the Turkish and the Khilafat questions, and the other with the internal affairs of India.

At the outset, Mr. Bhurgri paid a tribute to the founders of the Khilafat Committee in India and their successors in office, for the splendid services they had rendered to the cause of Islam. Reviewing the British attitude towards Muslims in regard to the Greco-Turkish conflict, he said, "Though the Musalmans have known no peace of mind ever since the Tripolitan war, they have never seen darker days than during the ministry of the ex-Premier Lloyd George, who had been, as he himself admitted, largely responsible for the Greek occupation of Smyrna. He could never see or learn the wisdom and necessity of stopping the butchery and devastation systematically carried on by the Greeks in Anatolia. He spurned the Muslim appeals for better

understanding with Turkey, and all he could think was that 'the Mediterranean is vital to Britain; we want the friendship of the Greek people, a people whose friendship is vital to us. They will multiply and wax strong. They are a people of vital intelligence, of energy, and they have shown they have courage.' In support of Mr. Venizelos' theory of a Greek majority in Thrace and Smyrna, he did not hesitate to employ his argument of these being 'Greek Mohammedans', Musalmans by religion, but of Greek nationality who should be linked to Greece."

Mr. Bhurgri next mentioned how the sudden Turkish onslaught on Smyrna and Izmir gave rise to Mr. Lloyd George's memorable manifesto, whereby resentment against the Musalmans, in general, and the Turks, in particular, was sought to be created in Europe and the British Dominions. The manifesto, after alluding to the possibility of 'the entire loss of the whole results of the victory over Turkey in the late war' appealed for forces to guard the freedom of the Straits, and to prevent violent and hostile Turkish aggression.

The Draft Treaty

Continuing, Mr. Bhurgri said: "We in India hoped that with the disappearance of Mr. Lloyd George, Britain would turn a new leaf in its foreign policy towards Turkey. But the proceedings of the Lausanne Conference are not of a happy nature. It will only be to the good of England if she shows a friendly gesture to Turkey even at this eleventh hour. The draft treaty presented to the Turks is a sorry document. It still has most of the faults of the obnoxious Treaty of Sevres and the Turks cannot be expected to accept it. Though the question of boundaries has been more or less settled, the Capitulations,[1] the Straits, the question of minorities, and the economic clauses are a stumbling block in the securing of real peace in the Near East. The Capitulations have been largely instrumental in arresting the progress and development of Turkey. Originally, they were concessions made by the free will and graciousness of the Turkish sovereigns. Now, however, they have assumed a dangerous shape. Though it is declared that the Capitulations are abolished in principle, yet what is substituted in their place in the draft treaty is no remedy for the miserable political and economic plight of Turkey. If in the Turkish demand for the complete abolition of the Capitulations, the attitude of Lord Curzon has been hostile, it is not less so even with regard to the question of the Straits."

Question of the Straits

"Mr. Lloyd George was never tired of proclaiming British and world interests in the Straits of Dardanelles. And Lord Curzon, too, is proceeding

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1. The agreements by which foreign residents in Turkey were yet outside Turkish jurisdiction.

with this question much in the same spirit. Let me at once say that no one would be against the permanent freedom of the Straits, but that is a very different thing from their strategical freedom. The dismantling of the fortifications (though already completed by the Allies) and the free movement of warships between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea would be a source of permanent danger to the Black Sea States, and we are not surprised at Russia's stout opposition to such a scheme. The economic freedom of the Straits, the Turks would gladly guarantee; and they have, in fact, throughout the entire past, scrupulously avoided restricting it even in times of national danger. To say that the Straits have an international character is really confusing the issue. If the proposition were carried to its logical conclusion, every waterway, big or small, has a more or less international character. After all, the English interest in the Straits of Dardanelles is of very small percentage compared to that of Rumania, Russia and other riparian Powers.

"If we pass on to the question of minorities, there are many questions awaiting a humanitarian solution; and one despairs of the prospect of permanent peace in the Near East. The salvation of these minorities lies not in floating them still further, nor in the creation of national home for them, nor in wringing out forced and unworkable guarantees for them—but in advising them to live peacefully with their neighbours. So long as they do believe that they have foreign protection, even when engaged in treason against their country—as they were during the last war—there would be no lasting peace in Turkey, and this question would always continue to crop up, as did the other questions before it, which were only settled by the successive diminution of Turkish possessions. If like us, they are to have separate and communal representation in their Government, Turkey, I am sure, would not grudge granting it."

Continuing, Mr. Bhurgri said that since the days when Lord Kitchener was sent out to Egypt to preserve the neutrality of Egypt in the Turko-Italian War, the foreign policy of England towards Muslim countries represented an unsympathetic, and on some well-known occasions a hostile, attitude. If Muslim countries were weak to-day. Britain, in spite of the recent expansion of her dominions, was decidedly weaker. "Her prestige and moral weight are shaken in the East as they were never shaken before. In the Middle East, where English statesmen counted their greatest gain, there is the greatest loss, and the entire Middle East will sooner or later be lost to them."

British Activities in Mesopotamia

Referring to British activities in Mesopotamia, Mr. Bhurgri quoted Colonels Repington and Lawrence, and said that the Arabs rebelled against the Turks during the War not because the Turkish Government was notably bad, but because they wanted independence. They did not risk their lives in battle to become British subjects or French citizens. Promises of

independence were made to the Arabs, though Mr. Churchill later on denied any promise of handing Mesopotamia back to the Arabs. "In regard to these problems in the Near East and Arabia", said Mr. Bhurgri, "the views of Turks, Arabs and Indians are wholly identical. All are only interested in securing the Arabs the right of self-determination and freedom from non-Muslim control. But will England consent to it? Speaking frankly, I do not yet see any sign of it. So we Musalmans must see these countries freed from the mandates which are crippling them, and must stand by these people in their struggle."

League of Oriental Nations

Mr. Bhurgri went on to say, "Signs are not wanting of such a federation of States—a real League of Nations—coming into being: Kabul, Tehran, and Angora have entered into a solemn pact of brotherhood. The people of the so-called mandated territories will join it the moment they come into their own. And the day Japan and China make up their differences, they, too, would come into the movement and be leading nations in the struggle. Some people think the idea of a League of Oriental Nations to be a dream; but when I notice the aggression of Europe against Asia and Africa, the behaviour of the White races towards the Coloured peoples, and the colour prejudice in some of the Western countries, I clearly see the early realization of this dream. Asia for the Asians has already gained possession of the heart of this Continent, and so has Africa for the Africans; and silently—it may be slowly, the maker and unmaker of nations is working out His will. India's place is undoubtedly in that brotherhood; and I feel confident that it will one day, by reason of her size, population and resources, have a very honoured place in it."

In regard to the question of the Khalifa, Mr. Bhurgri said, "If the Angora Government ever comes to take a wrong step in religious matters, Musalmans themselves will not allow it to go unchallenged and uncontested.. the election of the Khalifa is in accordance with the best traditions of Islam, and it was by election that Muslims have had the best of the Khalifas. In addition to his election, the present Khalifat-ul-Muslimeen enjoys his exalted office by the free consent of the entire Muslim world. The deposition, and even the flight of ex-Sultan Wahiduddin, would have caused no comment, had it not been for the fact that, at the present moment, birds of the same feather have flocked in Hedjaz, and it has created an impression." Saying that apparently developments were afoot to 'transfer' the Khilafat to ex-Sherif Hussain at the time of the forthcoming Haj,[1] Mr. Bhurgiri added, "As the ex-Sherif and the ex-Khalifa are the proteges of England, I would be failing in my duty if I did not utter a solemn warning against any such foolish and unpaying proceedings."

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1. Here a confused direct quotation has been recast into the indirect form to connect with what follows.

Indian Problems

The President next passed to problems currently confronting India. He said, "British rule in India has worked both for good and evil, and has had its due share of merits and demerits. In any case, it has come to stay, whether we regard it as a necessary evil or as a heavenly blessing. We cannot at present eradicate it without endangering our own existence—and let due notice be taken of this. But it is neither indelible nor eternal." Mr. Bhurgri laid the blame for this present tension of feeling in India at the door of short-sighted British statesmen in India and in England. Criticizing the policy of Government after the introduction of the reforms, he referred to the arrests of non-co-operators and "to the systematic persecution and torture of many of the political prisoners inside the jails, and to the inhuman treatment of them as common depraved felons, such as is unheard of in any other civilized country." He had a word of praise for the U.P. Government for granting amnesty to political prisoners. Mr. Bhurgri strongly condemned the appointment of the Services Commission; and next passed on to the Indianization of the Army and other Services. He said that India being a manpower country, in contrast to money-powered England, the former could not afford to imitate the latter's most expensive military organization.

Dealing with the question of Indians abroad, he said "our countrymen in Kenya are threatened with violence, and it is high time that we should devise ways and means of properly safeguarding their interests, person and property from the depradations of the 'white man's burden'. The root cause of the problem, however, lies, in my opinion, in the race-hatred of the white against the coloured, of Europe versus Asia.

Suggesting remedies for these evils, Mr. Bhurgri said, "there are three things which the Government of India can and must do without any loss of time to achieve the desired end. These are:— (1) urging the appointment now, instead of after 10 years, as originally stipulated, of the Statutory Commission to examine the working of the Reformed Constitution, especially with reference to the following: (a) relation between Simla and Whitehall, (b) the extent and direction in which the Constitution should be amended so as to make the Government of India responsible in a greater degree to the people, and what powers should be developed further on the Central Legislature, (c) the demand for full provincial autonomy; (2) taking immediate definite steps to grapple with the most vexing questions of the day by formulating, in consultation with representatives of the people, substantial and genuine schemes and stages (a) for the Indianization of the Army and equipment for Indians in India, (b) for the Indianization of the Services, (c) for grant of complete fiscal autonomy, (d) for the abandonment of the present growing military burdens, (e) for safeguarding the interests and status of Indians abroad, (3) granting a general amnesty to many thousands of political prisoners who

are now rotting in jails, either for their misguided zeal, or as innocent victims of repression and suppression."

Coming on to the question of the reformed Councils in the frame work of a four-anna franchise Constitution, Mr. Bhurgri said, "I am convinced that the new Constitution affords a strong weapon in our hands, if only we could wield it by presenting a united front against the common menace of the wave of reactionism which is now passing through Simla and Whitehall. Further, these Councils provide ample opportunities and sure means of fostering Hindu-Muslim unity by handling all inter-communal and even national legislation and problems with care, consideration, sympathy and frequent consultations between the leaders of various communities for which the Councils afford the best meeting ground. The reformed Councils also afford the best available means for carrying out schemes of mass education, and a system of propaganda among, and education of, the electorate on the burning topics of the day." In regard to communal representation, he said that it was an unavoidable evil to be used as necessary and to the minimum extent.

In conclusion, Mr. Bhurgri made a fervent appeal for Hindu-Muslim unity and religious toleration.

An Abrupt Adjournment

The Fifteenth Session of the Muslim League came to an abrupt and unexpected close on April 1, when it was adjourned *sine die*. The circumstances that led to this were as follows. In the night of March 31, there was a prolonged meeting of the Subjects Committee to consider Dr. Ansari's resolution, which urged the establishment of a national pact on certain lines to ensure unity and harmony among the various communities and sects in India. This resolution was accepted by the Subjects Committee. Mr. Jinnah's resolution recommending entry into Councils, and striving for the attainment of Dominion Status proved a stumbling block. Dr. Ansari and other leading non-co-operators vigorously opposed the motion. For five solid hours, the Subjects Committee wrestled with this issue. On Sunday, April 1, at midday, when votes were called for, and when many members of the Committee had left for lunch, Mr. Jinnah's motion was rejected by 12 to 9 votes. It was uncertain what would have been the fate of the motion in the open meeting of the League. The parties were evenly balanced. There was considerable excitement; and the meeting of the League was postponed from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. At 3 p.m. again it was decided to postpone the meeting, this time till 5 p.m. Proceedings did then commence at 5 p.m., and two resolutions were passed. The third resolution pressed by Mr. Raza Ali was under discussion, when Mr. Zahur Ahmed,[1] a non-co-operating barrister of Allahabad, raised an objection on the ground of the quorum, pointing out that

[1]. Further data on this and the two previous resolutions is not available.

though the hall was full, there was not the requisite number of *bona fide* members of the League. The President upheld the objection, and adjourned the Session *sine die*.

RESOLUTION

The following is the resolution unanimously passed by the Subjects Committee of the Fifteenth Session:

Whereas it is necessary that complete unity should be maintained among the various communities and sects inhabiting India, and whereas this unity and solidarity is essential for the attainment of our goal, and whereas complete unity and understanding are not possible without full faith and trust in the fairness and justice of the various communities in their relations with each other, this Session of the All-India Muslim League resolves that, in order to fulfil these objects, a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed hereby to collaborate with similar committees to be appointed by the Indian National Congress, the Khilafat Committee, the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the Hindu Mahasabha, and other representative bodies of the various communities in order to prepare and bring about an Indian National Pact on the lines indicated hereinafter.

(a) Safeguarding the right of different communities especially of the minorities, fixing up the proportion of representation of the various communities in all the Councils, municipal bodies, local boards, Panchayats, universities, and the services, the small minorities to get representation in excess of their population, these to be given from the Hindu and Muslim members.

(b) Perfect freedom in religious observance of various sects inhabiting India. Complete respect for all religions and religious observances and susceptibilities of various sects by other sects. This freedom would include the right of preaching and spreading the various religions, provided no force, intimidation, coercion or any other unfair means are adopted.

(c) Settlement of questions leading to differences and conflict, e.g., cow preservation, Dusehra, Mohurrum, Rathjatra processions, Sikh Diwans, music before mosques and shrines and the recognition of Hindustani (Urdu or Hindi) as the official language of India with Persian and Devnagari scripts; arbitration boards to be appointed in each province and each district to prevent communal friction and to arbitrate in case of disputes.

It is further resolved that the people of India should participate in the formation of a Federation of Eastern Countries with the object of mutual help, in the matter of trade and commerce, to free themselves

from the economic exploitation and domination by Europe, and with a view to enlarge and support Oriental culture and generally to maintain good and friendly relations between the various nationalities all over the East.[1]

1. *The Indian Annual Register*, 1923, Vol. I, Section 2, pp. 929-936.

ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

FIFTEENTH SESSION (*Cont.*)

LAHORE, MAY 24-25, 1924.

First Sitting

The adjourned Fifteenth Session of the All-India Muslim League opened at 8:30 a.m. on May 24 at the Globe Theatre in Lahore. Mr. Jinnah presided. The hall was packed with members, delegates and visitors. A large number of Khilafatists and Congressmen were present, including Maulana Mohammad Ali, Dr. M.A. Ansari, Mr. Asaf Ali, Dr. S. Kitchlew, Raisahib Hans Raj, Mr. Shuaib Qureshi, Mr. Moazzam Ali, Mr. Mushir Hussain Kidwai, Dr. Satyapal, Lala Goverdhan Das, Moulvi Abdul Qadir, Mr. Zahur Ahmad, Mian Fazle Husain, Dr. Mirza Yakub Beg, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, Moulvi Syed Mubaza, Mr. Abdul Kasim, and Lala Duni Chand.

After a recitation from the Holy Quran, Agha Mohammed Safdar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his welcome address in Urdu. In the course of this, he referred to the strained Hindu-Muslim relations in the Punjab, and regretted that fighting was nowhere so severe as in this unfortunate Province, which had become a regular theatre of war, and that the incidents had surprised the other provinces. The Muslims demanded the right to sit in the Councils, committees, district boards and universities, and to share seats in proportion to their population, which the Hindus resented. Mr. Safdar urged tolerance and requested that all places of worship should be respected and protected. All religious differences could be wiped away, if the Hindus and Muslims once realized that no religion allowed indiscriminate destruction of man, and that all religions preached self-control and teleration.

Referring to the Khilafat, he said that it was a mistake to give the title to Sultans of the Hedjaz, Egypt, or Morocco, or the Amir of Afghanistan, without

due consideration. There was a moral force attached to the word 'Khilafat', which a powerful antagonistic hand could use to undermine Muslim interest. It was essential that the Khilafat should not be vested in a powerless Islamic kingdom, lest a foreign power use it for its own ends.

Concluding, Mr. Safdar said the Muslims and Hindus were joint owners of this part of the world, and must live as good neighbours. Friendship amongst themselves and peace with others should be their golden principle. The Muslim League and the Khilafat Committee should be amalgamated. In matters relating to the Khilafat and Muslims living in other countries, it would be the dutv of the Khilafat; and a matter of communal rights should form part of the League programme.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. M. A. JINNAH

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the President, then delivered his address. In his opening remarks, Mr. Jinnah said, "Since 1920, owing to the most extraordinary and exceptional events which occurred one after the other, starting with the passing of the Rowlatt Bill, the tragedy of the Punjab and the horrors of Amritsar, the Treaty of Sevres and the Khilafat agitation, the policy and the programme of non-co-operation enunciated and formulated by Mahatma Gandhi was the order of the day. The League was not able and not willing to keep abreast with the movement started and first approved of at the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress, and confirmed by the Nagpur Session of December, 1920; and had perforce, in view of a very powerful volume of public opinion that rallied round Mr. Gandhi's policy and programme, to go into the background.

"Since the commencement of 1923, it was realized and admitted that the triple boycott was a failure, and that the mass Civil Disobedience could not be undertaken successfully in the near future. Bardoli, even, was declared, by Mr. Gandhi, as not ready for mass Civil Disobedience; and even prior to his prosecution and conviction, Mr. Gandhi had to resort to what is known as the Bardoli or Constructive Programme. Long before that, the triple boycott of law courts, schools and colleges, and Councils, had failed. The lawyers, barring few exceptions, did not pay much heed to Mr. Gandhi's call, and the students, after a first rush of an impulsive character, realized that it was a mistake. Gaya witnessed a struggle in the Congress camp; and Mr. Das finally laid the foundations of what has subsequently become and is now known as the Swaraj Party, favouring Council entry. Boycott of Councils, as desired by Mahatma Gandhi, was far from being effective or useful. Council seats in the country were filled up; the Khilafat organization, which was carried on, could not claim any better position; and being the handmaid of the Indian National Congress, it pursued practically the same policy and programme—and it succeeded no more or better in giving effect to the programme which it had set up for itself.

"The Swaraj Party, eventually, at the Special Session of the Indian National Congress at Delhi in September, 1923, prevailed upon and obtained the verdict of the Indian National Congress to permit those who wished to enter the Legislature, to do so. Whatever may have been the resultant good or evil, I think you will agree with me that we must at this moment make use of the good, and forget and discard the evil. It is in this spirit that I wish that we should proceed with our future work. Many mistakes have been made, blunders have been committed, a great deal of harm has been done; but there has come out of it a great deal of good also. The result of the struggle of the last three years has this to our credit that there is an open movement for the achievement of *Swaraj* for India. There is a fearless and persistent demand that steps must be taken for the immediate establishment of Dominion Responsible Government in India. The ordinary man in the street has found his political consciousness, and realized that self-respect and the honour of the country demand that the government of the country should not be in the hands of any one except the people of the country.

"But while that demand is a just one, and the sentiment only natural and requiring every encouragement, we must not forget that one essential requisite condition to achieve *Swaraj* is political unity between the Hindus and the Mohammedans; for the advent of foreign rule, and its continuance in India, is primarily due to the fact that the people of India, particularly the Hindus and Mohammedans, are not united and do not sufficiently trust each other. The domination by the bureaucracy will continue so long as the Hindus aud Mohammedans do not come to a settlement. I am almost inclined to say that India will get Dominion Responsible Government the day the Hindus and Mohammedans are united. *Swaraj* is an almost interchangeable term with Hindu-Muslim unity. If we wish to be free people, let us unite; but if we wish to continue slaves of bureaucracy, let us fight amongst ourselves and gratify petty vanity over petty matters, Englishmen being our arbiters.

After the conclusion of Mr. Jinnah's address, the Subjects Committee was elected, and the meeting adjourned until the next day.[1]

Second Sitting

The All-India Muslim League resumed its sitting at 8 a.m. on May 25 at the Globe Theatre. Mr. Jinnah Presided. The attendance was again large, and the hall was packed.

After a recitation from the Quran, the following resolution was put from the Chair, and was unanimously passed, the whole audience standing up to do so:

RESOLUTION I

The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of

1. Noman, Mohammed, *Muslim India*, Law General Press, Allahabad, 1942. pp. 219-221.

sorrow at the sad and untimely death of the Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Bhurgri, and feels that in him the Musalmans of India have lost one of the greatest patriots, politicians and disinterested servants of the community, and desires that this expression of sorrow on behalf of the community may be conveyed to his family.

RESOLUTION II

Sheikh Abdul Qadir, then moved and Sheikh Neyaz Mohammad seconded the following resolution:

Whereas the speedy attainment of *Swaraj* is one of the declared objects of the All-India Muslim League, and whereas it is now generally felt that the conception of *Swaraj* should be translated into the realm of concrete politics and become a factor in the daily life of the Indian people, the All-India Muslim League hereby resolves that in any scheme of a constitution for India that may ultimately be agreed upon and accepted by the people, the following shall constitute its basic and fundamental principles:

(a) The existing provinces of India shall all be united under a common government on a federal basis so that each province shall have full and complete provincial autonomy, the functions of the central government being confined to such matters only as are of general and common concern.

(b) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time become necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority of population in the Punjab, Bengal and N.W.F. Province.

(c) The basis of representation in the Legislature and in all other elected bodies shall be population, except that very small minorities may be given representation in excess of their numerical proportion in those cases in which they would remain entirely unrepresented in the absence of such exceptional treatment, subject however to the essential proviso that no majority shall be reduced to a minority or even to an equality.

(d) Full religious liberty, i.e, liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association, and education shall be guaranteed to all communities.

(e) The idea of joint electorates with a specified number of seats being unacceptable to Indian Muslims, on the ground of its being a fruitful source of discord and disunion and also of being wholly inadequate to achieve the object of effective representation of various communal groups, the representation of the latter shall continue to be by means of separate electroates as at present, provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorates in favour of joint electorates.

(f) No bill or resolution or any part thereof affecting any community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the elected body concerned, shall be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of that community in that particular body oppose such bill or resolution or part thereof.

The resolution was first put to the meeting in parts, and the Preamble and Clauses (a), (d) and (f) were adopted without further discussion.

Maulana Mohammad Ali adversely criticized the language and import of Clause (b), but it was put to the vote and carried.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad moved an amendment to substitute the following for Clause (c) of the proposed resolution: "The mode of representation in the Legislature and in all other elected bodies shall guarantee adequate and effective representation to minorities in every province, subject, however, to the essential proviso that no majority shall be reduced to a minority or even to an equality."

The amendment was seconded by Mian Shahnewaz and supported by Moulvi Mohammad Yakub, Chaudhri Shahabuddin, Moulvi Abul Qasim and Mian Fazle Husain. It was opposed by Ghazi Abdul Rahman, Choudhri Khaliquzzaman and Maulana Mohammad Ali. On a division being taken, the amendment was carried by a majority of 126 to 83.

An amendment proposed by Mr. Asaf Ali and seconded by Mr. Mushir Husain Kidwai and another proposed by Syed Habib Shah and seconded by Maulana Mohammad Ali to alter Clause (e) were both put to the vote and lost.

The whole resolution as amended by Dr. Ziauddin was then put to the vote and carried.

The sitting was thereafter adjourned to 3 p.m.

Third Sitting

The following resolutions were taken up in the afternoon sitting and adopted without any opposition:

RESOLUTIONS

III. In the opinion of the All-India Muslim League, the reforms granted by the Government of India Act 1919 are wholly unsatisfactory and altogether inadequate to meet the requirement of the country, and the virtual absence of any responsibility of the executive to the elected representatives of the people in the legislature has really rendered them futile and unworkable; the League therefore urges that immediate steps be taken to establish *Swaraj*, i.e., full responsible government, having regard to the provisions of Resolution II and this, in the opinion of the League, can only be done by a complete overhaul of the Government of India Act 1919, and not merely by an enquiry, with a view to discovering defects in the working of the Act and to rectifying

imperfections, under its rule-making power. (Proposed by Mr. Asaf Ali, seconded by Malik Barkat Ali and supported by Syed Habib Shah.)

IV. The All-India Muslim League do appoint a committee consisting of the following gentlemen to frame a scheme of a constitution for the government of India, in consultation with the committee or committees that may be appointed by other political organizations in the country for this purpose, and to place the same before a session of the League, and if necessary a special session of the League may be summoned for that purpose at an early date, to consider and adopt the scheme — *viz*: Mr. M.A. Jinnah, Mian Fazle Husain, Mr. Maqbul Mahmud, Agha Mohammad Safdar, Mr. Mushir Husain Kidwai, Syed Zahur Ahmad, Syed Raza Ali, Choudhri Khaliquzzaman, Mr. A.K. Fazlul Haq, Mr. Asaf Ali, Nawab Sarfraz Husain Khan, Mr. Abdul Aziz, Mr. Shuaib Quraishi, Moulvi Syed Murtaza, Chaudhari Shahabuddin, and Syed Habib Shah. (Proposed by Mr. Maqbul Mahmud and seconded by Mr. Mushir Husain Kidwai.)

V. A committee consisting of the following members of the All India Muslim League be appointed with power to confer with the working committee of the Central Khilafat Committee in order to frame a scheme in consultation with it for the purpose of organizing the various public activities of the Muslim Community and the said scheme be placed as soon as possible before the Council of the All-India Muslim League and if necessary before the next session of the League for adoption *viz*., M.A. Jinnah, Mian Fazle Husain K.B., Agha Mohammad Safdar, Syed Zahur Ahmad, Moulvi Syed Murtaza, Moulvi Abul Qasim, Moulvi Mohammad Yakub, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, Mr. Sultan Ahmad, Dr. Mirza Yaqub Beg, Mr. Ghulam Bheek, Malik Barkat Ali, Dr. Shujauddin, M. Samiullah Khan, Mr. Abdul Aziz, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad, Sheikh Abdul Qadir, K.B., Moulvi Abdul Karim. (Proposed by M. Ghulam Mohiuddin and seconded by Sirdar Habibullah Khan.)

VI. The All-India Muslim League strongly urges upon the Government the immediate and the paramount necessity of introducing reforms in the N.W.F. Province and of placing this Province, in all respects in a position of equality with the other major provinces of India. (Proposed by Mr. Abdul Aziz and seconded by Mr. Abdul Majid Quraishi.)

VII. The All-India Muslim League views with great alarm the deplorable bitterness of feeling at present existing between the Hindus and Musalmans in the different parts of the country, and strongly deprecates the tendency on the part of certain public bodies to aggravate the causes of difference between the two communities, thus doing incalculable harm to the national cause, and while placing on record its firm conviction that no political progress is possible in this country unless it is based on a solid substratum of Hindu-Muslim unity, and that the interests of the country demand mutual sacrifice and an intensive spirit of give and take on the part of all the communities, the League makes an earnest appeal to all public bodies to

discontinue all activities favouring of aggression and to concentrate their efforts on the question of establishing Hindu-Muslim unity on a firm basis. (From the Chair.)

VIII. Whereas inter-communal unity is extremely necessary for gaining *Swaraj*, and whereas conditions, political and religious, unfortunately exist in the country, on account of which a recrudescence of inter-communal differences takes place every now and then, and it is most desirable that means should be adopted to meet such cases, the League resolves that Conciliatory Boards, consisting of representatives of all communities, be constituted in different districts with a Central Board in the capital of each province, (1) to settle all matters likely to create communal differences, and (2) to deal with all cases of conflict, and investigate and enquire into acts of aggression on the part of any particular community. (From the Chair.)

IX. The All-India Muslim League deplores the present scandalous state of disorganization existing among Muslims in all spheres of life, which not only prevents all healthy interchange of ideas and co-operation for the good of the Community, but also seriously handicaps the Muslims in shouldering their proper share of responsibility in the national struggle for progress and self-government; the League, therefore, urges the extreme desirability of concerted action every where with a view to secure internal solidarity among the Musalmans of India and resolves that a committee be formed to carry out a programme of political, social and economic development with particular reference to the following items:

(1) to popularize the League and establish its Provincial, District, Tehsil, Pargana, and Village branches throughout India;
(2) to collect funds for the League;
(3) to call upon and co-operate with the Muslim Educational Conference in India in establishing elementary schools in every village and utilising the village mosques and *imams* for this purpose wherever feasible;
(4) to promote female education among the Musalmans and to establish schools for the purpose in villages and towns;
(5) to encourage adult education;
(6) to organize the Muslim Boy Scouts movement;
(7) to encourage the use of *Khadder* and *Swadeshi* goods;
(8) to encourage and help the establishment of Muslim banks in the country. (From the Chair.)

X. With a view to better the economic and political conditions of the workers and peasants of India, the All-India Muslim League considers it most essential that the organization of the workers and peasants be taken in hand, and a movement be immediately started on the lines chalked out by the All-India Congress Committee in this connection, in order to achieve

these objects; the League therefore resolves that a Committee of five members be appointed by the Council of the League to meet the Committee appointed by All-India Congress Committee for this purpose to draw up a practical programme for the organization of workers and peasants of India. (From the Chair.)

XI. This League urges all the Provincial Governments generally, and the U.P. Government particularly, to enforce the *Wakf* Act of 1923 in their respective provinces, and further resolves that Provincial Leagues be called upon to appoint Provincial Committees to look to the proper administration of the *wakfs* in each province. (From the Chair.)

XII. That a committee be appointed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League to consider the grievences of the Musalmans in the matter of their representation in the public services of the country, and to submit its report to the League before its annual session with suggestions as to the ways and means whereby the Muslims may be assured their proper and legitimate place in the administration of the country. (Proposed by Mr. Maqbul Mahmud and seconded by Syed Mohsin Shah.)

XIII. That the All-India Musim League greatly deplores the continued unsympathetic and indifferent attitude of the Kashmir Darbar towards the political and educational needs and aspirations of the Musalmans of Kashmir State, and resolves that in view of the grave situation existing in Kashmir, a special sub-committee of the All-India Muslim League be formed to find out ways and means for uplifting the poor and down-trodden Musalman community of that State, and to bring home the Kashmir Darbar the paramount necessity of providing special facilities of educating the Musalmans of the State, and ameliorating their present helpless condition, and to give the Musalmans of Kashmir, who form 95 per cent of the population of the State, their rightful place in the public services and in the administration of the State. (Proposed by Pir Tajuddin and seconded by Mr. Mohammad Sadiq).

XIV. That the President (Mr. M.A. Jinnah), the Honorary Secretary (Syed Zahur Ahmad) and the Honorary Joint Secretaries (Choudhri Khaliquzzaman and Mr. Masudul Hasan), and other office bearers whose terms of office have expired, be re-elected for a further term of three years. (Proposed by Mr. Mushir Husain Kidwai and seconded by Shaikh Abdul Qadir.)

The Session was closed after votes of thanks, with a concluding speech of the President, followed by a general prayer for the success of the League.[1]

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1. *Brief Minutes of the Adjourned 15th Session of the All-India Muslim League held at Lahore on the 24th and 25th of May, 1924.* Printed at the Students Commercial House, Lucknow.

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* Hindus have often been referred to as neighbours.

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